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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I


VOLUME III


VOLUME V

P. 486b, AL-KURDI, l. 16, add: Concerning the etymology of the name, Pers. ġurğ and ġurgğ are ultimately identical with Grk. ἠφές. The Armenian værk for “Georgians” shows that the original form was *étr. An Arm. form without the pl. suffix -ք is vrasam “Georgia”, with normal loss of i in a non-final syllable, cf. Pers. ġurgģistān, older ġurgģistān. Pers. ġurgğ shows the normal development of O Pers. -v- to NP ġv- and palatalisation of the velar before ģ, Pers. being a back formation. European designations like Ital. Georgia are transformations by popular etymology of ġurğ, possibly from a Class. Ar. ģurgğ so far unattested. Georgian cartveli, sakartvelo, etc. originally designated only the area around Tbilisi, so that *étr is probably the original name of the Georgians. (F. Thisien)

VOLUME VII


VOLUME X


P. 530b, TÎNA, replace beginning of second paragraph, ll. 43-55, with: As a technical term of philosophy, tîna is used in some early Arabic translations from the Greek, and in the first period of Arabic philosophical writing, to render the basic meaning of Greek ὑπόθεσις. Ar. ḥayyâl (g.v.), as "matter, material substrate" (synonymously with måddû), especially in the sense of the Aristotelian Prime Matter, the substratum of the forms of the primary bodies or ṭugjân (˲uṭkussât, ˲uṭmîr), while ḥayyâl renders the general usage of ṣânâ as of “matter relative to form”. See e.g. tîna for ṣânâ in Ibn al-Muqaffa’s introduction to the Organon (al-Mantîk li-Ibn al-Muqaffâ’, ed. M.T. Dânîşhâhzûhûn, Tehran 1978, 4.4), in an early version of Aristotle’s De anima, 403b18, ed. ‘A. Badawi.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

opposite
P. 770, 'UD, Fig. 1, 3rd col., 1. 10, for 8182/6561, read 8192/6561.
P. 824, 'UMAR B. ḤAFSŪN, l. 4, for [see BARBAŞTU] read [see BUBASHTU, in Suppl.]
P. 833, 'UMAR KHAYYĀM, l. 3, for 28, 32, read 28, 33.
P. 836, 'UMAYYADS, l. 14 from below, add to Bibl.: al-Baladhurī; al-Ansāb al-ashraf, complete ed. S. Zakkar and Ziriklī; P. Smoor, 'Umdm's elegies and the lamp of loyalty, in AI, xxxiv (2000), 467-564; idem, 'Umdm's odes describing the Imam, in A1, xxxv (2001), 1-78.
P. 928, USUL, l. 5 from bottom, for harf/djarr, read harf ḏarr.

VOLUME XI
P. 246, YAHYĀ B. AL-BĪṬRĪṢĪ, l. 10, for and literature of the Rūm of his time, read and writing system of the Rūm of his time.
in Bibl., l. 2, add pp. 290-1 to references in Flügel's edition.
P. 309, YAZDĪ, ll. 9 and 14, for Dirgham al-Dawla Kašḵā'ī, read Daygham al-Dawla Kašḵā'ī.
P. 334, ll. 37-8, for 1154-1175/1741-1762, read 1154-1175/1741-1762.
P. 355, YŪSUF B. 'ĀBĪD AL-IDRĪṢĪ, l. 3, for the deathdate of 992/1584, read after 1036/1627.
VADAR [see WARDAR].
VARNA [see Warna].
VEYSEL [see 'ASHIK WEYSEL, in Suppl.].
VIDIN [see WIDIN].

VIDJAYANAGARA, the name of a mediaeval Hindu power which covered large parts of the Deccan from the mid-14th century to the later 17th century and which is relevant to this Encyclopaedia because of the incessant warfare between its Rādjās (some sixty of whom, from various, distinct lineages, issued royal inscriptions claiming sovereignty over India south of the Krishna river) and the Muslim sultanates of the Deccan. It appears in Indo-Muslim sources as Badinagara.

The name Vidjayanagara, meaning "City of victory", was that of the state's original capital on the upper Tungabhadhrā river. Its ruins lie at Hampi in the Bellary Division in the western part of the modern Karnataka State of the Indian Union (lat. 15° 20' N., long. 76° 25' E.); for the mediaeval city and its buildings, see HAMPI. The kingdom arose from the ruins of four great Hindu dynasties which had ruled the territories south of the Vindhyā range on the eve of the first Muslim penetration of the Deccan by the Dīlān Sultan 'Alī al-Dīn Khaldijī in 693/1294 [see WARDAR]. A Hindu reaction came in the time of the Sultan Muhammad b. Tughlak [q.v.], when an infant Hindu state arose in the Andhra coastlands along the Bay of Bengal. The ancient Hindu Hoysala kingdom was overthrown by Vidjayanagara in 1346, but expansion by the new state was challenged in the south by the existence of the recently-established Muslim sultanate of Madura on the Malabar coast [see MA'BAR]. Nevertheless, this last ephemeral independent sultanate was extinguished by the Vidjayanagara Rādjās in ca. 779/1377, and the Malabar region held by Hindu rulers until the short-lived Muslim conquest in the later 11th/12th century by the Mughal emperor Akbar [q.v.].

To the north, the sultanate of the Bahmanids [q.v.], much more powerful than Madura had been, formed a barrier against both Vidjayanagara and the other main Hindu state of the eastern Deccan, Warangal [q.v.]. The Bahmanids conquered Warangal by 830/1425 but were never able to subdue Vidjayanagara. Warfare between the two powers was frequent, with the Rayūr [q.v.] or Gubhī, the land between the Tungabhadhrā and Bhima rivers, which Muhammad b. Tughlak had overrun, being the main bone of contention. The Bahmanids attacked Telingāna [q.v.] in 763/1362, and there were several wars over the next decades between Muhammad I Bahman Shah (759-76/1358-75) and his successors, such as Tādji al-Dīn Firūz Shāh (800-24/1397-1422) and the Rādjās of Vidjayanagara, with Firūz Shāh frequently allied with the Hindu Velana ruler of Warangal. However, there were also periods of peace, with a rough balance of power emerging in the Deccan, as Muslim powers suspicious of Bahmanid expansion, such as those to the north, Khandesh, Gujardāt and Mālvā, gave tacit support to Vidjayanagara, and there was also some cultural interaction; Firūz Shāh took a Vidjayanagara princess in marriage. But it was an ignominious defeat at the hands of Dēvarāya I at Panagāl in 822/1419 which led to Firūz Shāh's enforced abdication in 825/1422. His successor Ahmad I Shāh wrought a condign revenge on both Vidjayanagara and its recent ally Warangal in 827/1424 and then on the former in 836/1433. According to the Muslim historian Firishta, Dēvarāya II, the greatest ruler of the Sangama line of Vidjayanagara recruited Muslim archers and cavalrymen for his army (an inscription of 1430 says that this ruler had 10,000 Turuks, i.e. Muslim, lit. "Turkish", horsemen in his forces), and in 1433 used his armies to invade the Bahmanid lands. The historian 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Samarkandi led a mission to Vidjayanagara in 846-7/1443 and describes the splendour of the capital and its court and the flourishing state of the kingdom, and especially of its ports on the Bay of Bengal (Matla al-sa'dīn, cf. S.H. Hodivala, Studies in Indo-Muslim history, i. 1939, 410 ff.). The Bahmanid sultanate had a resurgence of power later in the 15th century and the kingdom, with especially of its ports on the Bay of Bengal

Warangal, when Ramarāya was killed and Vidjayanagara sacked and deprived of its glory. The Vidjayanagara state survived for another century
under the Aravidu line of rulers, but with diminished territory and revenues, and with the capital at first transferred south-eastwards to Venukonda, safer from Muslim attacks. Though deprived of its northern provinces, it was still strong under Venkata II Raya (1568-1614), who ruled from a capital at Chandragiri, allied with the Portuguese, received various foreign embassies and was in direct correspondence with Philip II of Spain. It was Venkata III who in 1639 allowed the English East India Company to build a fort at the village of Madras, which was named Fort St. George [see MADRAS]. But by now, Muslim pressure was being strongly felt, with the Adil and Kutb Shahs, the remaining Vidjayanagara territories in the extreme southwestern tip of the Deccan peninsula passed briefly under Mughal rule.

In modern times, apart from two or three British pioneers, the history of Vidjayanagara has until recently largely been written by Hindu Indian writers, and these have often regarded Vidjayanagara as the guardian of the Hindu heritage in South India, with a historic mission of resistance to Islam; in this same tradition, Vidjayanagara has sometimes been regarded by them not only as a mediaeval Indian state but also as the precursor of the Marathi confederacy [see MARATHAS].

**Bibliography:** Majumdar (general ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people*. VI. The Delhi Sultanate, Bombay 1960, 271-325; VII. The Mughal Empire, Bombay 1974, 486-501; Habib and Nizami (eds.), *A comprehensive history of India*, V. The Delhi Sultanate (A.D. 1206-1326), Delhi etc. 1970, 1028-1103; H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan* (1225-1724), Haydarabad 1973, i, 79-139; B. Stein, *Vidyanagara (= The New Cambridge history of India, I.2)*, Cambridge 1969, with full bibl. See also *HIND. IV. History*. (C.E. Bosworth)
on the factor of contagion in spreading the plague. The plague is a virulent and extremely lethal epidemic illness, which appeared in world history in the form of great cycles of periodic infection known as pandemics. The bacilli, known as *Pasteurella pestis*, are carried by fleas (*Xenopsylla cheopis*) into populations of wild rodents, where the plague can find a permanent reservoir. It is agreed that the factors which led to outbreaks of plague were an epizootic in the rodents, especially in rats, which would destroy the hosts for the fleas and cause the latter to pass to humans. When an infected flea bites a human, plague bacilli multiply and accumulate in the lymph glands and create buboes (hence: bubonic plague). As the disease progresses, the body's temperature rises and the pulse dramatically increases. In plagues attested in history, a large percentage of cases of infections resulted in fatality within two weeks at the most. A mortality rate of up to 70% made bubonic plague a disastrous disease. Complications could draw the plague bacilli into the lungs, causing the highly contagious and absolutely fatal pneumonic plague which prevails mainly in the winter months and causes death rapidly. A septicemic variety of plague results from the introduction of the bacillus into the bloodstream and is a very acute plague form, since death can occur within hours. Plague infection spread primarily along communication and trade routes, both land and sea, thus attracting to the attention of some scholars, there seems no ground for the suggestion that populations could develop natural immunity to the plague.

A plague recorded for the years A.D. 573-4 is of interest since it occurred immediately after what is commonly held to have been the date of Muhammad's birth. It appears to have been part of the pandemic which began with the so-called Plague of Justinian in 541 and continued for two centuries up to 1317/749. The geographical origin of this pandemic is unclear, and the mediaeval Muslim ascription of it to an African plague reservoir should be treated with caution. One should also note the so-called Plague of Shīrāwiyah (6/626), named after the Sasanid emperor Shīrāwiyah or Shīrūy Kawadh II, who perished in this outbreak, as being the first recorded case of plague in the Muslim era. A decade later, in Syria and in Irāk in 17/18/638-9, the Plague of Amāwā in Palestine (see Amawā) was the first plague to strike the newly-established Muslim empire. It appears to have been of devastating proportions in terms of the mortality it caused; many thousands of Arabs and the conquered population perished. Plague then occurred in the Muslim Near East between 49/669 and 1317/749, about a dozen times in Syria and Irāk, of which the so-called "Plague which snatches people away [in droves]" (ta‘īn al-ghāfiy) in 67/638 in Irāk, and then that of 126/743-4, which persisted almost continuously until 1317/749, were particularly devastating. Thereafter, there appears to have been a respite in the incidence of plague until it struck Baghdad in 301/913-4. Later, sporadic outbreaks are difficult to identify because of the dubious terminology.

The second pandemic in the mediaeval Islamic world is known as the Black Death. It appeared in Mongolia—where plague had been endemic for a long time—ca. 732/1331, and reached Islamic territories in 748/1347, most likely by the overland route through Turkestan and the Black Sea region. It was as devastating to the Near Eastern populations as to the European ones, and although no accurate mortality data are available, modern research has suggested a population decline of between 25% and 33%. From the available sources, it appears that Egypt and Syria were the regions primarily affected. In addition to high mortality there was large-scale flight from infected areas which aggravated the situation. Cultivated land was abandoned and famine developed. Urban centres suffered as well, since economic activity drastically declined and various functions were suspended. In Ibn Khaldūn's poetic phrase, "It was as if the voice of existence in the world had called out for oblivion and restriction and the world responded to its call". There were frequent recurrences until as late as the 19th century. For Egypt, there are about 50 recurrences of either *waḥīd* or *ta‘īn* have been recorded for the period between 1348 and 1517. For Syria, the number is about 25. Among the effects of this phenomenon, one should point out the almost certain lack of demographic recovery until modern times.

Theological belief and a normative scheme of behaviour with regard to the plague arose and were incorporated into *ḥaddith* (q.v.) and other kinds of literature, such as the genre of treatises on the plague. Juristic literature furnished not only legal precedents, which set limits to intellectual discussion and communal behaviour in the context of epidemics, but also an aetiological explanation of the plague, methods of prevention and treatment. Theological explanations contradicted the medical ones of an infected environment (see above) by claiming that disease comes directly from God, hence no infection should be feared. Accordingly, plague was a divine punishment inflicted on impious Muslims and unbelievers. A special kind of lore developed around demons (jinn (q.v.)) as the agents of the plague. However, if a pious Muslim survived the ordeal, he would be rewarded in the afterlife. In traditions ascribed to the Prophet, death from the plague is one of the means of gaining the status of *ahl al-djarif* (the so-called "Plague which snatches people away in droves") as being the first recorded case of plague in the Mamluk empire, in A.L. Udovitch (ed.), *The Islamic Middle East, 700-1900*, Princeton 1981, 397-428; B. Shoshan, *Notes sur les épidémies de peste en Égypte*, in *Annales de démographie historique* (1981), 387-404; L.I. Conrad, *The plague in the early medieval Near East*, Ph.D. diss, Princeton Univ., unpubl.; idem, *Ta‘īn and waḥīd*, in *JESHO*, xxv (1982), 268-307; Dols, *Al-Maḥjudī's "Report of the Plague"*. A treatise on the plague of 764/1362-64 in the Middle East, in D. Willman (ed.), *The Black Death*. The impact of the fourteenth century plague, Binghamton 1982, 65-75; Conrad, *Plagues in the Islamic world*, in *Dict. of the Middle Ages*, ix, New York 1978, 684-6; idem, *Die Pest und ihr soziales Umfeld im Nahen Osten des frühen Mittelalters*, in *Isl., lxiii* (1996), 10-112.

(B. Shoshan)

2. In the Ottoman Empire.

The development, in the course of the 16th century, of the vast Ottoman Empire does not seem to have affected the presence and proliferation of the plague, firmly established in the Ancient World since the mid-11th century and persisting there until the time of its disappearance in the early 20th century. Identifying the disease with certainty, establishing the chronology, geographical extension and intensity of epidemics of the plague over four centuries across this immense territory, is a task which has not as yet been tackled. However, publications currently available make


(B. Shoshan)
it possible to sketch the major aspects of the presence and effects of the plague, with the following proviso: the available information becomes more thorough and reliable the closer our own time is approached, and data is less complete and less certain the further one travels from towns and coastal regions. From the early 16th to the mid-19th century, the plague was virtually always present in at least one of the Ottoman provinces, spreading periodically over a much larger area, even the whole of the Empire. While the mortality rate of the disease was always very high—an average of three fatalities for every four patients over four years varied considerably: in some cases it would cause only a few deaths, then return to the same area some years later and wipe out a quarter of the population within weeks.

The 16th century is the period in which lacunae are most apparent. It is possible, however, to point to a huge pandemic in the years 1572-89, at which time the plague is found to have affected, with a few brief interruptions, the Near East as well as Egypt, Anatolia, the Balkans and North Africa. On the other hand, the plague was much in evidence during the whole of the 17th century, as is shown by these two examples: in Algiers it is recorded in 1600-2, 1605, 1606-9, 1611-3, 1620-4, 1626-7, 1630, 1639-44, 1647, 1649, 1654-61, 1665, 1673, 1675-6, 1680-3, 1686, 1689-95, 1697-1702, thus every other year on average. Cairo was affected, to a degree sufficient to have drawn the attention of the chroniclers, in 1601-3, 1619, 1620-6, 1642-4, 1667-8, 1671, 1696, thus 18 years in total. The plague was still rife in the 18th century; in 100 years, 57 in Aegean Anatolia, 44 in Egypt, 42 in Albania-Epirus, 41 in Bosnia, 33 in Syria, 18 in Bulgaria, 45 in the Regency of Algiers and 19 in that of Tunis. Deadly epidemics, those which could wipe out between 57 in Aegean Anatolia, 44 in Egypt, 42 in Albania-Epirus, persisting for more than half a century, in African and Asian territories which were formerly Ottoman. This was the case in 1705, 1726, 1751, 1778 and 1812 in Istanbul, 1713, 1741, 1762, 1781 and 1818 in Salonica, 1718, 1733, 1762, 1877, 1812 and 1837 in Aleppo. The beginning of the 19th century was a continuous period of the 18th with two great pandemics which ravaged almost the whole of the Empire in 1812-19 and 1835-38. Then, in the years 1840-44, the plague seems to have disappeared from the Ottoman Empire, with the exception of limited outbreaks in Cyrenaica in 1856-59 and in Trabzon in 1856-9, 1874-7 and 1891-2. It emerged again in 1894, persisting for more than half a century, in African and Asian territories which were formerly Ottoman.

The plague was above all a disease affecting various species of wild rodents, which played a decisive role in the perpetuation of the disease according to a complex process, in which their fleas participated, in what used to be called the natural centres of the plague. In terms of the Ottoman Empire, this refers to Persian Kurdistan, the Libyan desert and the Asir [q.v.] masif between Yemen and Hijaz. It was from these zones that the disease spread, always carried by rodents, over vast territories and long periods of time, thus forming, in the 17th and 18th centuries, temporary centres, notably in Albania-Epirus, Moldavia-Walachia, Istanbul, Anatolia and Egypt. In these centres, the epizootic disease was communicated, fortuitously, to humans through the intermediary of fleas. On becoming an epidemic disease it would subsequently be diffused, by land and sea, throughout the whole of the Empire, carried by couriers, merchants, sailors, nomads, soldiers and fugitives—any travellers, in fact. It is difficult to evaluate precisely the demographic effects of the plague. However, the 16th century seems to have enjoyed a fairly long epidemic remission, accounting for the relative prosperity of the population observed in Anatolia and the Near East. This came to an end in the 1580s, and the 17th and 18th centuries show an increase in the frequency of the disease, probably responsible for a stagnation of the Ottoman population taken as a whole. In its more severe manifestations, the plague also damaged economies, disrupting harvests in the countryside and commercial and industrial activities in the towns. The plague was thus one of the decisive factors behind the problems and weaknesses of the Ottoman Empire in the 18th century.

The beliefs and the behaviour of Muslims when confronted by epidemics of the plague were determined in the Middle Ages, and works of this era, especially those of Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani in the 15th century, were regarded as authoritative in succeeding centuries. The situation changed from the early 19th century onward, with the appearance in the Near East, in 1820, of a new epidemic disease—cholera, originating in Bengal, which, spreading from Mecca, was to add its effects to those of the plague. The change came about through the influence of the Europeans resident in the Levant, who successfully applied the techniques of protection in use in Europe, and especially through the awareness on the part of rulers of Muslim states of the importance of the demographic factor in military, fiscal and economic spheres. Traditional resignation to divine will was replaced, at least in the higher echelons of the state, by a conception which sought to reconcile the Sharia with modern science and the interests of the state. From the 1830s onward, the Ottoman Empire, Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco, equipped themselves with sanitary authorities and regulations, placing quarantine stations on maritime and terrestrial frontiers. These innovations were achieved with the aid of Westerners, diplomats and doctors, who saw an opportunity to enhance their influence. The rapidity of the results obtained, such that no cases of plague were recorded in the Ottoman Empire after 1844, resulted as much from the efforts of local sanitary institutions as from natural extinction of the temporary centres of the previous centuries. Later recurrences of the plague, few and of limited scope, were energetically combated.


WABĀR, in Arabic lore a district and tribe localised in the southern part of the Arabian peninsula. Al-Bakr, Maqrīz, ed. Wüstenfeld, 835, and Yākūt, Bidān, ed. Wüstenfeld, 4, 896, give the name
as an indeclinable *jaḍār* form, Wabār, with the irregular *nisba* Abār.

1. In Arabian lore and history.

The Wabār are mentioned by the historians along-side and *Mūrād* [q.v.] and other extinct tribes like the *Ḍāḍās* and *Ṣaṣm* [q.v.] as peoples of Arabia, now vanished (*al-ʿArab al-ḥāʾīd*), accounted for by some genealogists as being among the "true, original" Arabs (*al-ʿArab al-ʿaḥrāʾ* or *al-ʿalāʾīs*), and described as such by e.g. al-Hamdānī and al-Ṭabarānī. The latter, i, 221, tr. W.M. Brinner, *The History of al-Ṭabarān*, ii, *Prophets and patriarchs*, Albany 1907, 20, and al-Masʿūdī, *Ṭanbih*, 184, and *Masʿūdī*, iii, 288-90 = §§ 1161, number the Wabār among the extinct Arab tribes and give their genealogy.

The statements of the Arab geographers and historians about the history of the Wabār are strongly saturated with legend. The stories current among the Arabs are given by Ibn al-Fakhrī, 37-8, whose statements are combined from several sources, al-Bakrī (*)op. cit.*, and much more fully Yākūt (*op. cit.* 896; a brief synopsis in the *Lišān*, still more briefly in the *Ṭāʿī* and a little more fully in the *Ṭāʿī*, s.v.). Yākūt quotes various authorities, including Hīšām Ibn al-Kalbī, Muhammad b. Iṣḥāq, Ibn al-Fakhrī, and other direct and indirect sources. His statements (*op. cit.* 897) agree almost word for word with those of Ibn al-Fakhrī. Al-Kaẓwīnī (*ʿajīb ash-dīn*, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 41) and later writers are based on Yākūt. The same characteristic features are common to the authors and compilers mentioned. These include the purely legendary elements: that the name of the land goes back to an ancestor Wabār, who flourished at the time of the confusion of tongues (so also al-Masʿūdī, *Ṭanbih*, 184; al-Ṭabarānī, i, 221, 250), that after the fall of the ʿAḍ (cf. Ibn Saʿd, *Ṭabākat*, i, 10, 20), the previous inhabitants of Wabār, the Ḍimm, took possession of the land (so also al-Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, 154, 223; al-Ṭabarānī, i, 221), and men lived there no longer but only half-men (*nasīdān*), beings who had only half a head, one eye, one hand and one leg (Yākūt, ii, 263, tells the same story of al-Shīḥr), that no one dared enter this land, and that its mysterious inhabitants destroyed the crops of the adjoining lands between al-Shīḥr and Yaman. A feature which is developed in the legend, on older models, is the story that Wabār was a particularly fertile land, rich in water and fruit-trees and especially in palms (so also al-Masʿūdī, *Mūrād*, iii, 276, 288-9 = §§ 1150, 1161; al-Nābigha, i mention of palms in the land of Wabār (in Ahlwardt, *The Divans*, etc., London 1870, 112, from Yākūt) was taken as evidence that the land was fertile and inhabited (cf. al-Bakrī, *loc. cit.*, with Yākūt, iv, 896). The mentions of Wabār in poetry are, of course, not independent evidence, but only a rule as the conventional notions of the great antiquity and fall of the people and the isolation of their land (cf. also Yākūt, iv, 897).

What arouses interest in these fables and may be of use are the geographical ideas at the bottom of them. According to some of these statements, the broad land of Wabār stretched from al-Shīḥr to ʿṢārāʾ, in general to the eastern frontier of Yaman; according to others, it comprised the whole territory between Nadbrin and Hadramawt; lastly, according to others, it was the territory between the "sands of Yābrīn" (*rinād Yābrīn*) and Yaman (see also al-Djāwarhari). From these topographical hints, which in spite of their differences together give a rough general picture, it can be deduced that the portion of the South Arabian desert, of the Rubʿ al-Khali or Dahānʿ, north of the Mahra [q.v.] country, was called Wabār by the Arabs, but this geographical name was also understood in a wider sense and extended to the whole Dahānʿ. The part called Wabār adjoined in the east the desert area of al-Abkhīf (dunes) which lay north and west of Hadramawt. C. Landberg (*Études sur les dialectes de l’Arabe méridonale*, Leiden 1901, i, 160) says, on the authority of information received from local people, that in the expression *ahī al-Abkhīf* the place-name, according to South Arabian ideas, refers not only to the district of al-Abkhīf but also to caves in which the Arabian troglodytes live (cf. Yākūt, i, 154, on the different topographical clues for this district). It is impossible to accept Ritter's (*Edelhand*, xiii, 315) identification of the Wabār with the Bawbawbūs, who are mentioned by Poloemen in connection with the Thamūd and are to be located in the northern half of the west coast of Arabia (the first component of the name is obviously connected with *Bāṭ*). Ritter's comparison (xii, 271, 392) of Wabār in al-Idrīsī (ed. Jaubert, i, 156) is also to be rejected. Nevertheless, although the records are clothed in the form of legend, it does not follow that the whole story is a pure invention, but only that we have here the memory of an ancient people which has become a legend; similar things are to be found in the history of most nations. There is a series of fabulous stories associated with the whole of Southern Arabia between Yaman and ʿUmān, a region little known to Arab scholars and litterateurs. Various ruined sites and buildings have been noted by European travellers. Thus H.St.J. Philby saw in 1917, at al-Sayh in the Allādī oasis, the ruins of a large building called by the locals Kuṣayrat ʿAḍ and regarded in local tradition as the capital of a king whose capital was at "Wabār" further south, on the border with Hadramawt (*The heart of Arabia*, London 1922, ii, 99 ff.). Al-Ṭabarānī, i, 221, locates the land ʿAḥr between Yammām and al-Shīḥr in the Hadramawt, and the geographers generally regard the oasis of Yābrīn as marking the northern edge of Wabār.

*Bibliography.* Given in the article. (J. ΤΚΑΣΤΣΟΥ*)

2. Modern attempts to locate the site.

As emerges from 1. above, it seems hardly possible to locate the site of Wabār from the written and oral sources. Archaeological research, on the other hand, did not produce any specific results until 1992, when much publicity was given to the supposed discovery of the ancient city of "Wubār" (i.e. Wabār) at al-Shisar in northern Dhofar or Zafr (q.v.) (Sultanate of Oman), a site well known to the local inhabitants as the last watering point before the vast expanse of the sands of the Rubʿ al-Khali. It was also suggested that Wabār could be identified with the *Omanum epo- riam*, a trading settlement mentioned by Poloemen.

At the time of the present writer's first visit to the site in July 1980, al-Shisar had no permanent dwellings, except for a fortlet built in 1955 by the Sultan of Oman for a small detachment of soldiers. A small cultivated area, with palm trees, vegetables and seasonal crops, covered an area of about half a km². The main concern of the garrison was clearly to guard a perennial spring which could be reached at the bottom of a steep descent, some 15 m below ground, in a large cave exposed by the collapse of a limestone dome. The mouth of the cave was in the past encompassed by a stone enclosure, irregularly rectangular in plan, measuring about 60 x 70 m and reinforced at almost regular intervals by small towers. The collapse of the cave mouth, which is still in progress, has some time ago caused the destruction of a large portion of the western side of the enclosure.
On the archaeological discovery at al-Shisar, any firm judgement would be premature, since a detailed scientific report is not yet available. The identification with the *Osmancum emporium* is dubious in light of recent extensive work on Ptolemy's *Geography*, which points to the interpretation of the term *emporium* as referring exclusively to coastal market towns; and even the Bedouin who accompanied Bertram Thomas when he crossed the Empty Quarter, and who recounted the legend that Wabar was a great city buried beneath the sand, were indicating an area far to the northwest of al-Shisar. Hence, the small size and the architectural features of the enclosure found at al-Shisar do not seem to offer any evidence for its identification with a major pre-Islamic trading town. According to popular belief in the area, the ruin could be related to a stronghold built by the ruler of Hadramawi, Sultan Badr b. Tuwayrik, around the middle of the 10th/16th century (see on him, R.B. Serjeant, *The Portugese off the South Arabian coast*, Beirut 1974, index of proper names).


**WAD MADANI, a city in the Republic of Sudan (1993 pop., 220,000), located on the left bank of the Blue Nile 136 km/85 miles southeast of the capital Khartoum [see AL-KHURTUM], and the main commercial entrepot. It also continued administrative and commercial centre. It also continued during the 19th and 20th centuries, with the schools of the Madaniyyf family, of Muhammad al-Izayrik (d. 1883), and of Abu Dawud, known as Wad (i.e. Walad) al-ndr). The Muslims of the early period were nonetheless characterized of Mu'tazifi theology. With this slogan, the Mu'tazifa expressed their conviction that not only the unbelievers had to face damnation on the Day of Judgement but that Muslims who had committed a grave sin (kabha) without repentance were also threatened by eternal hellfire.

The starting-point of this dogma was the exegesis of certain Kur'anic statements. These stress, on the one hand, that God has "promised" Paradise to the believers (e.g. IX, 72) and Hell to the unbelievers (e.g. IX, 68) in both cases the verb wa'ada is used. He has made a binding declaration of intent. On the other hand, the Kur'an declares that certain grave sins will be punished by eternal damnation. Thus it says in e.g. IV, 10 that "Those who devour the property of the orphan unjustly... will in the end roast in a hellish blaze" (cf. also IV, 30; LXXIII, 14, et al.).

The Muslims of the early period were nonetheless of the opinion that these "verses of threat" were not addressed to them. They were apparently convinced that, due to their adherence to Islam, they automatically belonged to the "People of Paradise" (ahl al-ndra), thinking that such warnings could only be meant for the unbelievers, characteristically called the "People of the Fire" (ahl al-maw'asi). This certainty of salvation, however, crumbled during the first century of the Hidjra. Various religious movements (Kharidjites, Kadaris and ascetics) contributed to this process; since they, for a wide variety of reasons, thought that eternal punishment was not precluded in the case of sinful Muslims.

These discussions apparently influenced the opinions of the Mu'tazifa. The Kadar model was decisive here; for, just like the adherents of the Kadarinya, the Mu'tazifa were of the opinion that individuals determine their actions themselves and are, therefore, to be held responsible for their good and bad deeds. In addition, the Mu'tazifa stressed the principle of...
Divine justice. The latter is manifest in the fact that God reliably keeps the promises and threats which He has made to the Khawārizmī. The declarations were formulated in a general way (ṣnir) and should not be relativised by interpreting them in a particular way (ḥdyyw) by having them refer to this or that group (such as the unbelievers). The Mu'tazzilī concluded that God will punish all individuals, including Muslims, who have committed a grave sin by eternal hellfire. Thus there is no way out for the grave sinner, unless he sincerely repents of his crime (al-tawbah wa'dība; cf. 'Abd al-Djāhīr, Maghni, 335 ll. 2 ff.). If he does, the Prophet will make intercession (ṣhfa'a [q.s.]) on his behalf on the Day of Judgement, at which point the sinner can expect God's forgiveness. For justice is binding on both sides: on the sinner who must repent to find forgiveness (inna 'l-magāfira bi-ṣyār al-tawbah; cf. Muṣṭalghāb al-Karānī, 596 l. 15), and on God who is obliged to accept this repentance (kabul al-is). This dogma was internally consistent, but hardly won acceptance outside the school. This was achieved rather by another scenario about the fate of man in the Hereafter, which was developed by the Murdžī'ī and became predominant in many varieties of Islam. According to it, no believer has to expect eternal punishment in Hell. His own belief (and the Prophet's intercession) guarantees that he will at most suffer a temporal punishment in Hell and in the end enter Paradise. This optimistic basic attitude was adopted by the two Sunni schools of theology, the Ash'ārīyya and the Maturīdiyya. But it met with approval also among the Shi'is, for, even though the Imāmī theologians followed the Mu'tazzilī in many other respects, they rejected the adoption of the Mu'tazzilī principle of al-wad' wa 'l-wad'ād.


WAD' al-LUGHA (A.), literally “the establishment of language,” a phrase which reflects a view of the nature of language that pervades the classical Muslim linguistic sciences (al-šī'am al-lugha'īyya) and the non-linguistic science most concerned with linguistic matters, 'ilm wad' al-fikh (the science of the methodology of jurisprudence). Language (lugha), in that view, was essentially a code made up of patterned vocal sounds or vocables (al-fāz) and their meanings (ma'ānim). This code was understood to have emerged out of a primordial establishment of the vocables for their meanings. Hence the application of the term ma'ānim to vocables and ma'ānim'ī labu to meanings. Considered from the semiotic point of view, vocables were considered to be “signs” (adīla) and meanings “things signified” (maḍîlāt).

Classical Muslim learning attributes to a Mu'tazzilī thinker, 'Abdāb b. Sulaymān, and to his followers the belief that vocables signified their meanings by virtue of a natural affinity between vocable and meaning. The term wad' connotes a rejection of this view. To the adherents of that the concept of wad' contended with the view of the school of 'Abdāb, they repeated the debate among the ancient Greeks between the proponents of theis and the proponents of physis. These positions were discussed by Islamic philosophers (see e.g. al-Fārābī, Shahr al-Ībānī, ed. W. Kusch and S. Morrow, Beirut 1960, 50-1). However, 'Abdāb's view soon became extinct among the Muslims as the concept of wad' assumed the character of an orthodoxy. The correlations between vocables and their meanings were seen as entirely rooted in the primordial wad'. Disagreement lingered as to the identity of the agent or agents of wad'. Some thought God to be the establisher of the code, others assigned this role to primordial human society—but resolution of the debate was not considered necessary. What was important to all parties was the non-natural posited character of the code.

Although the meanings of vocables could change over time, the term wad' was reserved for the original, primordial assignment of vocables to meanings. All subsequent change occurred within an already established lugha and came under the heading of 'af or iṣīlīb, not wad'. In the strict sense, Wad' produced the basic language or code in relationship to which all subsequent semantic development amounted to extension, accretion or modification, and not true invention. In principle, all original meanings, including meanings which have become rare, remain part of the ongoing code and can assume relevance in the interpretation of texts.

In the usūl al-fikh works, features of the language such as ambiguity, synonymity, and figurative usage were defined in terms of wad' and thus seen as built into the basic language. For example, an ambiguous expression was considered to be a vocable that had been subjected to multiple establishments. Eagerness to explain in full detail how the primordial wad' gave rise to all the multiform components of language prompted in the late 8th/14th century the formation of a special “science of wad'” ('lum al-wad'). The seminal work in this science was a short treatise by 'Abd al-Dīn al-Īdā (q.v.) entitled al-Rišāla al-wad'iyya, upon which numerous commentaries, supercommentaries and glosses were written. Eventually, manuals summarizing the doctrines of this science appeared and gave rise to all the multiform components of language prompted in the late 8th/14th century the formation of a special “science of wad'”. The science of wad' broke the lugha down into its meaning-laden components, which included not merely words as such but also constituents of words, such as forms, radicals, and suffixes, and syntactic combinations of words, such as construct phrases, attributive phrases and whole sentences. The wad' of each component was then classified with reference to a complex taxonomy that consisted of six basic types of wad'. The notion of types of wad' was first adumbrated in al-Idji's treatise, although the full development of the six types was the work of subsequent commentators.

down to the early 20th century. They were also known in Egypt as kauuda (or kuida, see G. Wiet, Le traité des famines de Maqrizi, in JESHO, v [1962], 62), reflecting the word's Hili origin as kauri, whence the English "cowrie". Cowries were also used as money in ancient China and widely in India. They have been used even more widely as ornaments, as fertility symbols, and in Arabia as a protection against the evil eye.

1. Usage in the economies of the Indian subcontinent and sub-Saharan Africa.

The two varieties of cowries can be found over a wide range in the Indian Ocean and the Pacific, but the principal source of those used as currency (C. moneta) was the Maldivian Islands (see). The monetary use of the cowrie in India remains understudied. While gold and silver were the media of interregional and international trade, cowries along with copper coinage played an important role in rent and taxation, and in the development of a textile industry. Although huge numbers must have been in circulation in the heyday of their usage in the 17th and 18th centuries, the way in which their importation and circulation were linked to the importation and circulation of precious metals is poorly understood. It is clear, however, that the cowrie:rupee ratio was relatively stable down to the late 18th century, when competition from much-increased copper circulation caused the cowrie to drop sharply against the rupee. Bengali and Orissa remained strongholds of the cowrie well into the early 19th century when, according to Perlin, "rapid inflation—connected with the collapse of the old manufacturing system and the region's changing colonial status—drove them from general use".

It is not known how cowries first reached West Africa, though they may have crossed the Sahara in small quantities in Carthagian or Roman times. The earliest references to the importation of cowries in Arabic sources are al-Bakri (writing in 460/1067-8), who mentions cowries as being imported into Kūgha (K. al-Malλūk wa l-mamālik, ed. de Slane, Algiers 1857, 179), and al-Zuhrī (mid-6th/12th century), who says that cowries were imported into Zafūn [Diafarun] (K. al-Qal'ā al-qādīya, ed. Hadj-Sadok, in Bāl. Or., xxi [1969], 127), but neither says that cowries were being used as currency. The first mention of cowries as currency is provided by al-'Umārī, who lists cowries as one of a number of currency items in use, all of which were valued by reference to a locally-woven cloth called dondi (upadd al-Munaqqīdīd, 23).

He also reports that in Mali (which he calls Taktrur [q.v.]) the currency consisted of cowries and that the merchants who imported them made big profits on them. Ibn Baṭṭūta (iv, 122) confirms the use of cowries in central Mali and in Gao on the eastern edge of the empire, and gives the exchange rate as 1,500 cowries to the mīkhāl of gold. Compared with later exchange rates, these cowries were very expensive. This may reflect the long and difficult route they must have taken from the Maldives to the Mediterranean, and across the Sahara on camel back. In the Maldives, where Ibn Baṭṭūta had seen them at source, 400,000 could be purchased for one mīkhāl, and on occasion up to one million. In ca. 1510 Leo Africanus reported an even higher exchange rate at Timbuktu: 400 to the mīkhāl, but this may either be a simple error or reflect a famine rate; in a known period of famine, 1617-19, the exchange rate was 500 to the mīkhāl.

Otherwise, in the Middle Niger area the rate from the 10th to the 19th century remained relatively stable at about 3,000 cowries to the mīkhāl. Even in 1853 the German traveller Heinrich Barth reported a rate of 3-4,000 to the mīkhāl in Timbuktu.

To the east of this region in Hausaland, cowries may have been in use as early as the 16th century, became relatively scarcer and was superseded by the Maria Theresa silver thaler (see SIKKA. 3) by the 19th century. Cowries suffered from galloping inflation in the late 19th century in Hausaland and elsewhere in West Africa, and in the early years of the 20th century were gradually edged out by colonial currencies in silver and copper. Although cowries had been used in Kanem (q.v.) in the 14th century, they seem not to have been used in its successor state Bornu (q.v.) until very late on. Under Shaykh 'Umar b. Muhammad al-Āmil al-Kānīmī, cowries were introduced for petty transactions in 1848-9, while larger transactions were carried out with the Maria Theresa thaler. East of Lake Chad, cowries were not used, nor were they acceptable north of Timbuktu or Agades.

Until the 19th century, the Sahelian regions immediately to the south of the Sahara were supplied from North Africa. One of the earliest routes was overland from Bengal to the Mediterranean and thence through Egypt, while some evidently went through Venice and across to North African ports. The evidence, however, is fragmentary, and the mechanics of the trade quite unknown. Following the Portuguese discovery of a sea route to Asia via the Cape of Good Hope in 1499, European ships of various nations began shipping cowries back to Europe, often as ballast, and re-exporting them to African ports. Petis de la Croix (1697) notes cowries being imported from France to Tripoli for transportation southwards, and evidence from the late 18th century points to Mogador (al-Ṣawīra [q.v.]) in Morocco as a point of importation of cowries from Europe for the trans-Saharan trade. European merchants were also importing cowries to ports on the West African coast such as Accra, Whydah and Lagos, and to ports in the Bights of Benin and Biafra. In these coastal regions cowries were used for the purchase of slaves, and constituted the basic transactional currency. By the 1830s cowries imported via Europe to the coast were being traded up the river Niger and supplying some of the Hausa states.

As a currency, cowries had both advantages and disadvantages. They are handsome objects, extremely hard wearing and impossible to counterfeit. Being brought into their area of use from far away, there was little danger of an over-supply leading to inflation, though this did happen on the West African coast from the late 1850s when importation of C. annulus from Zanzibar flooded the market. On the other hand, cowries were heavy to transport and tedious to count. The latter problem was partially solved by the fabrication of units containing multiples of cowries. On the West African coast 40 cowries made one "string", while 5 strings made one "bunch" and 50 bunches made one "head". In Hausaland, cowries were counted in fives, and a rush sack or "mat" containing 20,000 cowries was the standard unit, weighing about 50 pounds (or more if there was a preponderance of larger annulus shells), which was one man's head load. In the Bambara (or Bamana) area of the upper Niger, there was a peculiar system of counting cowries in which
the unit was ten, but the hundred of cowries was only 80 actual cowries, a thousand was ten "hundreds", ten thousand was ten lots of a "thousand" and 100,000 was only 5,400 "hundreds"; the number 1,000,000 was in fact only 64,000 shells, while 10,000 was only 80 actual cowries, 1,000 was actually 800 and 100 was only 80. It has been suggested that this way of reckoning was aimed at providing the petty trader with a discount, but it may also represent the remnants of an older indigenous counting system.

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2 Definition in the Arabic sources. The ensemble of information on shells called wad’a in L, vi, 4795, and T, v, 533-4, allows us to identify with certainty that cowries or porcelain-shells are here envisaged; whether large or small, they come from the sea and are thrown up by it and left (hence their name, from the verb wad’a ‘to leave, let’) on the beaches, and not fished up. They have a split like a date stone and are hollow, with a kind of flabby worm inside or, as may also be found, a tiny organism like a moth (al-balâma), a parasite. They are remarkable for their whiteness and hardiness like a stone, but they can, however, be pierced. Their brilliance is vaunted by poets. The link with the Indian subcontinent is noted by Ibn al-Baytîr, ed. L. Leclerc, 188-9, tr. 404-5 no. 2272, repeated by the Rasûlid al-Malîk al-Muṣṭafâr Yûsûf, al-Mu‘amûd fi l-adâeya al-mufaṣṣala, Beirut 1970, 544, being called the "bracelet of Sind" (iswûr al-Sind). The lexica also show that the wad’a could also be called khâraz in a famous verse of Imru‘ al-Kays, cited in L, i, 617, we have ka-annâ ‘ṣûra ‘al-wahsh hâwal khîb-dîna * w-arhulînî al-ﬁzûz allâdînî lam yafakaabb, with fiğûz defined as khâraz yamânî. The term appears in the lexicon of the Constantinian region of former French Algeria in fairly recent times, as "a variegated sea shell, shaped like a grain of coffee with a split in the middle (porcelain of the sea)" (M.A. Cherbonneau, Définition lexicographique de plusieurs mots usités dans le langage de l'Afrique septentrionale, in J4, xiii (Jan. 1859), 63-70, at 67: zed‘, zûd‘).

The term wad’a can nevertheless be used in Arabic for all sorts of other shells, cf. E. Doutté, Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord, Paris 1903, 82), the problems raised by a systematic translation of wad’a by "cowrie" were discussed by Th. Monod, using evidence from al-Bakri and Ibn Bâtîtû in his Sur quelques coquilles marines du Sahara et du Soudan, in La vie dans la région désertique Nord-tropicale de l'Ancien monde, vi (1938), 147-78, at 172-3, noting the term's usage for shells in general.

3 Usage for divination in the Arab world. Divination by cowrie shells is not apparently treated in hadîth; Ibn Hanbal mentions it rather as a protective amulet (hirz), cf. Wensink, Concordances, vii, 168. The lexica, such as L, i, TA, say, s.v., that it protects from the evil eye, Judy F. Pugh mentions that amongst the Muslim aristocrats of Benares, divination by means of cowrie shells thrown on to the ground traditionally represents an orthodox form of divination (Divination and ideology in the Banaras Muslim community, in K.P. Ewing (ed.), Shrîṣat and ambiguity in South Asian Islam, Berkeley, etc. 1988, 295). Nevertheless, it is currently condemned in North Yemen, including by students of hadîth, as a kind of taqîdân or fa’il or a practice of the 'arâf. It is difficult to ascertain how old such practices are. The cowrie retains its protective function, as a hirz, till today, cf. Lane, Manners and customs, ch. XI, and is used on animals to ward off the evil eye, cf. A. Fodor, Amulets from the Islamic world, in Catalogue of the exhibition held in Budapest in 1988, in The Arabist (Budapest), ii (1990), no. 5, 214-15, 248, 298-8, 341. Today, cowries are either worn round the neck or carried in a pocket as at Šan‘în. The cowrie also has medical uses, essentially as a desiccating or detersive agent (Ibn al-Baytîr, loc. cit., al-Malîk al-Muṣṭafâr Yûsûf, loc. cit.). There are descriptions of divination by cowrie shells in travel literature, but these accounts are recent. Also, the relevant knowledge is transmitted orally, and there are no known treatises on it; could this be from the poor image, in orthodox eyes, of cowries, as a kind of ḥadîth, or fa’il or a practice of the 'arâf. The term is often connected with such groups as the Gypsies and the Sulayb, or Sièb for the latter, see Sulâb, Sulâyî in EI1 and EI2 respectively, and B. Vernier, Qedar, carnets d’un mehariste syrien, Paris 1938, 244). It is practised by wandering or nomadic persons, who follow round their clientele, showing the close link between this form of divination and monetary gain. Probably originating far from the towns, it has been carried thither (Gypsies in the Ghetû of Damascus; in Yemen, Bedouin from the region of Ma‘rib practising in Šan‘în or at Rîdi‘ near Dîhâmâr). The essentially feminine nature of its practitioners may have
... contributed to its controversial image. The exiguous material is complemented below by material gained by the author's personal observation in Yemen in 1999, at Ṣanʿa and Ṣādah.

In general, the "instruments" of divination are a jumble of objects, in which shells (cowries are not always precisely noted here) may be dominant—porcelain of the genus Cypraea annulus; murex; shells from the Olivicidae family, probably of the genus Oliva—or may not be dominant quantitatively (Emily Said-Rueet, *Mémoires d'une princesse arabe*, Paris 1891, 320; Vernier, *op. cit.*, 105–4; they may often be mixed with inanimate objects or objects formed from organic matter, such as whitened bones or fragments of bone, pieces of money, stones or a rosary, *mashaba*. One wonders, accordingly, what each element represents. On the other hand, the contents of the basket containing all these objects may be of a homogeneous nature, with a limited number of shells. They are not thrown or allowed to fall on the earth, but may be used in a basket, which keeps them from contact with the dust and defines the area used; and the way in which an object falls is taken into account in the interpretation. According to the author's observations in Yemen, the person seeking guidance chooses a shell and puts it on the pile held in the diviner's hands, and the latter either lets it fall directly or throws it down. The operation of throwing down is repeated from three to five times until the solution to the problem emerges. It is difficult to classify definitively the various configurations that may emerge, given the polysem) the of the various elements involved, their symbolic value, and the number of shells involved and their positions, and this large number of variables makes any clear decision almost impossible to attain. Hence the diviner resorts to external factors, such as discovering the reason for the enquirer's resort to this form of divination, or whether the enquirer is a stranger (hence involved in travelling) or whether a love affair is involved (probably to be connected with a daughter of the enquirer's paternal or maternal uncles, the favoured choices for marriage), etc. The actual juxtaposition of the objects thrown may also have significance.

In Yemen, these consultations are not preceded by any perceptible ʿUrʿānic recitation (*ṭilāwa*). It seems that the problems of the enquirer are evaluated through psychological means and through observation. The presence of a rosary, manipulated in the first place among these last are inseparably His mouthpiece and His ear. Nevertheless, anthropomorphisation of the shells, or their symbolic value, do not permit one to adopt unreservedly the symbolism of the female vulva that is ordinarily associated with them (see in general here, E.G. Gobert, *Le pudendum magique et la probléme des cauris*, in *Rev. Afr.*, xciv [1951], 5–62); furthermore, the colour white, that of God in dreams, may also be the symbolic element visualised.


**WADĀ’** (various renderings of this non-Arabic name, including, in al-Tunisi, the above one and Waddai and al-Waday), conventionally Wadai in English, Ouadai in French, an upland region lying to the west of the Sudanese province of southern Dār Fūr [g.e.], now falling mainly within the Republic of Chad [see ġad, in Suppl.] but with its eastern fringes in the Sudan Republic.

1. **History.**

Wadai was one of several Islamic African kingdoms to arise at the dawn of the modern era in the comparatively fertile highlands west of the Nile valley and east of Lake Chad. This zone was inhabited by a mosaic of ethnic groups; many spoke Nilo-Saharan languages, and among these was Boro Mabang, the tongue that defined the ethnic core of Wadai. Islam first entered this polythetic highland world at the close of the Middle Ages as one of the powerful, prestigious and exotic things accessible to a community only through a powerful chieftain capable of opening roads abroad to diplomacy and trade. Of these chieftains there were many, fierce rivals of each other, one of whom would eventually emerge victorious as the founding monarch of each realm. The earliest legendary history of Wadai is inextricably linked to that of its eastern neighbor, Dār Fūr. When during the 16th century the first Dālī-ʿarabic-speaking dynasty of Dār Fūr was overthrown, Wadai welcomed refugees from the east and as suze-
rains sponsored the formation of a small subordinate Dadju realm of Dar Sila. By the close of the 17th century, however, the same Tundjur conquerors who had outed the Darfur had also subdued Wadai as a tributary dependency of their realm, whose capitals at Uri and 'Ayn Farah in northern Dár Für attracted visitors from both the Nile and the Mediterranean. In the middle of the 17th century, Tundjur rule everywhere gave way to new dynasties of kings who claimed Arab ancestry and enjoyed the support of Arabic-speaking pastoralists. In Wadai a leader named 'Abd al-Karim reconstituted ties with Dár Für and founded the historical ruling house of his kingdom. In Dár Für, too, the Tundjur were overthrown, but the new Kayara monarchs were reluctant to cede authority over Wadai.

There followed more than a century of inconclusive but occasionally bitter struggle between the two great formerly Tundjur realms. Finally, at the close of the 18th century, a dition was achieved that allowed each rival an imperial age; henceforth Dár Für would expand eastward toward the Nile, while Wadai struck westward to annex a huge empire that soon absorbed the kingdom of Bagirmi [q.v.] and touched the shores of Lake Chad.

'Abd al-Karim and his successors were absolute rulers. While viewed as defenders and propagators of Islam, they also led the nation's secret rainmaking rituals on a sacred mountain near the capital of Wara. If not actually "adored as pharaohs", as disparaging Islamic tradition said of their predecessors the Tundjur kings, they were nevertheless surrounded by the full panoply of regalia and restraints that characterise sacral kingship in Africa. The king was served by a complicated array of titled officials, who typically combined one or more duties at court with a military or territorial command elsewhere in the kingdom; since high officials were not allowed to leave the presence of their royal master, however, their functions in the kingdom at large were carried out by trusted agents. Vital to the system was a large corps of confidential messengers who conveyed a steady flow of information or commands between capital and countryside. Each courtier or agent served only at his master's pleasure, competition for official favour was intense and career permanence uncertain. While most of the highest officials were Boro Mabang speakers chosen from the kingdom's dominant ethnic group, a lord might also choose for positions of trust a slave, a eunuch, a capable individual from a lesser ethnic community, or even a foreigner; the cadre of courtiers was therefore fairly cosmopolitan. As Wadai expanded during the 19th century there arose a new category of imperial consuls entitled 'akûd, who differed from older royal courtiers not only in the great diversity of their ethnic origins but also in that they were allowed to absent themselves for extended periods from the presence of the king. Youths were gathered at the capital as a corps of pages to receive training in statecraft for future government service. Imperial officials derived part of its coherence from an intricate network of carefully-arranged marriages, the design of which was entrusted to senior female members of the royal family. Since the women assigned to these liaisons nursed the next generation of leadership, the women's quarters of the palace complex often seethed with dynastic intrigue.

The heartland of Wadai was divided into four provinces corresponding to the cardinal points of the compass; these provinces, in turn, were subdivided for administrative purposes according to the homelands of the diverse ethnic communities who inhabited them. Superimposed upon this tidy arrangement of provinces and districts was an extensive network of royal estates directly responsible to the senechal of the king's demesne; similar, though smaller, arrays of holdings were assigned to the Queen Mother, and perhaps other very important individuals. Most forms of wealth originated from the land, and an elaborate system of taxation in kind gathered the government's portion of everything produced. Some tax goods were conveyed to Wàrâ to support the court community, while others were stored in royal magazines near their points of origin to feed an army on campaign or relieve a hungry populace in time of famine.

Recognising the importance of local trade among the subjects, the government allowed the payment of taxes in diverse forms by setting the rates at which, for example, a tax levied in grain might also be paid in cattle, salt or iron ingots; thus the king in effect regulated the market value of all commodities. The king supported a bodyguard from his own estates, and each fiefholding official was required to do likewise; collectively, these forces comprised the professional army of Wadai. On campaign they would be joined by a legion of lightly-armed volunteers whose task it was to dispatch enemy wounded or rescue their own, and above all to loot and pillage, for the king in return for a share of the booty. Wars were undertaken for diverse reasons of state, but particularly numerous were the raids launched southward to seize slaves from among the neighbouring small-scale communities who were not Muslims and had no kings, people derogatively dubbed "Kirdi".

Wadai reached its apogee under Sultan Muhammad Shâriff (1834-58), who opened relations with the Sanusiya [q.v.] brotherhood. Mediterranean commercial ties increased dramatically under his son Ali (1850-74) and then Yusuf (1874-95), who spent his later years adroitly deflecting the acquisitive ambitions of the Sudanese Mahdists [see AL-MAHDIYYA], based in Dár Für. After 1898 the kingdom lapsed into a long struggle for the throne among rival princes backed by diverse court factions, Dár Für, the Sanusiya, and by the French, who assumed control in the capital in 1909.


2. Languages.

Great linguistic diversity characterises the Wadâd region in eastern Chad [see CHAD, in Suppl.]. The official languages of the Republic of Chad are Standard Arabic and French. Maba is reported to be spoken by some of its neighbours as a second language, although the principal lingua franca of the region is Chadian Arabic [see CHAD].

Like Maba itself, most of the other languages of eastern Chad have been classified as Nilo-Saharan (NS), which is a phylum of diverse languages stretching from Egypt in the northeast [see NS] to Tanzania in the southeast (the Maasai language) and to Mali in the west (Songhay [q.v.], although the NS...
The Maba language is occasionally cited as “Ouaddaïen”, emphasising the close relationship between the terms Maba and Wadaf, the Maba people normally use their own expression which may be glossed as “the language of the Maba”. Edgar transcribed this expression as /bura mabān/ with marking for tone, high /a/ and low /a/. The phrase may be analysed as follows: /bura/ “the language” + /mabān/ “the Maba” + /g/ “of” (“the language of the Maba”). The phrase has also been transcribed as follow, /bura mabān/ by Doornbos (1983), /boru maban/ by Spaulding (see 1. above), and /burā mabā/ (transliterated from the Arabic characters of Abū Naẓfā [1994]).

The genitival element “of” is represented above by a velar nasal consonant /ŋ/ (= /ng/). This sound occurs frequently in Maba, e.g. as the second consonant in the word for “three”: /konča/. It appears from Perron’s 1851 publication that al-Tuniṣī represented /ŋ/ in Maba words by a special Arabic-based letter ƙaf with three dots above it, a symbol that might be referred to as a “pāf”.

A full adaptation of Arabic alphabetic characters to the phonology of Maba has recently been published by Abū Naẓfā (1994). Inspired by the ʿAjamī or ʿAjamī script of Hausa (q.v.), he proposed an Arabic-based system with 11 new consonantal characters. His solution to the problem of /ŋ/ was a single dot just under the upper stroke of the Arabic consonant ƙaf. He proposed an interesting set of characters for the pre-nasalised stops of Maba (/mb/, /nd/, /ŋ/ and /ŋd/) by placing a dot under the mim, the dâl, the ɡhayn and the ɡim respectively. In the case of ɡim, this resulted in two dots horizontally side-by-side. This system is inventive rather than consistent with attempts elsewhere to achieve a standardised set of symbols in ʿAjamī scripts for non-Arabic languages, e.g. at the Institut d’Études et de Recherches pour l’Arabisation en Rabat or at the Khartoum International Institute for Arabic Language.

Maba is closely related to several other languages of Wadaf, and together they are known as the Maban group. Most speakers of the Maba, Mafra, Karanga and Kibet languages live in eastern Chad, but about half of the speakers of the southerly Aiki or Runa language extend across the border of Wadaf into the Central African Republic, probably reflecting their historical interest in trade with the south. The majority of the speakers of the closely related Masalit language are to be found in the Republic of the Sudan.

The Wadaf region also has a number of NS languages which are more distantly related to Maba. A Dadju language geographically separates the Maban languages of northern Wadaf from Maban languages such as Kibet and Aiki in southern Wadaf. Dadju speakers are also present in and around the town of Abéché. Contiguous with Dadju and Aiki on the Sudanese border are the speakers of Sinyar and Fufufu. A close relative of these two languages, the Bagirmi language of western Chad, was associated with the historical kingdom of Bagirmi (q.v.), which was defeated by the kingdom of Wadaf in the early 19th century. Immediately to the northeast of Wadaf is the heartland of the Tama group of languages, including Sungor, Mararit and Tama. Just to the north of Wadaf are speakers of Amdang, which is related to Fufufu language associated with the historical sultanate of Dār Fūr in the Sudan. Amdang is also known as Mimi and this is a source of considerable confusion, since linguistic informants have identified certain other languages as “Mimi”, one of these being a Maban group language (for a summary of the problem, see Doornbos [1983]). Saharan languages of northern and western Chad are also attested in Wadaf. These include Zaghawa, Daza (see Tubu [2]), Kanembu and Kanuri (q.v.) to the north and west of Wadaf.

In addition to the NS languages enumerated above, several languages of the Hamito-Semitic or Afro-Asiatic (AA) phylum are found in this region. Apart from Arabic, the AA phylum is represented in southwestern Wadaf by some of the so-called Chad-Ahamitic languages, especially Amdang, ‘Aajami, or Aiki, but also Birgi and Mabi.

AA is distinguished from NS by a number of typological features, most prominent of which is a particular system of grammatical gender (masc./fem.), as in Arabic. According to Roth (1979), when the Maba speak Chadian Arabic, the system of agreement for grammatical gender often tends to disappear, since their own NS language does not possess this feature. When an-[Tuni] travelled to Wadaf early in the 19th century, he noted that it was not necessary for him to learn to speak “Ouadayen”, since Arabic was so widely used. He noted that the expression for “interpreter” was khashm al-kalâm “the mouth of speech”. He also reported that instruction in Islamic law and religion was provided by an Arab scholar in Wara, the capital of Wadaf at that time. While some of the Arabic loan-words conveyed by such Arabic-based systems must already have been in use, e.g. the Arabic term malîk used in the citation below instead of a Maba term such as kolîk “king”.

/Melim manik Kalak nina tonyou-ny/ (l/=ŋ/)
Roi de nous Dieu vie donne-lui

The transliteration and literal translation come from Perron (1851). The sense of the sentence is thus: “God, give life to our King!” Today, when Chadian Arabic is the principal lingua franca of Wadaf, it is not surprising to observe that Arabic has had a major impact on Maba and that a high proportion of the Maba vocabulary consists of Arabic loan-words.

The Sahelian belt embracing Wadaf is a celebrated route for pilgrims travelling between West Africa and Mecca, sometimes over a period of many years. Pilgrims and traders bring with them a great number of different languages. Among these are languages such as Hausa (AA), which is widely used as a lingua franca, and also Fulfude which represents Niger-Kordofanian (NK), a third great phylum of African languages characterised by elaborate systems of noun classes and geographically spread from Senegal to South Africa.

An on-going summary of rough data on the languages of Wadaf and estimates of numbers of speak-

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An on-going summary of rough data on the languages of Wadaf and estimates of numbers of speak-
ers may be extracted from the Ethnologue: Chad on the internet [http://www.sil.org/Ethnologue/countries-Chad.html] for the following relevant languages (spelled and classified as presented there):

- Arabic
- Chadian Spoken
- Standard
- Kajakse
- Mabi, Birgit
- NS—Maban group
- Karangi, Muni, Kendeje, Surbakhal, Kibet, Runga
- Maba, Marfia, Masalit, Massalat
- NS—other groups:
  - Tama-Sungur
  - Tama, Mararit
  - Dadju
  - Saaronge

Languages (spelled and classified as presented there):

- Ethnologue: Sudan
- Fongoro [in the other groups:
  - Waddah was discovered in Umm al-Banm’s rooms
  - with Umm al-Banm bt. c Abd al-
  - Yazan against the Abyssinians, but there are contras-
  - to the poet’s very existence. One tradition describes how
  - K. Asmd* al-mughtdlin, b. Habib’s
  - not necessarily lead to Tana Husayn’s scepticism about
  - several divergent traditions exist on this, but these do
  - also, Rawda bt. c Abna
  - 3
  - and officials sent out to Yemen to aid Sayf b. Phi
  - of vocabularies of central-African languages,
  - have a dialogue between the two lovers.

The other is much more elaborated and seems to have

- in desert terrain, a wadi is usually dry, but may
  - carry seasonal water, or occasional floods
  - are often a mixture of water, mud and stones. These

Bibliography:


(W. BELL)

AL-WADDAH [see BADJIMA AL-ABRAJ]

WADDAH AL-YAMAN, sobriquet (“person of out-

ers”) of the minor Umayyad poet of the Hidjazf school,


- Two of the earliest sources on him, Muhammad b. Habīb’s K. Ismā’īl al-mughtāṣbah, 273, and al-Balāduri’s Anṣāb al-ʾāqrāf, fol. 656a, state that one of his ancestors stemmed from the Abnāt al-Furs, the Persian soldiers

- concealed in a chest, and was forthwith buried alive

- in it by her husband and master’s slaves; this was transmitted by ʿĪsā b. Daḥb, a specialist in romantic tales, as the K. Waddāh against his express orders on the eve of her making the Pilgrimage and became linked with her on her return to Damascus, so that al-

- Walīd, on hearing about this, ordered Waddāh’s killing.

These traditions seem to have relegated the poet himself and his work to the background of attention.

Transmitters and anthropologists, unlike the musicians and singers, seem not to have appreciated his talent as a pioneer in the shaping of the tradition of courtly love poetry into its definitive form, with two of its essential themes: the poet’s attitude to the phenomenon of love and the encounter of lovers. In his poems on the first theme, the poet appears as a fāṭe, vowed to love and pleasure, and the attainment of the beloved appears as an inevitable consequence of the poet’s persistence; in a poem on the second theme, we have a dialogue between the poet and his lady love.
desert valleys are very different in both topography and gradient from those in lands of higher and more regular rainfall; for while it is easy to follow the valley of a stream which is always visible, it is often difficult to map the course of the Arabian wadis, in long stretches of which water rarely, if ever, appears on the surface.

The greater part of the rainfall which is carried, either on or below the surface, along the wadis of central Arabia, falls on the high western rim of the massif in the Negeb or Negev [see AL-NAKB], Hidjâra, ‘Asîr and Yemen, and flows east-north-eastwards in sympathy with the general slope of the plateau.

In the higher reaches of these wadis, the pattern of drainage is so complex and firmly incised that it was evidently established during periods of higher rainfall in the Pleistocene epoch. At such times, the more powerful streams, which flowed to the Red Sea down the well-watered western slopes, “captured” some of the drainage on the east side of the watershed, notably in the case of the headwaters of the Wâdî al-Ḥamd. During these pluvial episodes, lakes of water accumulated, the overflows from which incised the deep valleys of some wadis, notably in the case of the Wâdî Ḥadramawt which rises in the Ramlat al-Sab‘atayn, now a sand-basin but apparently once a lake. The same phenomenon can be traced in the overflows from the former lake basins of Anatolia, and from the high plain at the head of the Samaria gorge in Crete.

In their middle courses the Arabian wadis are characterised not by surface streams in clear-cut meanders, as in valleys of temperate latitudes, but by subterranean flow under broad shallow depressions in the sand, the gentle side-slopes of which are barely perceptible. When the water flow is near enough to the surface to be reached by wells or through the roots of data-palms, oases may be established, as at al-Kašm [q.v.] in the middle course of the Wâdî al-Rumma. In central Arabia in general, the greater part of the underground reserve consists of “fossil water” which accumulated during wetter episodes of the Quaternary and Holocene epochs; the annual rainfall serves as a supplement which raises the level of the water-table.

The terminus of such great wadis as al-Rumma and al-Thawîr, which is marked by deltas or estuaries, is but simple by the up-welling of freshwater springs through the coastal sands, as in the district of al-Ḥufuf [q.v.], or through the bedrocks under the seawater of the Gulf itself.

Through the convenience of their oasis wells, the wide wadis of Arabia and Syrïa are often followed by roads of trade or pilgrimage: the Wâdî ʿl-Sîrâḥ, for example, leads from Jordan to central Arabia, and the Wâdî Rumma is used in part by the Darb Zubayda [q.v. in Suppl.], the Pilgrim Road from ‘Irāq to Mecca. The flash-flows of the narrow mountain wadis, however, make them hazardous for travellers; but these flows used to be controlled for purposes of irrigation in the Negeb, for instance, and in the Yemen where they filled the great reservoir of Mârûf [q.v.].

Bibliography: W.C. Brice (ed.), The environmental history of the Middle East since the last Ice Age, London 1978.

2. In North Africa.

Here, the form wâdî is usual in French usage. In the Maghrib, it denotes all watercourses, including the great perennial rivers, like the Oued Chelif in Algeria; it can equally at times designate, in very arid regions, low-lying areas where there is a total lack of any flow. This is why, in the Great Western Erg/Grand Erg Occidental, to the north of Tunis and towards lat. 29° 30' N., long. 6° 30' E., it is used to designate the streams running amongst the dunes (fayd [see râvâr]). The term has acquired a more restricted meaning in physical geography for denoting the water-courses in arid regions, which may have a seasonal flow in semi-arid areas but are spasmodic or temporary in the most desert-like areas.


(Y. Callot)

3. In Muslim Spain.

In al-Andalus, this term, through the intermediary of the Hispano-Arabic dialect word wâdî, gave rise to a large number of toponyms in the Iberian peninsula beginning with “Guad” and “Guâdî”. In al-Andalus, wâdî was used not only for smaller, seasonal water-courses which dried up in summer but also for more important ones which might also be described by the word nahr “river”. It nevertheless seems that, in the peninsula, wâdî had a toponymical signification whereas nahr was a more generic one. The word also appears in many toponyms which have lost any connection with water, such as the towns Wâdî ʿl-Hidjâra [q.v.] = Guadalájarra, Wâdî ʿAš [q.v.], or, more generally, and such geographical accidents as Wâdî ʿl-Ramî = Guadarrama. Finally, al-Wâdî denoted districts (iklim) belonging respectively to Seville and Cordova, and, as a second element, also denoted in mediæval Arabic historiography the name of one of the gates in the wall of Cordova, Bâb al-Wâdî, the present fortress Alcalá del Río, Ka’fat al-Wâdî, and a munta set up by al-Mansûr at Cordova, Dîhât al-Wâdîya “that of the two rivers”.

Many of the Spanish toponyms beginning with “Guad” are followed by pre-Islamic names adapted into Arabic, e.g. “Anas” > Wâdî ʿAnâ = Guadiana; “Acéi” > Wâdî ʿĀsh = Guadix; “Salsum” > Wâdî ʿSawâsh = Guadajoz; etc. One frequently finds others which are Arabic in their totality with the second term a qualifying adjective, e.g. Guadalimar > Wâdî ʿl-Âhmar “Red river”, or a substantive, e.g. Guadarrómán > Wâdî ʿl-Rummân “River of the pomegranates”.

Moreover, some of the toponyms into which the name is incorporated have been apogetized by the addition of the element “Guâd”-, e.g. Guadárdi “survives, such as Huád-, Gud-, Got-, Gíid-, Gíet-, Gíet-, etc.; apocopated forms, such as Guaira alongside Guadaira (Seville) or Gurraraz (Toledo); and even contaminated forms like Guantátillo (Soria) or Agua Rocín (Jaén), in which Agua is in reality a reflex of Wâdî.


(R. Pinilla-Melguizo)

WÅDÅ ‘l-ÅKÅK (see AL-ÅKÅN)

WÅDÅ ÅÅSH, a town of al-Andalus, modern Guadix, now in the province of Granada [see GÅRA-NÅTA] 60 km/37 miles northwest of the province’s capital, chef-lieu of a partido judicial and seat of the diocese of Guadix-Baza, with a population of ca. 20,000, perhaps twice what it had in Islamic times.

The name goes back to a pre-Islamic toponym, perhaps Iberian, Acì, rendered Âd by the Arabs, prefixed by the element WÅDÅ [see wÅDÅ], applied not only to the town and the river on which it stood but also to the surrounding region. Sometimes the forms Wådî ʿl-Aghåtî and W. Yâsh are found, or, for the town only, Madinät ÅÅsh and M. Båni Såm, a name which Simonet thought went back to the Yemeni tribe of Såmû(i) established there. In Castilian texts, one finds...
Guadix and above all Guadiex, which evolved into the modern Guadix.

It was a Roman settlement (Colonia Iulia Gemella Acita) and then a Visigothic one, and then immediately formed part of Islamic Spain with the arrival of the Arabs, whilst becoming a centre of opposition to the Umayyad state till the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān III; the husān Wādi Ağ were mentioned by Ibn Hayyān in connection with the amīr's campaign of 913-14 in the kūnā of Ḫilīra.

In the period of the Taifas [see MULUK AL-TAWA'IF. 2.], Guadix formed part of the Zirid kingdom of Granada, as also its neighbour Baza (Basta), both of these being involved together in clashes with Granada and the Taifa of Almeria (al-Mariyya). After being under Almoravid and Almohad control, it passed in 1232 to the Nasrids [see MULUK AL-TAWA'IF. 2.], whilst becoming a centre of opposition to the Umayyad state till the time of 'Abd al-Rahmān III; the amīr's control was ended in 1238 by the capture of the city by the Hācharīs. The event was dealt with by al-Ḥaddīṣī; he also wrote a biography of Kādī 'Iyād as well as Tāḥīṣīd b. Ḫursā ṣaḥṣāṭīya al-waysāba 'an bi-'aḥ-ḥāf al-qāfī fi 'l-ʾAbghī al-ʾAmāli b. ʾAbd al-Raḥmān b. Ḫabība, Urqūjaṣī fī taḥbīr al-miṣrīya and a disquisition of his poetry. But it is mainly known for its Bārmanṣāḏī, a monumental work (ed. M. Māḥfūẓ, Beirut 1980; ed. M. al-Ḥabīb, Tunis 1981) and one of the sources of Ibn al-Kādī's [q.v.] Durrat al-hijāḍ (see J.M. Fierro, in Andalus-Maghreb, [1993], 89-101).


WĀDĪ 'L-DAWASIR [see WADĪ DAWASIR].

WĀDĪ HALFĀ or simply Halfa, a town on the northern Nilotic Sudān (lat. 21° 46' N., long. 31° 17' E.), the administrative centre of the Halfa District of the modern Republic of the Sudan. It lies just south of the frontier with Egypt. It was formerly on the Nile, some 10 km 6 miles north of the Second Cataract, and formed the northern terminus of the Sudan Railway from the capital Khartūm, with a pre-1964 steamboat service taking passengers down the Nile to al-Ṣallāl and the Egyptian railway system. It played little active role in the Sudanese Mahdiyya of the 1880s and 1890s, the centre of the movement being further south in the Darfur. When al-Ṣallāl was captured in 1884 by the British and the Mahdiyya suppressed, the Mahdī invaded Egypt in summer 1889 of Mahdist forces under 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Nūdījm, abruptly halted on 3 August by the crushing of the Mahdist expedition at Toski (Tushk) north of Wādi Halfa and the killing of its commander [see AL-MAHDIYYA, at Vol. V, 1250a-b].

What remains of Wādi Halfa now lies on the eastern shore of Lake Nuba, the extension into the Sudan of Lake Nasser, formed behind the Assān High Dam, constructed after the Nile Waters Agreement of 1959 between President 'Abd al-Nāṣir [q.v. in Suppl.] of Egypt and General Ibrāhīm 'Abbūd of the recently-independent Sudan Republic, which divided the water which was to be accommodated between the two countries. Some 502,000 Nubians of the Wādi Halfa lands which were to be inundated, were compulsorily resettled on the upper Abara river in Kassala Province [see KASALA] of the eastern Sudan, with their settlement there eventually known as Halfa al-Dżārīfī "New Halfa" [see STMA. 4].

The high-handed action of the Sudanese government in expelling these people from their ancestral homes, with no voice in where they were to be resettled, provoked in 1960 widespread rioting in Wādi Halfa itself, Khartūm and other towns of the Sudan against the 'Abbūd régime. The region of Wādi Halfa is rich in antiquities of the ancient civilisations of Nubia [see STMA. 2 (a)], and in the 1970s it saw extensive rescue
archaeological work before the flooding of the Nile valley there.


(C.E. Bosworth)

**WADI HANIFA**, a valley of Nadījīd [q.v.], now in Saudi Arabia, named after the tribe of Hanifa [see ḤANIFA b. LUDJAYM], who pre-Islamic and early Islamic times occupied the region.

It runs in a northwestern to southeastern direction to the east of the massifs of central Nadījīd, rising on the crest of the Djabal al-Tuwayk [see AL-TUWAYK, ĠABAL] and following to the west of modern al-Riyād. The wadi is ca. 150 km/90 miles long and 300 to 600 m wide, and cuts through various gaps in the ridges of the region. After reaching the region of al-Khardjī [q.v.], it becomes known as the Wādī al-Salāhī [see al-SALAHĪ] and is thereafter largely traceable to the shores of the Gulf near the Kaṣar peninsula. In the rainy season, the Wādī Hanifa is joined by several affluent wadis and is filled with water, but outside such times it transports a considerable subterranean flow which is drawn upon by various oases in the vicinity of al-Riyād.

In pre- and early Islamic times, the town of al-Yamāma [q.v.] was situated in the wadi, but now consists of only a small group of hamlets; the town was probably destroyed by violent floods, whereas al-Diriyya and al-Riyād [q.v.] stand above the flood level. The Wādī Hanifa remains today, as it was in earlier times, a well-cultivated area.


**WĀDI ‘L-HĪDJĀRA**, Spanish form Guadalajara, currently the capital of a homonymous province situated to the northeast of Madrid. Although it is difficult to determine the limits of this region during the mediaeval period with absolute precision, it may be stated that its territory corresponds to the zones enclosed between the river Tagus to the east and the river Jarama, which traverses the Sierra Guadarrama, to the west. The principal axis of communication of the region is the valley of the Henares, comprising the Arabic toponym of Wādī ‘l-Hīdjarā “river [or valley] of stones”. The city of Guadalajara is situated on the banks of this river, as are other strongholds such as Alcalá de Henares (Kal‘at ‘Abd al-Salām), the Complutum of the Roman period, Alcolea (Kulay‘a) and Atienza (Aṭīnā), the most northerly point of the region. This zone also formed a part of the “Middle March” ([al-thaghīr al-ṣurūf] [see AL-TUWAYK, ĠABAL] of which the political and military capital was Toledo (Tulaytula [q.v.]). This zone constituted an important site for its defence, being a frontier region and a necessary transit point for armies seeking to move from northeast to south and to defend without too much difficulty the untamed mountains of the Central System. Originating on the right bank of the Henares, there had been since the Roman period a highway linking the cities of Toledo and of Saragossa. Among the principal routes of al-Andalus, mentioned by al-Iṣṭakhri in the 4th/10th century, is the Cordova-Toledo-Guadalajara-Saragossa route.

Following the conquest, attributed by the sources to Tārīkh b. Ziyād [q.v.], Guadalajara appears sporadically in Arabic texts which refer to it as a town of secondary importance, both politically and administratively. From this time onward, the little Roman settlement of Arriaca becomes known as Wādī ‘l-Hīdjarā or, to a lesser extent, Madīnat al-Faradj, from the anthroponymy of the family of the Banu l-Faradj, a Berber family which governed the region and was descended from the Banu Sālim, another family which gave its name to the town of Medinaṣṣalīm, another family which became a territory coveted by the Ta‘ifā [see MULUK AL-TAWĀ‘IF. 2.] kingdoms of the Red Sea, as is illustrated both by the historical chronicles and the bio-bibliographical dictionaries, where details are to be found of numerous local ‘tlamas’ who died in combat. It is known that during the amirate of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mahmmud (275-300/888-912), there was a perceived need for defensive measures against the growing menace of the increasingly powerful Christian kingdoms. As a result, not only were the defensive systems of the limits of this region exerts considerable interest in its role as a favoured refuge for dissidents intent on pursuing their aims or as a site for warfare against the Christians. For example, in 151/768, during the reign of the Umayyad amir ‘Abd al-Rahmān I (139-72/756-88), the Berber chief Shajka al-Mīknāsī, who had rebelled and taken control of the region of Mīrīdā (Marīdā), sought refuge with the government troops of Cordova in the fort of Sopetran. A century later, in 245/860, Mūṣā b. Mūṣā b. Kāšī who had been independent governor of the “Upper March” during the last years of the reign of ‘Abd al-Rahmān II (206-38/822-53) and who no longer recognised the sovereignty of Muḥammad, the new Umayyad amir of Cordova, confronted his stepson ʿĪṣa b. Māntīl b. Sulīm, governor of Guadalajara in an episode related by the sources in the style of an epic. Mūṣā b. Mūṣā b. Kāšī was defeated and then killed by the governor who remained loyal to the Umayyads of Cordova. Despite this, the three sons of Mūṣā b. Mūṣā b. Kāšī continued to defy Cordova, being finally defeated after a series of prolonged battles at the end of the reign of Muḥammad (238-73/852-86).

During this period and in the reign of his son ‘Abd Allāh b. Mūḥammad (275-300/888-912), there was a perceived need for defensive measures against the growing menace of the increasingly powerful Christian kingdoms. As a result, not only were the defensive systems of the limits of this region included Madrid (Maḍrīr), Talamanca (Talamanka), Canales (Kānāli), Olmos (Wulmush) and Calatalifa (Kāl‘at al-Khalīfā). From this period onward and with the support of the populace of this turbulent region, these fortresses were to prove vital for the defence of al-Andalus, as is illustrated both by the historical chronicles and the bio-bibliographical dictionaries, where details are to be found of numerous local ‘tlamas’ who died in combat. It is known that during the amirate of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mahmmud, at the end of the 3rd/9th century, troops from Wādī ‘l-Hīdjarā participated in the ḥijād against Alfonso III. Later, the caliph ‘Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir (300-50/912-61) exerted effective military control over the region of Guadalajara. On this topic, Ibn Ḥayyān relates that the caliph deposed its governor, a member of the family of the Banū Sālim who had long controlled this region, and appointed a member of the Umayyad family in his place. During this period, this frontier zone was the site of the battle in which the Muslims triumphed over the king of Leon.

In the aftermath of the fall of the caliphate of Cordova, Wādī ‘l-Hīdjarā became a territory coveted by the Ta‘ifā [see MULUK AL-TAWĀ‘IF. 2.] kingdoms of the Red Sea.
Saragossa and Toledo with which it shared frontiers. The population of Guadalajara was divided between a Taifa kingdom. Musta‘ıın, Ahmad al-Mukadir, pursuing an expansionist policy, succeeded in taking control of the region of Guadalajara which ultimately became part of the greatly extended territory of his Taifa kingdom.

The impression that is gained of Wadi ‘l-Hidjara as being a military frontier region, with the role of protecting cities of greater political importance, is that reflected by the Arab and Christian sources, although the latter seem to be unaware of the exact date of its reconquest; for a long time this was attributed, without historical foundation, to Alvar Fañez. In spite of everything, it is known that it took place in the time of Alfonso VI, and was probably simultaneous with the reconquest of Toledo in 478/1085. A Christian document dated 1107 bears the signature of “un alakd de Medina et de Guadalajara”. At a later time, in 1153 Alfonso VII granted Guadalajara to a fuero in which he expressed his intention of repopulating the region, thus countering the dispersal of population suffered by the zone after its reconquest.

The activities of the ‘ulama’ of Guadalajara and their family ties are reasonably well known, being detailed in the biographies of sixty scholars contained in bio-bibliographical compilations between the 3rd/9th and the first half of the 6th/12th century. For the most part they were Hispano-Roman converts, some of whom adopted Arabic nisbas reflecting their professional links with families installed in the region. It is also known that numerous Berber families had settled in the region, including the Banu ‘l-Faradj and the Banu Mas‘ada; the latter was the origin of several ‘ulama’. The interests of the ‘ulama’ of Guadalajara seem to have coincided with those of the other ‘ulama’ of Andalus, and special mention must be made of the study of hadith, of fıkh and of Kur’anic readings. The role of scholars of Cordova in the training of the intellectual élite of Guadalajara was crucial, with Muhammad b. Wadjdä playing a particularly significant part; in fact, the first ‘ulama’ of the region, from the ascetic Muhammad b. Báligh to the kāfi Muhammad b. ‘Azra, studied with Ibn Wadjdä. In the 5th/11th century, there is observable an increase in the number of ‘ulama’ dedicating themselves to literature and grammar, and even to poetry. It is in this period that the fıkh and writer ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ghüs al-Khushan al-Hidżari makes his appearance. All of the written corpus of the ‘ulama’ of Guadalajara has been lost, with the exception of a few verses and fragments of the geographical work composed by ‘Abd Allah b. Ibrahim al-Must’aın and the Dhu ‘l-Nuñes, Amir al-Muhtäir, preserved in Ibn Sa‘id’s al-Mughtär.


(Cristina de la Puente)
through the modern Andalusia. Its course is 560 kms long. It begins at the Cañada de Aguas Frías, among the Pozo Alcón and Cazorla mountains, but according to Arab writings, the course begins west of Baza (Basta), in a place called Fath/Fadjdj al-Daylam, today Peña Negra at the Sierra de Cazorla, while other written sources speak of a place in the Sierra de Segura (Shakhrã). This river flowed through what were some of the most important cities and districts in al-Andalus such as the districts of Ubeda (Ubdaţha [q.v.], Andújar (Andûdar), Córdoba (Kurtuba [q.v.]) and Seville (Ishbiliya)). Further west, the river expands through the marshes (Las Marismas, al-Mara'im), finally meeting the Atlantic Ocean near Sanlúcar de Barrameda (Shalûka, Barr al-Mâţida).

Many smaller rivers feed the course of the Guadalquivir, some of which still keep the Arab pre-fix “Guad” (see wâดي 3). Its left bank takes in the waters from the Guadalimar (Wâdi l-Âłamon), Jándula Shandulla, Guadalmedalla (Wâdi: Ârmilîla), Guadiato (Wâdî Atuh [q.v.]), and Guadarrama (Wâdi: Ârmilîla), Guadajoz (Wâdi Shawsh), Genii (Wâdi: Shanll, the most important of these tributaries) and Guadaira (Wâdi: Âyra) are its main affluents.

In antiquity, it seems that there were boats sailing along most of its course: Strabo speaks of big ships sailing to Hispalis (Isbiliya) and how small boats could sail to Corduba (Kurtuba). Then, in the Muslim period, navigation continued to Seville, but only smaller boats could travel between Seville and Cordova, along the route mentioned by al-Idrîsî as taraf al-Wâdî (“the way of the river”). The river is very often mentioned by the Arab writers. The bridge (kantara al-Wâdî), made by the Romans, still links both sides of the city of Cordova, being the only stone bridge which spanned the river. Al-Wâdî l-Kabîr during Arab times, Al-Wâdî l-Kabîr was often hymned by the Arab poets, and al-Zuhrl (Shandula), Guadalmellato (Wâdi: Armillat), Guadiato (Shaluka, Barr al-Ma’ida).

Strabo speaks of big ships sailing to Hispalis (Ishbiliya) and how small boats could travel between Seville and Cordova, along most of its course: Strabo speaks of big ships sailing to Hispalis (Ishbiliya) and how small boats could sail to Corduba (Kurtuba). Then, in the Muslim period, navigation continued to Seville, but only smaller boats could travel between Seville and Cordova, along the route mentioned by al-Idrîsî as taraf al-Wâdî (“the way of the river”). The river is very often mentioned by the Arab writers. The bridge (kantara al-Wâdî), made by the Romans, still links both sides of the city of Cordova, being the only stone bridge which spanned the river. Al-Wâdî l-Kabîr during Arab times, Al-Wâdî l-Kabîr was often hymned by the Arab poets, and al-Zuhrl (Shandula), Guadalmellato (Wâdi: Armillat), Guadiato (Shaluka, Barr al-Ma’ida).

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(R. PINILLA-MEUZOUZO)
journey from Medina. From beginning to end the valley was made of villages arrayed one after the other (kurā mangāna).

According to one opinion, the Wādī 'l-Kurā extended between Madā'in Sāliḥ (i.e. al-Ḥidjār [q.v.], ancient Hegra) in the north and al-Badāyūn (southeast of al-Uthayt) in the south; the central settlement in Wādī 'l-Kurā during the first centuries of Islam, Kurh [q.v.], should be identified with modern al-Mīyāt (or rather al-Mībiyāt) south of al-Uthayt (A.A. Nasif, *The Identification of the Wādī 'l-Qurd and the Ancient Islamic Site of al-Mīyāt*, in *Arabian Studies*, xii [1979], 1-19; cf. H. al-Djasir, *Laysa al-Ḥidjār al-Mālikīn*, in *Arab* [Riyāḍ], xiii [1978-9], 3-13). However, according to another opinion, Wādī 'l-Kurā traversed a much larger area, joining the sea south of al-Wadhīj; Kurh, according to the latter opinion, should be located at modern al-Khurayba (or Ula) which is the northern part of al-Uld, an historical and geographical dictionary in Simhūdī, *Wabd* al-wabd, ed. M.M. al-Insān, Riyād 1988. (M. Lecker)

WADI NUN, the form of more recent times for the earlier WADI NUL, a great plain of southwestern Arabia, should be located at modern al-Khurayba (or Ula) which is the northern part of al-Uld, an historical and geographical dictionary in Simhūdī, *Wabd* al-wabd, ed. M.M. al-Insān, Riyād 1988. (M. Lecker)

Several prominent Muslims are known to have owned estates in Wādī 'l-Kurā. They included Uthmān b. 'Affān, 'Abd b. Ubadah al-Hilālī who had several estates there, Uthmān b. 'Affān, 'Affān, 'Āli b. 'Abdallāh b. 'Affān, and 'Abd Allāh b. Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [q.v.], whose land was cultivated by his own slaves and by those belonging to his wife (Ibn Zandjali, 'Abd b. 'Affān, ed. M.M. al-Insān, Riyād 1406/1986, iii, 1257-8). Mu'āwiyah I [q.v.] reportedly initiated a large irrigation project in Wādī 'l-Kurā including watering places (*qubān*). Part of Mu'āwiyah's estate in Wādī 'l-Kurā was bought from a Jew, while another part was made productive by Mu'āwiyah himself. One has to bear in mind that significant pilgrim roads passed through or near Wādī 'l-Kurā, hence the raison d'être of the estates was probably the provision of food to the pilgrims.

The development of new irrigation projects, and the maintenance of old ones, required expert knowledge in water engineering. Irrigation experts were probably among the slaves brought to Wādī 'l-Kurā in the early days of Islam. 'Umar b. Dawūd b. Zadžān (better known as 'Umar al-Wādī), a maqāla of Uthmān b. 'Affān, was the first in a distinguished line of maqāla of Wādī 'l-Kurā. 'Umar's maqāla, written on the same time ‘Umar was also a muhāndis or one who determines the measures and proportions of subterranean channels for water’. This link by wayh with Uthmān went back to ‘Umar's grandfather, Zadžān (Aghdānī), vii, 85) who was presumably a Persian slave employed in ‘Uthmān’s estate in Wādī ‘l-Kurā.

In the 3rd/9th century, the Kuda'a were still dominant in the area. According to Lughād, Wādī 'l-Kurā and its surroundings belonged to the ‘Uḍhrah, the Ball, the Sa'd Allāh and the Dhuwayhaya (all of whom were subdivisions of the Kuda'a). Groups of the Ball, the ‘Uḍhrah (many of whom were absorbed by the Ball) and the Dhuwayhaya can still be found in the same area, in addition to groups of the ‘Anaza and the Harb [q.v.].


WADI NUN, the form of more recent times for the earlier WADI NIN, a great plain of southwestern Arabia, should be located at modern al-Khurayba (or Ula) which is the northern part of al-Uld, an historical and geographical dictionary in Simhūdī, *Wabd* al-wabd, ed. M.M. al-Insān, Riyād 1988. (M. Lecker)
The Wādī Nūn lies between the Anti-Atlas and its Saharan outliers some 35 km/20 miles from the Atlantic. The plain is formed from the silt carried down by a number of watercourses, of which the chief are the Wādī Ṣayyād and the Wādī Umār ‘Aṣṣār, which unite to form the Wādī Āṣākā, which last runs through a defile into the Atlantic just south of what was the Spanish enclave of Ifni.

The Wādī Nūn contains a number of oases with large villages (Awqelimīn or Gānymīn, Kābī, Tīlīwīn, Faq, Dūbihān, Tīghmārt, Āṣrīr, Wā‘rān, Aḥbābā, etc.), which in the past served as trading centres for the Saharan nomads. The local inhabitants are Arabophone Berbers, belonging for the most part to the Lamṭa with some Ma‘kīl lineages and to the socio-political groups (laff [g.]).

The region has owed its historic importance to several factors. It is in Morocco one of the rarer groups of oases which through the centuries has communicated in the south with the Mauritanian Adrar and Senegal, and in the southeast, with the Niger bend. It is also at the exit of the easiest route between the desert and the northern slope of the Atlas, a natural route which runs onwards as far as al-Suwayra (see AL-SUWAYRA) or Mogador. Finally, its proximity to the Atlantic Ocean has enabled its inhabitants at various times to enter into commercial relations with Europe and to act as a corridor for the exporting of the rich products of the Western Sūdān.

The pre-Islamic history of the region is obscure, but its population must have been Berber, of the groups Illimmidn (which in the language of the Iznagn desert and the northern slope of the Atlas, a natural route which runs onwards [g.]).

Nūl Lamṭa was the first mint of the Islamic period, and it was probably the ephemeral rule of ‘Abd Allāh b. Idrīs II in the Sūs (see AL-MURABĪTUN) which brought them for the first time into contact with the Islamic faith. They were probably at this time essentially nomadic, but acquired a significant town, Nūl Lamṭa, which seems to have occupied the site of the later villages of Āṣrīr Tīghmārt. It was a great entrepôt, where the famous shields of antelope hide (lamt) were made, and from it caravans set out to cross the Sahara for the agricultural exploitation of the Islands, and is first attested. These expeditions were perhaps preceded or accompanied by Christian missions. In 1525 Tagawst venerated the relics of a Portuguese from the Order of the Hermit of St. Augustine, who had lived in this region. It was a period when the Filāḥī Arab tribe [see M.], of the Awlad ‘Amīr apparently secured control over Tagawst, although the mass of cultivable land remained in the hands of the indigenous Illimmidn and Igalūn.

The foundation of the Sa’dīan dynasty [see SA’DĪAN] in the 10th/16th century resulted in the expulsion of the Christians and the people of Nūn supplied gūṣ contingents to the sovereigns who had liberated Muslim soil. But very soon, it seems, their oases began to lose their position as starting-points for caravans. The Shorfa [see SHURFĪ] came from Tagmādīt in the upper Dar’a, and it was by this route naturally that they brought to Marrākush the booty of their conquests on the Niger.

This fact no doubt explains why the people of the Wādī Nūn very soon disowned this dynasty, as well as why they were always at more or less open enmity with the Filāḥī, who for similar reasons favoured the route by Tāqāhidjīt for the 17th and 18th centuries.

The Wādī Nūn seems to have belonged to the marabout state of Tāzarwālt [g.], founded by Abū Ḥassān al-Samālī (Bū Dm῾a). He and his successors in every case maintained very regular commercial relations with the country south of the desert. In their reign, the Wādī Nūn, which, towards the beginning of the 19th century, formed a practically independent state under

The advent of the Almohads [see AL-MUWARRĀDĪN] did not prevent Nūl Lamṭa and other nearby towns like Taghadjīdīt and Tagawst from retaining their vigorous independence against outside incursions. Hence ‘Abd al-Mu’mīn sent his commander Abī Ḥāfīṣ with three corps of troops against the Wādī Nūn, wreaking complete destruction there in 549/1154-5, with massacres and deportations. Nevertheless the three towns later revived: al-Marrākushī, Ibn Sa’il and Ibn Khaldūn attest the continuing importance of Nūl Lamṭa and Tagawst, whilst Taghadjīdīt survived under an Almohad governor.

In 615/1218 the invasions of the Ma‘kīl Arabs reached Wādī Nūn, and one of their component tribes, the Dhawū Ḥassān, soon clashed there with the indigenous Illimmidn and Igalūn. Allying with whoever paid them most, the incomers gradually overlaid the power of the Lamṭa, and with the subsequent conflict of the Dhawū Ḥassān and the Marīnīdī [g.], control of the region, Nūl Lamṭa declined in favour of Tagawst (the modern Kābī), and it was under the name Tagawst that the Europeans long knew the Wādī Nūn region.

From 1405, expeditions began under Portuguese, Spanish and other European navigators from the Canary Islands to the African coast, in a century when the existence of the confederation of the Takna is first attested. These expeditions were to secure slaves for the agricultural exploitation of the Islands, and constituted the celebrated entradas, several of which reached the gates of Tagawst and resulted in the foundation of a number of Spanish fortresses. One of them, San Miguel de Saca, which only lasted, however, for a very short time, was quite close to the Wādī Nūn, at the mouth of the Āṣākā. These expeditions were perhaps preceded or accompanied by Christian missions. In 1525 Tagawst venerated the relics of a Portuguese from the Order of the Hermit of St. Augustine, who had lived in this region. It was a period when the Filāḥī Arab tribe [see M.], of the Awlad ‘Amīr apparently secured control over Tagawst, although the mass of cultivable land remained in the hands of the indigenous Illimmidn and Igalūn.

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Shaykh Bayruk, the capital of which, Awgelmim, soon supplanted Tagawst.

The sultans, however, became disturbed at this direct trade between Europe and the southern provinces of the empire; they were losing all the profit from it. In the second half of the 18th century, Siid Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh closed the southern ports to merchant ships and forced them henceforth to come to Mogador, which he had just founded. Tâzarwâl and Wâdî Nûn had to send their caravans there and pay heavy taxes on the articles exported. All their efforts, and especially those of Bayruk and his sons, were in the direction of direct relations with the European governments, in order to place their commerce under European protection and to lead ships to disobey the sultan's orders by founding on the coast a port where the customs duties were lower than those at Mogador. The way was paved for this policy by the old relations of the Jews of the Wadî Nun with the European merchants and by the numerous shipwrecks which took place in this district at the end of the 18th century, which gave Bayruk an opportunity to discuss his plan with Christians. He tried first of all in 1835-6 to interest England and then France in 1837-53; finally, after his death in 1859, his sons began negotiations with Spain, which enabled this nation to get, by the treaty of Tetouan, the concession of a fishing station on the coast. So far, these attempts had yielded no appreciable result; the commercial strength of the Ulad Bayruk seemed rather precarious, and the coast of the Wâdî Nûn, moreover, did not afford sufficient shelter for ships. It was only in 1876 that Mackenzie built a factory on Cape Juby, soon followed by Curtis, who settled near Awgelmim in the Wâdî Arqâsh. These marked the beginning of a series of explorations and experiments which disturbed sultan Mawlay al-Hasan so much that in 1886 a series of explorations and experiments which disturbed sultan Mawlay al-Hasan so much that in 1886, he decided upon an expedition to the south. This ended in the submission of Tâzarwâl and of the Wâdî Nûn and in the departure of the English merchants.

The marabout shaykh Mâ‘ al-Aynayn [q.e.], whose anti-Russian influence was increasing in the western Sahara, undertook to put a stop to any Christian enterprise on these coasts. It was not till four years after his death, in 1916, that Spain established herself on Cape Juby and a German submarine landed a mission to seek an alliance with his son Mawlay Ahmad al-Hibâ, who was directing the opposition of the tribes in the Anti-Atlas against the French advance; this last effort led to nothing [see Ahmad al-Hibâ, in Suppl.].

By the first half of the 20th century, the process of desertification and migrations of the local populations towards the Atlantic plains and the cities, combined with the disappearance of the trans-Saharan commerce, made the Wâdî Nûn chiefly significant for stock-rearing (camels, horses, cattle and, especially, sheep and goats), although agriculture included some cereals, vines, figs, oranges, pomegranates and dates. By then, the markets of Awgelmim and Tighmint were only of local significance. The most notable were the fairs (mâa‘, âmû‘) of Asfâr, Kâbîl and Awgelmim, where the settled population and pastoralists exchanged products.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. These include geographers like Ya‘kûbî, Ibn Hawkal, Bakri, Idrîsi, the K. al-Dhâhiby, historians like Ibn Khaldûn, K. al-‘Ibar and Mukaddimah, and Ibn ‘Idhârî’s Beirûn, and hagiographers like Ibn al-Zayyât, K. al-Taghâwafr idâ l’înwanwân, ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958. Because of the region’s contacts with Europe, the accounts of European travellers, captives, visitors, etc. are important; for these, see the EI art., and add Th. Monod and P. de Cenival, Description de la côte d’Afrique de Ceuta au Sénégal par Valentin Fernandes (1506-1507), Paris 1958.

supposed. Strictly speaking, *tidal* is the actual act, while
the form I verb *wad'ta* refers to the actual relationship, since *wad'ta* is in reality the noun for the object of the contract (*mahall al-* *wad'a*).

The depositor (*mi'di*) is thus a person who deposits an object or property with the *muda*. Although the relationship falls within the area of contract when it involves tangible material matters, it is difficult to conceptualise as a contract when it involves non-material intangibles, such as acts of behaviour or personal or trade secrets.

According to the Hanafi school, the contract (*tid'a*) is defined as authorising another party to safeguard one's property by either declaration (*sahbat*) or indication (*dildlat*). The same basic conditions (*yuris*) governing a standard contract apply to *wad'ta*. This includes the sanity (*akl*) of the contracting parties and their majority (*bulugh*). However, the Hanafis do not stipulate the adulthood of both parties and accept that a minor who has permission to trade (*sabi *mudd'a* *) is able to deposit his property freely. Another condition is that the object of the contract should be legal (*mali mutakaawwem*). Accordingly, the statement made by Otto Spies in *EI*, iv, 1080, that "only *mali* can be deposited" applies once it is understood that the *mali* is not the focus of the condition but that the legality of the *mali* is involved. Thus wine is not legally an item of property for an ordinary Muslim but, if it is owned by a newly-converted Muslim it is considered as legal. The final, standard contractual condition required for *tid'a* is the offer by the depositor (*mi'di*) and acceptance by the depositor (*muda*). The obligations of the depositary dictate that he/she should safeguard the object to the best of his/her ability. When liability is to be assessed by the court, the safekeeping expected would be that normally accepted for similar objects. Liability can only be granted to the depositor if negligence or transgression (*ta'addi*) is proved.

This occurs:
1. If he deposits the thing with a third person, for the depositing is based on the personal confidence which the depositor has placed in a definite individual known to him, Ibn Abi Layla alone allows the depositor to deposit again. Opinion diverges regarding further depositing with members of the family. Members of the family are considered to be such persons who live with the depository and belong to his household: wife, children, parents, servants. The Shafi'i jurists follow *kya* and forbid further depositing, while the Hanafis and Malikis who follow *sikhsa* allow it. According to all schools, however, the depositor may deposit again in face of pressure from a higher power in order to save the thing deposited. As cases of this kind, examples are given of shipwreck, fire, inundation and enemy raids.

2. If the depositary uses the thing or derives advantage from it, e.g. if he wears the deposited clothes or rides the mule, unless he is trying thereby to avoid damage.

Contemporary applications of *wad'ta* are numerous. Many may not have existed in the early days of Islam, but the same principles apply to them. The contract may also be circumstantially concluded in situations such as sporting facilities that provide lockers for clothes and an attendant to safeguard valuables. The responsibility in this case and in all similar cases comes under the rule of *wad'ta* unless the parties involved declare their non-acceptance of liability in one way or another (al-Sanhuri, iv, 679).

According to al-Sanhuri, *wad'ta* is one of the named contracts (*uw'dat musammal*) which are contracts that are popularly known by a specific term. A distinguishing feature of the *tid'a* contract is that it is like *wakala* (q.v.) in being a voluntary contract (*ikhtila*) which converts into a trade contract (*'ad' mu'tasasa*) once payment is stipulated. However, the contract is unlike the *wakala* contract since it is one that involves an actual task, namely, safekeeping of the goods. The *wad'ta*, however, in the same way as the *wakala*, is a mutually-agreed contract that does not require a specific formality apart from *tijab* and *kaful* (see *BAY*).

It is also like *wakala* in the way that it gives an obligation to only one party. It is also important to highlight the differences between *tid'a* and the sale contract which involves the exchange of goods rather than their deposit. The difference between the two probably represents the most basic practical element that distinguishes the Islamic notion of the role of money from that of the modern banking system. The *wad'ta* in Islamic law is simply a depositing process which produces no benefit or ownership for the depositary vis-a-vis the object, whereas sale is a contract which leads to full ownership of the object and its benefits. Money in Islam is considered to be only a medium of value and not an independent value generator. All schools of Islamic law agree that money can be the deposited object (maball al-*tid'a*), while almost no-one considers that it can be an object of sale.

Distinguishing the *wad'ta* contract from other contracts is important in modern commercial life because it represents the legal basis for many forms of transactions within the Islamic banking system. The difference between *wad'ta* and the loan (*kard* [see *KARAD*]) contract is particularly important, since they represent the two forms of contracts paradoxically used as a basis for modern Islamic banking. The concept of *wad'ta* is often used as justification for *mudaraba* (q.v.) which represents the heart of Islamic interest-free banking. According to *mudaraba*, the savings are advanced to an entrepreneur on a mutually-agreed percentage. The net profit would then be shared between the bank and the depositor or *mi'di*. No violation (*ta'addi*) is present here because the consent of the depositor is given and the depositor carries the attributes of mutual responsibility in both the risk and the profit. However, it may be observed that, according to the strict principles of *tid'a*, a violation of safekeeping may occur when the bank actually uses the money to derive corporate benefit. As a consequence of this objection, the relationship between the bank and its customers should be viewed as a *kard* contract rather than *tid'a*. For unlike the *tid'a*, a loan contract permits both using the object and providing a replacement should the object perish. Both of these processes represent a daily practice with current accounts and in all other banking transactions and loans. The lack of transparency of such relationships is only a part of the criticism of interest-free banking. Others maintain that the structure of the bank is inherently the same as that of an ordinary bank, only with a change in terminology, for example, the deposit account is called *huk* al- *wad'ta*. Nevertheless, although Islamic banking may appear similar to orthodox banking, it is very different in essence. The primary difference stems from the risk to which the *wad'ta* is exposed in the two systems. In the *mudaraba*, there is a clear element of risk that threatens the deposited money, whereas in ordinary banking no risk is involved. At this juncture, it may be correct to conclude that Islamic banking is metaphorically using the word *wad'ta* (pl. of *wad'ta*).
to describe capital invested, whereas money deposited in the ordinary banking system, although also carries only a historical reference to terminology.


WAJD (A.), a term in the terminology of Sufi mysticism meaning “ecstasy, rapture”. Al-Tahanawi states that wa'did refers to a divine influx of inspiration which strikes the inner being of the Sufi, generating either sadness or joy in him. It may also change his condition in some way, making him absent from his personal qualities by means of a vision of God (Kaghdif ijlilud al-funun, Bibl. Indica, Calcutta 1862, 1454).

The term derives from the root w-d-d, with a range of meanings including “to find, obtain, experience, be moved by passion”. Hence we have such mazād as the wa'did under consideration and wajidun “feeling, sentiment, ecstasy”. See further on this range of meanings, F. Jabre, Essai sur le lexique de Ghazali, Beirut 1970, 270.

In the period of classical Sufism, the development of wa'did as a technical term was bound up with scholastic discussions on moral theory which flourished in the Sufi school of Baghdad. Ibn 'Arif's (d. 309/921) celebrated dispute with al-Djunaíd (d. 298/910) on whether wa'did is characterised by the presence of joy or grief in the mystic is perhaps the most famous in this regard. Whereas al-Djunaíd declared that ecstasy means “dissociation, severance (nikd) from one’s personal qualities while one’s essence is grasped by God” (Ihyy Khlif, tr. A. Atiyya, head langage mystique, Paris 1994, p. 254), R. K. Al-Ghazzali agreed only partially with this definition, replacing the word "joy" by "grief" (al-Tahanawi, loc. cit.; L. Massignon, The Passion of al-Halldj, mystic and martyr of Islam, tr. H. Mason, Princeton 1982, ii, 92). Another member of this school, al-Kharras (d. 277/989 or 286/999), in his Khul al-Sifā, in which he analysed the experience of proximity to God (karb), describing the various stations traversed by the mystic to attain that degree, that wa'did is the first station experienced by those who have proximity to God. Al-Kharras's understanding of wa'did has been described by P. Nyva as not so much "ecstasy" as "instancy", a communion with oneself in order to find (wa'didah) the word of God within and so be delighted (Eccesite coram et langage mystique, Beirut 1970, 254, 259).

Many of the same ontological connotations of wa'did figure in the enigmatic meditations on annihilation of al-Djunaíd, who explains that wa'did and wa'didah belong to the final degree of the three stages of annihilation of the selfhood in the divine (fanā' [see BARAKWA-FANNA])]. The concept of existing as a kind of annihilation of self was also often emphasised in later mediaeval Sufism, and figures in the expositions of the spiritual stations (see sātān of the mystical ascents to perfect love by most of the Sufi authors, often with great intricacy. See e.g. on these, C. Ernst, The stages of love in early Persian Sufism, in L. Lewisohn (ed.), Classical Persian Sufism, from its origins to Rumi, London 1993, 448-51.

Wadjda was also intimately connected with the practice of musical audition, samāt [see BAKA], and al-Ghazzali states that “Singing produces a state in the heart which is called wa'did. In its turn, wa'did causes the bodily limbs to move, whether the movement is non-rhythmic and the emotion be disorderly, or a rhythmic movement, in which case it is called clapping and dancing" (Ihyy al-dīn, Cairo 1984-52/1927-28, ii, 237). Thus the highest state of ecstasy is termed wa'didah or “existence" itself, to be found through samāt.

Al-Ghazzali's philosophical analysis of the nature and place of wa'did among the mystico-psychological states experienced by Sūfis during their concerts of samāt played a central role in subsequent debates on the legality of music and the place of ecstasy in the contemplative disciplines in Islam. An entire book of the Ihyy' is devoted to the defence of samāt, the K. A'dīb al-samāt wa l-wa'īd, thus indicating the important place which rapture had always played in Islamic spirituality. He also enumerates seven reasons why listening to poetry is more conducive to rapture than hearing the cantillation of the Kur'ān, substantially because hearers are too habituated to this last to be further stirred by it. Concerning the place of ecstasy in Muslim spiritual life, he says that listening to poetry arouses yearning (ya'ād, [see BAKA]) in the lover of God, leading to mystical states (ahwā'il) which are called ecstasy (Ihyy, ii, 246-7). At the end of this book, Al-Ghazzali professes his own definition, based on the opinions of Dhu l-Nūn al-Muṣīr [see BAKA] and others, that “ecstasy consists in a mystical state which is the fruit of samāt, it is an infusion of a true, original divine nature, which, following upon samāt, the listener 'found' (ya'ād) in himself" (Ihyy, ii, 258).


WAJDÁ, conventionally Oujda, a town of eastern Morocco, 14 km/8 miles from the Algerian frontier in the southern part of the Angad plain. Despite its eccentric position, Wadjda is today the eighth largest town of Morocco, with 352,000 inhabitants in 1994. It has a strategic situation as a crossroads of the route from Fès to Orania and the axis of the route from the high plateaux to the Mediterranean; it has been fought over all through the centuries, and destroyed and rebuilt repeatedly.

1. Pre-modern history.

It was founded in 834/994 by Ziri b. ‘Atiyya, head of the great Zenāta Berber tribe of the Maghrāwa [see BAKA]. In the course of the Sanhadja-Zenāta struggles, the latter had been pushed back into the extreme Moroccan west, where they became firm partisans of the Umayyads in Cordova. Ziri was, with his tribe, authorised to occupy the region of Fès, but feeling insecure in that region and that town, and wishing to be nearer to the central Maghrib homeland of his
tribe, he moved to Wadjda, installed there a garrison and his possessions, appointing one of his relatives as governor. According to al-Bakrī (Rawd al-kirāts, 203, tr. 194). However, it was after the 'Abd al-Wādīds were installed at Tilmīsân/ Tilmis that Wadjda, "the avenue of the frontier which separates the central from the far Maghrib", according to Ibn Khaldūn, began to play an important strategic role. In 670/1271, the Marinid Abū Yusuf Ya'kūb, having defeated Yaghmurāsan [q.v.] near Wadjda, totally destroyed the town. In 695/1296 Abū Ya'kūb Yusuf seized the town, destroyed what remained of its fortifications, then rebuilt the ruined parts, with a palace, citadel and great mosque (probably the existing one) and began the eight-years' siege of Tilmisān. In 714/1314 Wadjda resisted the Marinid Abū Sa'īd Uṯmān's attack, but twenty-one years later was seized by Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'All and its defences dismantled. Once again, under the Marinids, with both Wadjda and Tilmisān in their hands, the Arab tribes of the region espoused the cause of the dispossessed 'Abd al-Wādīds and came to besiege Wadjda.

From the 16th to the 19th century, Wadjda was the locus for many changes of fortune in the struggles between the Turks of Algiers and the sultans of Morocco, coming within the sultans' realm in times of peaceful progress, but when the sultans were weak and their land troubled, Wadjda became attached to the province of Tiemcen and dominated by the Turks, according to L. Voinot. One of the few times when Sharīātī authority was in fact firmly established was under Mawlay Ismā'īl (1082-1139/1672-1727), who transplanted at Wadjda Arabs brought from south of Marra-kesh, made them into a ḍārgha, strengthened the town's defences, built numerous kashas in the vicinity and organised the tribes of the plain. But after his death, the Turks reappeared and trouble was renewed. Finally, in 1680 a Spanish colonial army seized the town and permanently incorporated it into the Moroccan empire, with an 'āmil installed there to represent the sultan.

In 1844, after the battle of Isly, it was temporarily occupied by French forces in reprisal for the sultan of Morocco's aid to the amīr 'Abd al-Kādir [q.v.]. French troops reappeared there in 1859, and it was definitively occupied in 1907, even before the Protectorate was installed (1912). Since then, the form Oujda has been the sole one in use, including by the Moroccan administration. (G. MARÇAIS)*

2. The modern city.

The modest small town of 6,466 inhabitants (1910) occupied by the French army was smaller than its neighbour, the Spanish presidio Melilla (12,000 people in 1908). Hence Oujda became the focus of an intense colonisation, essentially of "Pe兆s Noirs" from Algeria, French and then Spanish. In 1936, with the population at 34,500, the town had almost as many outsiders as Moroccans. The Jewish community (whether of Moroccan, Algerian or French origin) was important and active, owning 30% of the commercial enterprises as recorded in 1934, but after 1948, and especially after 1955, it emigrated massively. In 1951, just before independence, Oujda had over 80,000 people, including many Algerians amongst the third of non-Moroccans. The ebb and flow of populations continues now to affect the town, as in the past the Algerian element was swollen during the 1954-62 Algerian war, brutally reduced after Algeria's achievement of independence, whilst in 1975 35,000 Moroccan refugees arrived there during the latent Algero-Moroccan war before being redistributed over other parts of Morocco, 5,500 of them remaining, however, at Oujda. The more gradual departure of Europeans left only a few hundred by 1982 (Guitouni).

The colonial period made Oujda an important military centre, with many camps and barracks, and also a great railway junction, second only to Casablanca for its freight traffic. Part of the old medina was destroyed to accommodate a new road network, and a new medina built to the north-north-east. A "European" town grew up to the west, mainly between the railway station and the medina, whilst precarious suburbs for rural immigrants grew up round the peripheries. Traffic with Algeria was heavy, and Oujda did not suffer from its distance from the administrative capital Rabat nor from its distance from Casablanca, since the ports of Oranía could be used.

But after Moroccan independence in 1956, Oujda found itself in a cul-de-sac, with the Algerian frontier closed and with reverberations from the Moroccan-Algerian conflict. Each time the frontier has been reopened there has been a great surge of persons crossing (2 million in 1991) in search of the contraband goods smuggled out from Melilla. Service and transport businesses, hotel, industrial and financial activities have prospered, but the town has little industrial enterprise (only 4,000 employed) and has suffered from huge rural influxes as mines have closed in its southern hinterland; administrative and military functions (since Oujda is the chef-lieu of a wilaya) do not suffice to provide resources for a vastly swollen population (that will reach over 400,000 by the end of the 20th century).

The town has largely spread over the surrounding gardens and orchards and has extended its tentacles along the main roads, especially along that eastwards to Bukane and Algeria. Although well endowed with the fifth largest airport in Morocco and the fifth largest in the country, Oujda suffers from its distance from the main centres of the country on the Atlantic seaboard and from the cyclical changes of fortune with regard to the Algerian border (last closed on 28 August 1994). It awaits a revived role as a stopover town when international exchanges between the countries of the Maghrib are reactivated.

WADJIH [see MAJMA'AT. 4].

WADJIB [see FARD].

WAFA, the pen-name of various minor Persian poets of the 18th-19th centuries. They include:

1. Muḥammad Amīn, b. 1110/1698-9 in Iličpur (Eličpur) in the western Deccan, d. 1193/1779-80. His ancestors belonged to Isfahān, where his father, Ḥakīm Muḥammad Taṣ̄i Khān, migrated to India during the reign of Awrangzīb (1658-1707), and rose to a respectable position under Nawāb Asaf Ḍāja (d. 1748), governor of the Deccan in the time of the Mughal Emperor Farruqīshāh (1713-17). Muḥammad Amīn received his education from his father, and dedicated his time to the pursuit of poetry and etymology (Kudrat Allāh Gopāmāwī, Naṣī'ī-dī 'al-fājīr, Bombay 1136/1957, 756-7).

2. Mīrzā Shāraf al-Dīn 'Ali Husaynī, called Akāṣī Beg, b. 1137/1724-5 in Kūmm, d. 1200/1783-4 (see Rieu, Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum, suppl., no. 344). He came from a respected family of sayyids, and was one of the custodians of the Imāmzādā Fāṭima in Kūmm. According to Lutf 'Alī Beg 'Akhār (Itthikāla, ed. Sayyid Dījrāf Shāhīfī, Tehran (?) 1337/1958, 423), he went to India towards the latter part of Nādir Shāh's reign and stayed there for some thirty years. In 1180/1766-7 he returned to Persia, and from there went on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He has left a diwān containing poems in the traditional forms (Esh, Cat. Pers. mss. India Office, i, no. 1718).

3. Muḥammad Husayn Farāhānī, d. 1209/1794-5 at Kazvin (cf. 'Abd al-Razzāk Dunbulī, Nigarān-i Dār, ed. Khayyāmīrū, Tabriz 1342/1963, 147). He belonged to Farāhān, a village of Kūmm. Most of his ancestors had been ministers during their lifetimes, and he, too, served in that capacity under Zand and Kāḏār rulers. As minister, he made efforts towards promoting education (Muḥammad Mu'īn, Fardāsma-yi Nādsīn, Tehran 1360/1981, 174-176) and was one of the custodians of the Imāmzādā Fāṭima in Kūmm. According to Lutf 'Alī Beg 'Akhār (Itthikāla, ed. Sayyid Dījrāf Shāhīfī, Tehran (?) 1337/1958, 423), he went to India towards the latter part of Nādir Shāh's reign and stayed there for some thirty years. In 1180/1766-7 he returned to Persia, and from there went on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He has left a diwān containing poems in the traditional forms (Esh, Cat. Pers. mss. India Office, i, no. 1718).

4. Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Ali Zawrā'ī, b. 29 Safar 1185/25 February 1771 in Isfahān, d. reportedly 1245/1829-30 (Gulpin-dī Mašā'ī, Targhi-i tadhkira-yi Fārīsī, ii, Tehran 1363/1984, 116-17). He received his education in Isfahān and achieved competency in natural sciences, medicine, jurisprudence, and the art of poetry. He was among the intellectual leaders of the ruling monarch Nasir al-Dīn Shah (see Dījan Shīrāzī, Athdr al-fusah', Tehran 1363-4, 147). He belonged to Farāhan, a village in Kūmm. His father, Sayyid Dījrāf Shīrāzī, who wrote poetry under the pen-name Shīrāzī, held the title of Shīrāzī al-Fājīr, which was passed on to his son Muḥammad Bāḏīr by orders of the ruling monarch Nādir al-Dīn Shīrāzī (see Dījan Begī, ibid., 2007). Muḥammad Bāḏīr's date of death is not known but, according to Muḥammad Husayn Rūk-zāda Aḍāmīyāt, author of Dinmardndan va sukhan-sarāyāt-i Fārs (iv, Tehran 1340/1961, 820), he was still alive in 1313/1895-6.

5. Mīrzā Ḥasan 'Allī Shīrāzī, popularly known as Mīrzā Buzurg, b. 1224/1809-10. He studied under his father, Mīrzā Sayyid 'Allī, who was a poet employing Nīyāz as his pen-name. After studying medicine, he went to India in 1259/1838-9, and soon afterwards visited Mecca and Medina. He travelled to Europe, where he stayed in Paris and London to complete his medical studies. On returning to India, he took up residence in Calcutta, teaching and practicing medicine. In 1276/1859-60 he set out on a pilgrimage to Mecca, but died en route in Bombay (Farsānma-yi Nāṣīrī, ii, 119-20). According to this last, 122 he was the author of some 15,000 verses.

6. Abu 'l-Kāsim Shīrāzī, known as Mūdarrīs. He was among the learned elite of Shīrāz; well versed in many rational and traditional sciences and was the author of a diwān containing Persian poems and Arabic kāfīdas (Sayyid Mufīd Dīwrār, Tardikht-i mirāt al-faqāhāt, ed. Muḥammad Tawūsī, Shīrāz 1371/1992, 692-3; Farsānma-yi Nāṣīrī, ii, 935).

7. Mīrzā Mahdī Kūfī, known as Wāfī Aḥrafl, descended from a Georgian family which had settled in Persia during Ṣafawīd times and was employed as confidential secretary to Manūčehr Khān Mu'tamad al-Dawla, who served as governor of Isfahān from 1838 until his death in 1847 (Madjma-yi Nādsīn, iii/3, 1091; Hadkāt al-ghārād', iii, 2004).

8. Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Ali Kāḏārī, a member of the nobility and a man of learning having special knowledge in medicine. He was employed in government service as head of the postal department in Zandjan (Hadkāt al-ghārād', iii, 2018).


WAFD (A., lit. "delegation"), the name of a nationalist political party in modern Egypt, whose heyday was for some three decades after 1918, petering out as an effective force in the 1950s. It gained its name from the delegation which began to be formed in Egypt in September 1918 in order to make Egypt's demands for independence known at the Peace Conference in Paris. The leading member of the Wafd was Sa'd Zaghbīl [g.v.]. The delegation had a meeting with Sir Reginald Wingate, Egyptian High Commissioner, at which they demanded complete independence and asked for permission to go to London to put Egypt's case to the British government. At the same time, the Egyptian delegation (al-ṣawīd al-mūriy) was formed also under the leadership of Zaghīl. The British refused to give permission for the Wafd to visit London and later deported Zaghīl and three colleagues. This move led to the outbreak of a general rebellion throughout Egypt in 1919. It was not organised by Zaghīl and the Wafd, but they came to represent the Egyptian people and to embody their demands for independence.

The British in an attempt to calm the situation sent out the Milner Mission to Egypt in December 1919. It was greeted with strikes and demonstrations and was boycotted by most Egyptians on the demand
of the Wafd. The Mission realised that it had to make concessions and dropped the idea of the protectorate and offered to talk about the aspirations of the Egyptians. The Wafd realised that they would only accept complete independence.

Negotiations dragged on, prolonged by splits amongst the Egyptians over the role of the Wafd. Some politicians, including 'Adīl Pasha, tended to moderation, while Zaghūlūl and his associates remained intransigent. The British tried to deal with the moderates but again realised that any move would fail which did not include the Wafd. The issue of complete independence was reached and Zaghūlūl was again deported. The British reluctantly agreed to end the protectorate in 1922 and Egypt was declared a quasi-independent state.

Egyptian politicians set about drawing up a constitution for the country without the cooperation of the Wafd. However, elections were soon held in which the Wafdist leaders back from exile took part. The Wafd won a crushing victory at the polls and in January 1924 Zaghūlūl formed the first Wafdist government.

The Wafd was organised formally on hierarchical lines. It became a political party in 1924 on coming into government. The original statutes of 1918 declared that the Wafd had been formed for one objective, the achievement of the complete independence of Egypt. The organisation would be headed by a president who had wide authority, with a central committee which would have branches country-wide. The committee’s main task was to collect funds, and consequently it deliberately recruited provincial notables who would help in that task. Students were also recruited into the party and they played a significant part in its activities. The secretary of the Wafd, Muṣṭafā al-Nahḥās [q.v.], relied to a great extent on the support of students. They took part in demonstrations, in boycotts and in electioneering. The formation of labour unions also helped in the activities of the party.

Women played an important role in political activities, demonstrating and protesting. In 1920 the Wafdist Women’s Central Committee was formed under the leadership of the prominent Egyptian feminist Ḥudā al-Shārāwī. They took the lead in boycotting British goods in 1922 and struggled equally for their own voting rights. They believed that the fight for independence had to be accompanied by the fight for equality.

From 1924 to 1936 and until the beginning of the Second World War, Egyptian politics consisted of a three-way contest for power and authority between the King, the British and the politicians, the latter often being members of the Wafd. It was the leading political party of the period, and won every election which was not rigged against them. It was felt by many Egyptians that the Wafd was the real representative of the people.

On Zaghūlūl’s death in 1927, al-Nahḥās took over the leadership of the Wafd and played a prominent role in Egyptian politics until 1952. He signed the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty, not, however, negotiated by him, which formalised relations between Britain and Egypt. The Treaty still withheld complete independence with its reserved points, and the Wafd had consequently to suffer some unpopularity. The 1930s were a period when more extreme political groupings were emerging, such as the Ikhwān al-Muslimīn [q.v.] and the Miṣr al-Fatāt, with Fascist tendencies. The Wafd tried to keep pace by forming it own paramilitary youth movement, the Blue Shirts.

On the outbreak of war in 1939, the British were keen to preserve Egypt within the Allied camp, although there were some Egyptians who believed that only by helping the Axis to expel the British would they gain complete independence. As the Axis forces approached Alexandria, the British felt they had to have a prime minister who would work with rather than against them. In February 1942 the British Ambassador, Miles Lampson (later Lord Killearn) forced King Fārūk to appoint the Wafdist leader Muṣṭafā al-Nahḥās as prime minister. The Egyptians never forgave this insult, nor did they forget the fact that a Wafdist had been willing to co-operate with the occupier. This contributed to the decline in popularity of the Wafd, although it won elections held in 1942 and tried to regain support by introducing social measures such as free education and greater public health.

The last act of the Nahḥās government was to host a conference of Arab states in Alexandria in 1944 which led eventually to the foundation of the Arab League. Elections in 1944 were boycotted by the Wafd, and politics in Egypt staggered on under the impact of the loss of Palestine. In January 1950 new elections were won by the Wafd. A very low turnout demonstrated indifference and frustration, and the minority vote obtained by the Wafd showed just how far it had fallen in public esteem. Al-Nahḥās led his fourth government for only two years until he was overthrown by the Free Officers’ coup of July 1952. The Wafd was disbanded in 1953, to return in a new guise by 1956.

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of the Wafidiyya Mongols took place during the reigns of two sultans: Baybars al-Bundukdan (658-77/1260-77), a great admirer of the Mongols, and al-Adil Kitbughā (624-79/1227-95), who was himself an Oirat Mongol. Baybars even let part of them join the elite corps, the Bahriyya regiment. However, the influx of these Mongols frightened him: “I fear there is something suspect in their coming from all sides” (al-Makritī, Suluk, v, 511 ll. 1-6; Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, ed. Sādakā, 105). A measure which he took to neutralise them was to disperse them within much bigger numbers of the Royal Mamlūk "yafarrukh kulum hall jumla’s baha’ ad-dāfā’ min al-mamluk al-wafiryya, Ibn 'Abd al-Zahir, 59, 1 l).

Baybars is said to have found from amongst them commandants from the rank of Amir of a Hundred downwards (ibid., 58 l. 19; al-Makritī, Khiṭāt, ii, 117; Sato, State and rural society, 101). Yet it seems that no specific Wafidi Mongol appointed to that high rank by Baybars has been noted till now by any scholar. The only Wafidi Amir of a Hundred noted by the present writer in the reign of that sultan was a Khātrāzmīn, who was related to him by marriage (see Ayalon, Wafidiyya, 93 n. 26a. On the Khātrāzmīn and Kurdish Wafidiyya, who preceded the Mongols, see ibid., 94-7).

Sultan Kitbughā had to conform to the Mamlūk policy towards the Wafidiyya, who arrived in the Sultanate as slaves, rose to the medium rank [q.v.] by the present writer in the reign of that sultan was to disperse them within much bigger numbers of slaves, and in 695/1296, when migration no longer posed any danger to the Mamlūks, they became more generous in bestowing the rank of Amir of a Hundred on a very small number of immigrants belonging to that category. Their commanders from the rank of Amir of a Hundred downwards (ibid., 60 l. 5), all returned to the older policy of separating the leaders from their soldiers, by letting only the leaders enter Egypt and forcing the rest to stay in Syria, settling many of them in its devastated coastal area, as was the case with the earlier Wafidiyya newcomers. Of their chiefs (numbering between 113 and 300, according to different accounts), only their head, Turghāy, a son-in-law of the Iltūhidī Hūlāqī [q.v.] received the medium rank of Amir of Forty (Zettlerstern (ed.), Beiträge zur Geschichte der Mamlukensalotten, Leiden 1919, 38 l. 21; Ibn Taghrībirdī, Nāṣīm, ed. Cairo, viii, 60 l. 1). Kitbughā did try, during his short reign, to raise the status of his compatriots, but failed because of the stubborn antagonism of the Royal Mamlūks. It is also stated that one of the two major reasons for his deposition was his favourable attitude to his fellow-Oirats. The Oirats continue to play a political role until the early part of al-Nāṣīr Muḥammad b. Kalāwūn’s third reign (709/41/1309-40). Subsequently, they were on the decline, and in 733/1333 we find them or their descendants as attendants or servants (abdī) to the Mamlūks in the Cairo citadel (Suluk, ii, 83 ll. 8-13).

The wide, and usually unbridgeable, gap separating the Mamlūks and non-Mamlūks arriving in the Sultanate, even when the non-Mamlūks belonged to the most highly-appreciated military stock, is well illustrated in the case of the Oirats. Kitbughā and Salar, both of them belonging to that ethnic group, and who arrived in the Sultanate as slaves, rose to the highest ranks, whereas the head of many thousands of Oirats, who arrived there as free men, did not rise above the rank of a medium amīr, in spite of his close family connection with one of the greatest Mongol Khāns.

After the influx of the Oirats, the Wafidiyya migration greatly dwindled until it disappeared for good. At that very period, when migration no longer posed any danger to the Mamlūks, they became more generous in bestowing the rank of Amir of a Hundred on a very small number of immigrants belonging to that category.

Bibliography: D. Ayalon, The Wafidiyya in the Mamluk kingdom, in IC, (1951), 89-104; idem, The European-Asiatic steppe: a major reservoir of power for the Islamic world, in Proc. of the 25th Congress of Orientalists, Moscow 1960, M. elf of an Oirat Mongol. Baybars even let part of them join the elite corps, the Bahriyya regiment. However, the influx of these Mongols frightened him: “I fear there is something suspect in their coming from all sides” (al-Makritī, Suluk, v, 511 ll. 1-6; Ibn ‘Abd al-Zahir, ed. Sādakā, 105). A measure which he took to neutralise them was to disperse them within much bigger numbers of the Royal Mamlūk "yafarrukh kulum hall jumla’s baha’ ad-dāfā’ min al-mamluk al-wafiryya, Ibn ‘Abd al-Zahir, 59, 1 l).

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WAFK (a.3.), lit. “harmonious arrangement”, the construction of magic squares.

One of the most impressive achievements in Islamic mathematics, in any case the most original one, is the development of general methods for constructing magic squares. A magic square of order \( n \) is a square with \( n \) cells on its side, thus \( n^2 \) cells on the whole, in which different natural numbers must be arranged in such a way that the sum of each row, column and main diagonal is the same. As a rule, the \( n^2 \) first natural numbers are actually written in, which means that the constant sum amounts to \( 4n^2 + 1 \). If, in addition, the squares left when the borders are successively removed have themselves this magic property, the square is called a bordered square. If any pair of broken diagonals (that is, which lie on either side of, and parallel to, a main diagonal and together have \( n \) cells) shows the constant sum, the square is called pandiagonal.

Then there are composite squares: when the order \( n \) is a composite number—say \( n = r \cdot s \) with \( r, s \geq 3 \)—the main square can be divided into \( r^2 \) sub-squares of order \( s \); these subsquares, taken successively according to a magic arrangement for the order \( s \), are then filled successively with sequences of \( s^2 \) consecutive numbers according to a magic arrangement for the order \( s \), the result being then a magic square in which each subsquare is also magic.

Squares are usually divided into three categories: odd-order (or odd) squares are those with \( n \) odd, that is, \( n = 3, 5, 7, \ldots \), and generally \( n = 2k + 1 \) with \( k \) natural; squares are of even-even order if \( n \) even, is divisible by 4, thus \( n = 4, 8, 12, \ldots, 4k \); finally, oddly-even squares have their order \( n \) even but divisible by 2 only, whence \( n = 6, 10, 14, \ldots, 4k + 2 \). There are general methods of construction, which depend upon the type of magic square considered (standard, bordered, pandiagonal) and the order \( n \) belongs. Those for standard magic squares may, however, not apply for the smaller orders \( n = 3 \) and \( n = 4 \), which are particular cases. Those for bordered squares suppose that \( n \geq 5 \). (Since no square of order 2 is possible, no square of order 4 is bordered.) Finally, those for pandiagonal squares of odd order are generally not directly applicable if \( n \) is divisible by 3, and there are no rules for constructing oddly-even squares since pandiagonal squares of this category do not exist.

Information about the beginning of Islamic research on magic squares is lacking. It may have been connected with the introduction of chess into Persia. Initially, the problem was a purely mathematical one; thus, the ancient Arabic designation for magic squares is wâfir al-adâd, that is, "harmonious arrangement of the numbers". We know that treaties were written in the 9th century, but the earliest extant ones date to the 10th century; one is by Abu l-Wâfi‘ al-Bûzjânî (d. 387/997 or 388/998) and the other is a chapter in Book III of ‘Alî b. Ahmad al-ânîjâ’s (d. 376/987) Commentary on Nicomachus’ Arithmetic (see Bibliography). It appears that, by that time, the science of magic squares was already established: the construction of bordered squares of any order was known; standard magic squares could be formed for small orders (up to \( n = 6 \)), and this was applied to the formation of composite squares. (Although methods for standard magic squares are easier to apply than methods for bordered ones, the latter are easier to deal with.) The 11th century saw the discovery of several ways to construct standard magic squares, in any event for odd and evenly-even ones (see Sesiano, Un traité médieval, and L’Abrégé): the much more difficult case of \( n = 4k + 2 \), which Ibn al-Haytham (d. ca. 430/1040) could solve only with \( k \) even (Sesiano, Herstellungsverfahren (4)), was probably not settled before the second half of the 11th century. At the same time, pandiagonal squares were being constructed for squares of evenly-even and of odd order, provided in the latter case that the order was not divisible by 3. (Little attention seems to have been paid, however, to the sum of the broken diagonals; these squares were considered of interest because their construction characterizedly required the use of chess moves and because the initial cell, say the place of 1, could be chosen at random within the square.) Treatises on magic squares are numerous in the 12th century, and later developments tend to be improvements or simplifications of existing methods. From the 13th century on, magic squares were increasingly associated with magic proper and used for divinatory purposes. Consequently, many texts merely picture squares and mention their attributes. Others do, however, keep the general theory alive even if their authors, unlike earlier writers, cannot resist adding various fanciful applications.

The link between magic squares and magic as such has to do with the association of each of the twenty-eight Arabic letters with a number (the units, the tens, the hundreds and one thousand). Thus it was sometimes possible to put in e.g. the first row a sequence of numbers equivalent to the letters of a proper name or the words of a sentence and then complete the square so as to produce the same sum in each line. But this involved a completely different kind of construction, which depended upon the order \( n \) and the values of the \( n \)-given quantities. The problem is mathematically not easy, and led in the 11th century to interesting constructions for the cases from \( n = 3 \) to \( n = 8 \) (Sesiano, Un traité médiéval). However, once again the subtle theory ended up mostly in a set of practical recipes and then a wider readership was gained at the expense of scholarship.

This development was unfortunate for Europe, where by the late Middle Ages only two sets of squares associated with the seven known celestial bodies had been learned of through Arabic astrological and magic texts—whence the name—and without any indication as to their construction. (Whereas as early as the 12th century some methods of construction had reached India and China, and also Byzantium, as can be seen from the treatise on magic squares written ca. 1300 by Manuel Moschopoulos.) Thus the extent of Islamic research remained unknown for quite a long time; indeed, a very long time, since it has only recently been assessed and its importance recognised.

Some examples of constructions

The smallest magic square is the square of order 3 (fig. 1). By constructing successive borders to this square, Islamic mathematicians found a general method of forming bordered squares of any odd order, which is explained by the two 10th-century authors mentioned above. Let \( n \) be the given odd order (\( n = 9 \) in fig. 2). Starting next to a corner cell, e.g. the lower right one, write in the first odd and even numbers alternately along the adjacent side lines until the mid-
dle lines are reached. Write the next (odd) number in the adjacent (middle) cell, then put the following one in the corner cell diagonally opposite (that is, in the starting line), the next one in the middle-line cell diagonally opposite, the one after that in the other upper corner cell; and finally, arrange the subsequent numbers along the two adjacent side lines as before (lines with numbers of the same parity facing each other). At this point, half of the border cells are occupied. Fill in each of the remaining blank cells with the complement to \( n^2 + 1 \) of the number in the opposite cell, horizontally or vertically (diagonally for the corners). Repeat this procedure until the central square of order 3 is reached, and fill it with the remaining numbers as in Fig. 1.

It was mentioned above that composite squares were also known in the 10th century. Thus the above square of order 3 is used by both authors to build the smallest possible composite square of odd order (figs. 3 and 4).

The most common method for standard magic squares of odd order, already known in the 11th century and found in a set of three squares transmitted to Europe in the Middle Ages, is that of Fig. 5. Starting with 1 below the central cell, proceed with the consecutive numbers diagonally downwards as far as the side of the square; then move from the cell which would be reached outside the square to the corresponding cell in the main square and proceed diagonally downwards as before. When, after a sequence of \( n \) numbers, an occupied cell stands in the way, drop down two cells and continue as before.

The easiest method for constructing evenly-even squares was known in the 11th century as well, and two squares (of order 4 and 8) constructed by this method were also transmitted to Europe. Divide the square into subsquares of order 4 and put dots in each of their main diagonals (fig. 6). Then, count the cells from the first (for Arabs, the upper right) corner and write in the corresponding number whenever the cell contains a dot. When this has been done and the lower left corner has been reached, go backwards, count the cells once again and put the corresponding number in every unoccupied one (fig. 7).

For an oddly-even square, thus with \( n = 4k + 2 \), put
dots in the main diagonal and in $k-1$ broken diagonals of the first quarter and reproduce them symmetrically in the three other quarters; next, write crosses in a broken diagonal of the first quarter and reproduce them symmetrically in the upper left quarter; then, write ciphers in another broken diagonal of the first quarter and reproduce them symmetrically in the lower right quarter (fig. 8). Fill in the cells which are empty and those which have a dot as in the case of an evenly-even square. In order to fill the remaining cells, count from the other upper angle for the ciphers and from the other lower angle for the crosses (fig. 9). This method is described by al-Kharaki (d. c. 830) in Herstellungsvetfahren (III).

Another common method of constructing squares of order 4 used chess moves (fig. 10); starting with 1 in the corner, 2 is placed by a knight’s move (a move of two cells in one direction and one cell in the other), 3 by a queen’s move (a move to the next cell diagonally), 4 by a knight’s move again, whilst 5 to 8 are symmetrically located in the rows in descending order. To complete the square, the complement to $n^2 + 1 = 17$ of each of these numbers is written in the corresponding bishop’s cell, that is, two cells diagonally away. The result is a pandiagonal square. This method was extended in the early 11th century to the construction of squares of the order $n = 4k$ (fig. 11). Divide the square into subsquares of order $4$; next, fill half of the cells in each of the $k^2$ subsquares (taken in any order) with series of eight consecutive numbers as above, and then put in each bishop’s cell (reached by moving two cells diagonally within the same subsquare) the complement to $n^2 + 1$ (to 65 in fig. 11, where $n = 8$). If, as in this example, the subsquares are initially taken in their natural order, the resulting square will be pandiagonal.

Our final example (fig. 12) is taken from an 11th-century text (L’Abrefé). The numerical values of the words salām ‘alā Muhammad ʿuṣūl al-dhī al-djāmi` occupy the first row and the square has been completed so as to produce their sum as a magic constant.


**al-WAFRÂNÎ [see al-WAFRÂNÎ].**

**WAFIK [pl. wafrâh], oasis.**

1. In the Middle East.

An oasis is a locality with access to water and cultivable soil in an area which is generally barren and parched. Perennial streams such as the Nile or Tigris-Euphrates, which flow from well-watered mountains through desert valleys, support continuous chains of oases. Other watercourses, which are seasonal, irregular or subterranean, can sometimes be tapped by wells to provide enough water for more isolated settlements, as at Tārīf and Shībām [q.v.] in the Wādī Hadramawt, and in the district of al-Ḵaṣṭīn [q.v.] on the Wādī Rumma in central Arabia. Underneath the sand-filled wadis of Arabia there are subterranean reservoirs of "fossil water" which accumulated during pluvial phases of the Pleistocene period. These permanent reserves of water are supplemented by seasonal rainfall and surface or underground flow from nearby hills, so that the water-table is seasonally raised. In scattered oases, shallow wells operated by hand or animal power reach only the superficial water which is regularly replenished and more widely the modern petrol-driven deep tube-wells pump from the "capital" stores of fossil water which cannot be restored. The water-table may then fall permanently beyond the reach of the hand-wells.

Throughout the Middle East, another common situation for oases is in the narrow piedmont zone where the long mountain ranges meet the sands of the great desert basins. Just there, the streams fed by the winter rains and snow-melt of the mountains spread out over "dry deltas" of deposited silt, and are thereafter lost in the desert sands. These locations, with fresh water and fertile soil, are ideal for oasis settlement.

In Persia and 'Umān, the water supply at such sites is often improved by driving tunnels (kāwûd, kārūd [see KĀWṬ]) into the foothills. Chains of such oases below mountain ranges provide, at convenient intervals, shelter, water and provisions for staging-posts, and were followed by many of the great roads of commerce, pilgrimage and imperial control, e.g. by the section of the highway to Khurāsān and Central Asia under the southern slopes of the Elburz ranges of northern Persia, or by the ancient Spice Road from Aden to Gaza along the oases under the high western edge of the Arabian massif.

The relations between the oasis-dwellers and the travellers or nomads who visited them took many forms. Sometimes the Arabian tribes owned the oases and staffed them with servants; sometimes they left them empty, and only called twice a year to fertilise and to harvest the date-palms; elsewhere, the oasis dwellers were dominant, and the nomads begged permission to enter. Certainly, the nomadic economy was heavily reliant on access to the oasis markets and seasonal fairs.

The systems of water-rights and land-holding in the oases also vary greatly. Jean Brunhes in his classic work contrasted in these respects the stony Māţāb [q.v.] and the sandy Şüf in sub-montane Algeria: in the first, the well was the unit of ownership; in the second, the palm-tree, for the land was without value until a settler dug a hole in the sand deep enough to reach the ubiquitous water-table and to plant and tend a date-grove. Often a complex arrangement of rights to stream-flow for purposes of irrigation depended on crude but effective sun-calendars and shadow-clocks.

Until the 20th century, the political allegiance of oases was often shifting and uncertain. When the Middle East was divided up after the end of Ottoman rule, the frontiers were frequently only crudely defined and loosely controlled [see TAVERN AL-HIMM]. Small neutral zones were established in al-Tawāl, and between Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, so that tribes from either side could have access to their wells. However, with the exploration for mineral oil, the precise definition of political borders has become of much greater concern; the neutral zones have vanished, and the political allegiance of e.g. the oases of al-Buraymî [q.v.] is a matter of grave dispute.

**Bibliography:** J. Brunhes, L’irrigation dans l’Espagne

(W.C. BRUCK)

2. In North Africa.

In geographical terminology applied to the Maghrib, the equivalent of the term wāhā is an area with dense vegetation, but not necessarily of trees, in a natural environment where most of the land surface is unsuitable for cultivation, attesting an additional supply of water. This can be natural, such as a spring or a wādi/oued [see wād], sometimes stored up in a dam. It can also be artificial, by means of a well or bore-hole. The distinction is at times not easy to make when a natural supply is improved by man, e.g. by excavating adits, as with the foggaras of the Algerian Sahara, to increase the flow of a spring which has become rather feeble.

An oasis can have a vegetation of spontaneous growth, but more often it is occupied by men who practice, in a form of agriculture which is, to a greater or lesser degree, mechanised and which often waters its plots of land through irrigation canals or waterwheels. This mechanisation allows one to distinguish “traditional” oases, little mechanised, where an intensive type of market gardening is carried out, often on a declining basis, and “modern” oases, often more recent and installed around bore holes or arre- stian wells, sometimes using greenhouses. These may function concurrently with the first type for the utilisation of water.


(Y. CALLOT)

WAHAM (a) also usūhān, usūhm, with the more general term ḥudūmah “longing”, also in use, denotes “pregnancy craving”.

In Arab culture, like in many others, pregnancy cravings traditionally received attention, but this only appears to a very limited extent in Arabic medical works of the Greek tradition. Ibn Sīnā does not pay attention to the phenomenon, not even in discussions concerning the pregnant woman’s [loss of] appetite (Kāhin, Beirut 1965, ii, 1647). ‘Arīb b. Sa’d al-Kūrtūbī, K. Khālq al-dīnān, Algiers 1956, 40 cites Galen on the pregnant woman’s craving to eat clay, which apparently comes under “bad (in the sense of harmful) appetite”, γασθενη νατος, a complaint for which treatment is prescribed. Al-Baladhī, K. Tadbīr al-khālihā, Baghādā 1980, 135-6, also treats “harmful appetites” very cursorily, as one in a long range of minor pregnancy complaints.

In the popular view, however, pregnancy cravings were considered very important, and there was a threatening and magical aspect to them. Thwarting a pregnant woman’s craving for a particular kind of food was considered harmful to the foetus. The view is found in al-Dāḥīhī’s story about al-Kindī (Bukhālā), Cairo 1358/1939, 143-4), who threatens to hold his tenants responsible if a woman in his house miscarries after having been refused a share of their food. Al-Kindī’s view is obviously seen as a ridiculous exaggeration, but there is sufficient evidence that paying attention to pregnancy cravings was, and is, part of the social code, cf. the verb ḥudāmah “to slaughter a camel in order to satisfy a woman’s craving”; also e.g. Abd al-Latīf al-Baghādāhī, K. al-Sa’dā, London 1964, 234, fol. 58b). Observations by anthropologists made during the last century and modern lexicological sources show that the aspect generally emphasised was—and is—that refusing a pregnant woman the food she craves will result in a birthmark (ghaṣna “appetite”) on the child in the shape of the food in question. This belief is not restricted to the Arab world, but used to be widespread also in Europe and, for instance, in the West Indies. An example from the Arab cultural sphere is that of a birthmark in the form of a grape that swelled up when grapes were in season (Winfred S. Blackman, The Fellūsh of Upper Egypt, London etc. 1927, 62). That this provided pregnant women with a means to exercise power otherwise unheard of in many other cultures is illustrated, for instance, by the fuss made by a pregnant black concubine in Luxor (in 1860) with a craving for olives (Lady Duff Gordon, Letters from Egypt (1862-1869), London 1969, 174-5).


AL-WĀHĀT (pl. of wāh “oasis”, this being a transcription of Coptic ouah denoting cultivated lands within the deserts, as already noted by Yākūt), the name of a series of oases in the western desert of Upper Egypt.

E. Amelineau, in his Géographie de l’Égypte à l’époque copte (Paris 1893), had great difficulty in identifying the names of the oases with the modern names, and the Arabic texts are equally ambiguous. According to Yākūt, Baladhī, ed. Beirut, v, 341-2, they were three districts (kuwar) stretching southwards into the western desert parallel to the Nile valley. The first was opposite Fayyūm and extended to the latitude of Aswān; this was the largest oasis, with numerous villages and palm groves which produced the best dates in Egypt. The second was smaller and less populous. The third was the smallest and contained a town called San-tariyya. The population of the oases was of Lawātā Berber stock. In the 9th/15th century al-Makrizī mentions four oases: al-dākkīli “the interior one”, the pair of al-khārdījat il “the exterior ones” and the oasis of Bahnasā, these yielding a total revenue of 25,000 dinārs in the year 585/1190 (i.e. the Ayyūbid period). At the time of al-muqta al-ndṣrī [see Rawk], sc. in 715/1315, they were not included amongst the provinces of Egypt; the sultan did not appoint a governor and they were administered by those who held them as ḥās. In his notice, al-Makrizī, before passing from the “interior” to the “exterior” oases, speaks of the “oasis of the town of Santariyya, this being the older Islamic name of the oasis known since the end of the 10th/16th century as Sīwa [q.v.], the classical oasis of Amon. Al-Bakrī is the only geographer, in addition to the later al-Makrizī, who gives the dual form al-wūḥāni al-khārdījat il; it may be that al-wūḥāni al-khārdījat il was composed of two distinct urban groupings of settlements. The most important settlement here was Irsī, the modern Bāris. The oasis of Bahnasā, different from its homonym of the Bahr Yūsuf (= the ancient Oxyrhynchus; see on it AL-BAHNAS), is the oasis known today as al-wūḥā al-baḥriyya and there is also the wūḥāt al-farāfira [see AL-FARĀFIRA]. The first of these two was formerly called thus because it was connected
with the town of the same name in the Nile valley by a road to the Nile 200 km/130 miles long. There are main towns called al-Kasr in Farafra and in Dakhla.

These oases (al-bahriya, al-fanṣira, al-dākhila and al-khandija: conventionally, Bahariya, Farafra, Dakhla and Kharga) today form one of the 26 governorates of Egypt with the name of al-Wadl al-Djadfd, having an area of 45,800 km² and a population of 132,000, including three administrative centres, three towns and 134 villages.

On the rather complicated dialectology of the oases, see P. Behnstedt and M. Woidich, Die ägyptischen Oasen—ein dialektogischer Vorbericht, in ZÄL, viii [1982], 39-71 (includes texts).


WAHB, Barmūd, a family of officials in caliphal service, especially noted as secretaries and viziers to the ‘Abbasids during the 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries.

The majority of sources state that the family came from Wāṣit and were of Nestorian Christian origin before converting to Islam, nevertheless claiming a pure Arabic origin going back to the Yemeni tribe of Bāḥrāṭī of Nadjārīn. The Wāḥās thus belong to the tradition of servants of the caliphs with Nestorian backgrounds who were prominent in the administrations of the 3rd/9th century (cf. L. Massignon, La politique islamico-chretienne des scribes nestoriens de Deir Qunna à la cour de Bagdad au IX siècle de notre ère, in Vire et Pensé, 2nd ser. [1942], 7-14). This role of the Wāḥās seems to go back to late Umayyad times, from which they passed into ‘Abbāsid service and then were particularly associated with the Barmakīs. Wāḥb served Dhu’l-Kacda Ibn Yūbīs [see ibn Makhlad] and then al-Muʿtaḍī’s minister of al-Faḍl b. Sahl [q.v.].

1. Sulaymān b. Waḥb, Abū Ayyūb, began as a secretary to al-Ma’mūn and then acted for such generals as Mūsā b. Būḥā and Aṭrāk in the reign of al-Wāṭihk, thereby beginning a link with the Turkish military elite which was to run all through his career. At this time, his brother al-Ḥasan also was a secretary of the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt [q.v.]. Sulaymān was twice ‘āmil or financial intendant of the province of Egypt under al-Mutawakkil, apparently deriving rich pickings from the office. In the short reign of al-Muḥtaḍī (255-6/859-60) he served as the caliph’s last vizier at a time when all real power in the state had passed to the Turkish military classes and the vizierate had likewise reached a low ebb. Under al-Mu’tamīd he became vizier again in 263/877 and again in 264/878, at a time of intrigues and rivalries with another secretary and vizier, al-Ḥasan b. Makhḍāl b. al-Djārīḥ [see ibn Makhlad], also of Christian origin. But Sulaymān was soon afterwards dismissed, unable to satisfy the financial exigencies of al-Mu’tamīd and his brother the regent al-Muwaffak, and died in prison in Safar 272/July-August 885. He had, nevertheless, been the maservah of such leading poets of the time as Abū Tamam and al-Buḫtūrī [q.v.].

2. ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Sulaymān, son of the preceding, and also with long secretarial experience, shared in his father’s disgrace, but had the support of the newly-nominated vizier to the throne of his daughter’s son al-Muʿtaḍī [q.v.], and in Safar 278/June 891 became al-Muʿtamīd’s last vizier and then, when al-Muʿtamīd died the next year, vizier to the new caliph al-Muʿtaḍīd, remaining in office till his own death in Rabi’ I 288/April 901. ‘Ubayd Allāh was closely concerned with the re-imposition of caliphal power in Dījbūl by military force and with various administrative reforms, and was the patron of the two brothers of the Banu ʿl-Furāt [see ibn al-Furāt] in their efforts to secure a greater inflow of tax revenues for the state by the strict supervision of provincial agents. ‘Ubayd Allāh achieved a great contemporary reputation for his honest conduct and justice, and was favoured by the caliph’s addressing him by his kunya; also, he seems wisely to have restrained al-Muʿtaḍīd from putting blatantly anti-Umayyad, pro-Shīʿī measures into force, fearing the effects on public order.

3. al-Kāsim b. ‘Ubayd Allāh, Abu l-Husayn, son of the preceding, succeeded as vizier when his father died and acted as al-Muʿtaḍīd’s minister until the caliph himself died in Rabi’ II 289/March-April 902, and was the first vizier to the new caliph al-Muṭṭakīf [q.v.] until his own death in Dhu l- Kaʿda 291/October 904. Al-Kāsim had served at his father’s side, but was of lower calibre, less scrupulous, more concerned with lining the pockets of himself and his protégés, and brutal with those he regarded as hostile or potentially so. Thus he secured the execution of the governor of Fārs Badr al-Muʿtaḍīdī [q.v. in Suppl.], of the captive Saflarīd amīr ‘Amīr b. al-Layth [q.v.], of the poet Ibn al-Rūmī [q.v.], who had satirised the Banū Waḥb, and various others, often against the will of his young master. He was planning to move against the surviving brother of the Banu ʿl-Furāt, ‘Āfī, but fell ill and died before he could achieve this. Although only a mediocre administrator, al-Kāsim was an able courtier and managed to raise the prestige of the office of vizier to a new height as the directing power in the state. He received great honours from the caliph, including the new honorific title of Wālī al-Dawla ‘Friend, Protector of the State’ (which was to appear on coins), and one of his daughters married a son of al-Muṭṭakīf. His death, however, meant the eclipse of the family’s influence for nearly a generation and the ensuing ascendancy of persons like ‘Alī b. ʿl-Furāt, involving inter aīa an increase in Shīʿī influence in the state, and new figures like the latter’s rival ‘Alī b. Ḥāṣā [q.v.].

4. al-Husayn b. al-Kāsim, son of the preceding, succeeded ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Muhammad al-Kalwādhānī as al-Muṭṭakīf’s penultimate vizier in Ramadān 319/September 931, and filled the office for eight months till Rabi’ I 320/May 932. He relied on Furātīd support against the influence of ‘Alī b. Ḥāṣā and the powerful commander-in-chief Muʿnis al-Muṣaffār [q.v.], and, like his father, received from the caliph an honorific title, Amīl al-Dawla ‘Mainstay of the State’, which appears on coins. He endeavoured to restore the disastrous state of the caliphal finances, but fell from power, having been perhaps the last vizier to attempt to retain for the vizierate a measure of its former independence.

5. Muhammad b. al-Kāsim, brother of the preceding, became vizier to al-Kāhir in Shaʿbān 321/July 933 in succession to Ibn Mukla [q.v.] and at the time of Muʿnis’s fall and death, but served for only two-and-a-half months till his dismissal in Dhu l- Kaʿda 321/October 933.
WAHB — WAHB b. MUNABBIH

Bibliography: 1. Sources. These include the historians Ya’kub, Tabarf, Mas‘ud, Hilal al-Sabi’, Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Abbar, Ibn al-Takakkā, etc.; the works on secretaries and viziers by Djahājīyārī, Šūfī, Ibn al-Abbar, etc.; and scattered references in adab collections like the Aghānī, Tanūkhī’s Nisāwāt al-muhaddirān and al-Parānd bāl ‘al-dhida, and Ibn Hamdūn’s Tadhkīra. There is a biography of Sulaymān b. Wahb in Ibn Khallikān, ed. Abūs, ib., 415-18, tr. de Slane, i, 596-600.


(C.E. Bosworth)

WAHB b. MUNABBIH, Abū ‘Abd Allāh, Yemeni narrator and author-transmitter from South Arabia. He was of Persian origin, having been born at Dhimar, two days’ march from Ṣan‘a’ in the year 34/654-5. Information about his conversion to Islam in the year 10 A.H. is unreliable. More probably the details concerned his father Munabbīḥ, of whom it was said that “he converted to Islam at the time of the Prophet and that he was a good Muslim.” (Ibn Ḥadjar, Tahdīḥ, xi, 167). He lived with his five brothers at Ṣan‘a’, and Ḥammām was the eldest of them. The most reasonable date for the brother’s death seems to be 101 or 102/719-20, and the least probable is 132, when compared with that of Wahb (see below). He left a Safīfī with almost 140 translations and commentaries; these were published by R.F. ’Abd al-Muttalib in 1406/1986, following a manuscript from the Dār al-Kutub in Cairo, which corrects and expands the edition by Ḥamīdullāh, who followed ms. from Berlin and Damascus.

The other brothers were Ghaylān, ‘Abd Allāh, Maḵšī (who predeceased Wahb) and ‘Umar, all remarkable except that the last two used to transmit the traditions of Wahb, who was correctly recognised as a great authority in the field of biblical traditions; many varied quotations have come to light to show that he had inherited the knowledge of the two great converts Ka‘b al-Abbar and ‘Abd Allāh b. Ṣalām (al-Dhahabī, Ḥuffāz, i, 100; and Ibn al-反腐ī, 34, ll. 9 ff., where such praise astonished even Ibn ʿAbbas himself). He can be classified like his brothers, Ḥammām, Ghaylān and Maḵšī, as one of the ḥadīthīn.

The question arises whether he was a member of the Aḥl al-Ṭarīb before his conversion to Islam (Fihrist, 22), or more precisely, whether he was Jewish (Ibn Ḥājjālūn, Mukakkadda, Beirut 1961, 589, ll. 6 ff., and others before him). The oldest sources do not mention this question, and by contrast the facts are unverified since his father had converted long before the birth of his son. He was therefore probably born a Muslim. Al-Thalābī, 192, speaks of an alleged meeting with Muḥāyya, al-Mas‘ūdī, Muḥāṣib, Cairo 1346/1927-8, ii, 152, recounts that al-Walīd had sent him an inscription discovered at Damascus to decipher.

He acted as a judge in Ṣan‘a’, and one day during the governorate of Usrwa b. Muhammad he beat an official (ṣāḥib), whom people had complained about, with a stick until he drew blood. The question is also attributed to him that, in accepting the role of a judge, he had lost the gift of seeing the future in his dreams; but as in many similar statements one must see here only an attempt to distract attention from his duties (see below, especially the introduction of the Alḥab al-ṭarīb of Wāḥb, [p.], ed. Cairo 1947-50, on the problems and dangers involved in being a judge, which stopped more than one Muslim from taking up this responsibility). Similarly, there are many details given about his life which accord well with his ascetic behaviour (see for example al-Dhahabī, Ḥuffāz, i, 100; Ibn Sa’d, v, 395; Ibn Ḥadjar, Tahdīḥ, xi, 167). There are also many exhortations of all sorts in this vein attributed to him which were later questioned, according to later books where they are also reported. Wahb is thought to have originally adopted kadār, or the doctrine of freewill, but later to have rejected it, since it was contradictory to all the revealed writings. It is not recorded in which period of his life he was sent to prison, probably because of this belief and because of his contact with the People of the Book (see below). Perhaps it took place at the end of his life, for it is known that he died from the consequences of a flogging to which the governor of Yemen, Yusuf b. ʿUmar al-Thakafī, had condemned him in 110/728 or 114/732.

There can no longer be any doubt about the books attributed to the author. Their contents were transmitted orally, taught or set down in writing, partly at least in his own lifetime, and later by particular members of his family. Books belonging generally to the biblical heritage as disseminated by Judeo-Christian scholarship (in Yemen and Hijāz, and, especially, in Medina) was formed quite early. It was called biblical but was within Islam. It was disseminated by the philosophers and by others from the same Judeo-Christian milieu chiefly in Arabia, and then supplemented by posterity.

Wahb, especially because of the books bearing his name which have come down to us and also because of the importance accorded to him by later authors, can be regarded as one of the most important intellectual heirs of this group of people. He handed down a method of approaching the biblical texts properly so-called which can again be found in his successors and in authors as serious as Ibn Ḥatim, who in his work reserves a place of honour for Ibn Munabbīḥ in his Maṭrīf, and even more importantly in al-Juyyāṣ (see Vajda, Lecomte, and especially a recent thesis of Said Karoui from Heidelberg) in the work of this author on the Bible. There are a very large number of quotations regarding his fame to be found in many of the historical books of al-Ṭabarī (his History and his Commentary), of al-Mas‘ūdī, of al-Thalābī, etc.; these concern the list of books that deal with the contents of the first book attributed to him (see Khoury, Wahb, 227-46). The title of this book as assigned to it by posterity is K. al-Mubtada’ wa-kulā’ al-anbiyā’, but it varies according to different authors. It starts with the beginning of creation (badr al-khulq) and encompasses the history of the prophets, from Adam to the arrival of the Prophet of Islam (see MUBTADA’ 2).

The most ancient sources which bear witness to the circulation of this material under the name of the author are from the Hadīth Dā’ūd (The History of David), which is an Arabic papyrus now kept in Heidelberg, the oldest of its kind in Islam. It was published by the present writer in 1972 (see Khoury, Wahb, 34-115) with a translation into German. The original condition in which this papyrus was found showed it to be much ravaged by worms and chronic wear and tear, to the point that certain pages are only half intact and certain lines have only a few
words or even odd letters preserved. It was almost completely restored thanks to the parallel version by Wahb, transmitted by his grandson Idns b. Sinan, and by his son 'Abd al-Mun'im b. Idris (d. 228/842, a year before the papyrus was written).

It had been kept in the private library of Ibn LahT'a, the judge of Egypt, as this man's disciple and transmitter, who extended the initial material without changing the structure of the text. For this reason, in this book of 'Umara (Ibn Khayr, Fahrasa, 294) we have a conflation of the oldest and the most weighty versions about biblical narratives from the first two centuries A.H. What is remarkable in the history of these texts is that we have more accuracy in the imad, for where the papyrus sometimes uses simply kalâ, 'Umâra mentions the name of Wahb, who appears to be a primary source for this voluminous book. Unfortunately for us, only the second part is preserved, from Moses to the arrival of the Prophet. The same holds for the traditions attributed to Ibn Munabbih, which relate to the same character and which, together with the traditions of the Psalms, could be considered as a primary source for this voluminous book. However, it may not be possible to find in these texts the definite statement of such an ideology, which would perhaps have brought disgrace on the author and could have cost him his life.

However, it was not always used wisely by the teachers of Medina, as has already been shown (see e.g. Khoury, Wafaydt, iii, 671). Ibn Kutayba is said to have seen a version of it himself. In any case, the presence of material on the same theme was attested by the K. al-Ṭīḍān of Ibn Hīşam, who referred to Wahb as his primary source, through the intermediary of the same grandson, and from him Asad b. Mūsā (q.v. in Suppl.). He found it in the library of the judge of Egypt, who received him and opened his house to him as a disciple (see Khoury, Asad b. Mūsā, 25).

In the second part of this book Wahb is found everywhere as the only authority; these are the pages containing the beginning of the biblical world, where the indication of names and dates, etc. points to certain, detailed knowledge; and it was to this world that the author wanted to connect Yemen, with a view to enhancing the worth of this country to the bosom of Islam, to Meccan and then to North Arabian roots, and to the centre of rivalries which had built up between north and south.

To these sources should be added information about the biblical world contributed by Ibn Hīşam but referring to the same grandson mentioned above (see further below). A K. al-Isrā'ālīyyat (Hadjdjī Khalīfīa v. 40) is attributed to Wahb, but this does not seem to have been known in the literature of the first century of Islam (Khoury, Wafayāt, 205, 247-57); it probably relates to stories arising out of those in the preceding book. As for the Kāsā al-akbārār (Hadjdjī Khalīfīa, iv, 518), this title can refer only to the same theme, and it points to evidence of how similar materials could have been able to circulate under different titles, given that the first of them was lost in transmission.

Under the rubric of biblical history, a translation by Wahb of the Psalms of David deserves to be mentioned, the K. Zâhīr Dâwūd... Tanjīmat Wahb b. Munābbih (Ibn Khayr, Fathasa, 294). According to the multiple sources consulted (see Khoury, Wafayāt, 207, 250-63), it is less of a translation than a publicising of motifs adopted by David, popularising the Psalms to which he or posterity has added all sorts of material, and these were sometimes (at least partly) Islamicised. There are even three different titles, Ḥikmat Wahb, Ḥikmat Lūkmān and Maghdzī l-Wahb (Ibn Khayr, 291-2, 294; Khoury, op. cit., 206-7, 263-72), all of which relate to the same character and which, together with the traditions of the Psalms, could be considered under the same rubric of Ḥikam and Mausīza, where David and Lūkmān (b. 'Ad) enjoyed a place of privilege.

It is also worth mentioning here a K. al-Kadar which he wrote and later regretted (Ibn Sa'd, v, 395; Ibn Kutayba, Mârif, ed. 'Ukāsha, 625, 9; al-Khallâl, fol. 91b, ii. 3 ff.). According to Abū Nu'aym, Ḥiya, iv, 24, ii. 17 ff., he even denied the existence of any material on kâdara (see Khoury, 206, 270-2). In any case, there is a biblical ambiency in the traditions attributed to him which are favourable to these ideas. However, it may not be possible to find in these texts the definite statement of such an ideology, which would perhaps have brought disgrace on the author and could have cost him his life.

Alongside the biblical section, which all these titles denote, is another which concerns the pre-Islamic Arab period; this established a true bridge between the biblical world and the Yemeni Arab past. It is the K. al-Mulâk al-mutaawwadda min Himyar wa-akbârārhum wa-kīsāyihum wa-kuhbîrhum wa-ṣā'īrîm, and according to Ibn Khallâkîn, Wafayāt, iii, 671, Ibn Kutayba is said to have seen a version of it himself. In any case, the presence of material on the same theme was attested by the K. al-Ṭīḍān of Ibn Hīşam, who referred to Wahb as his primary source, through the intermediary of the same grandson, and from him Asad b. Mūsā (q.v. in Suppl.).
into writing in the lifetime of the author. The essential point is that the teaching of the master was fixed in writing during the 2nd/8th century, since certain versions were preserved in Ibn Lahf's library by the Egyptian transmitters or settlers in Egypt, as confirmed by the papyri and, especially, by the book of 'Umāra b. Wāhīma.

As for later authors, they often altered certain traditions which they attached to his name, which means that not all of the alterations may have come from him. In any case, in his E. al-Tīgīsī he showed a real knowledge of the Bible, even if this was not extensive in certain citations from the text (see Khoury, Quelques réflexions, 553 ff., esp. 555-6). What was circulated with these biblical and extra-biblical studies was a common Semitic reservoir of great antiquity, and this was often disseminated orally, especially outside the Judaico-Christian dogmatic centres; this has been very ably noted by H. Schwarzbaum in his book on biblical and extra-biblical stories (see Bīhī). In short, Wāhīb is an important representative of the expansion of the historical perspective. His writings embodied a historical and geographical perspective which they attached to his name, which means that the meaning of his name is very intricate.


WAHB B. MUNABBIH — WAHDA

from it by adding the feminine ending -atīn. If the generic noun refers to something which exists in units, the ism al-ajins denotes such a unit; if the referent is homogeneous, the unit noun denotes a separate piece. Thus nāsim ("antlers") vs. nāralāt ("one ant") and hadilāt ("iron") vs. hadilātan ("a piece of iron"). The same grammatical feature exists in a number of other Semitic languages (Hebrew, Aramaic, Accadian, Mehilli) and even in Berber. A related phenomenon in Arabic is the ism al-marra or noman wīdīs derived from the verbal noun to denote a one-time action: hadātan ("smiling") vs. hadātanāt ("one smile"). In the first form of the verb the ism al-marra follows the pattern fālatīn ("one"); even though not all verbal nouns have the form fālatīn, one can, however, argue that fālatīn is the default verbal noun, since it is always used with secondary denominative verbs of the first form (e.g. kahadāhā kahātīn "he hit him in the liver").

The pair "generic noun—unit noun" should not be confused with the pair "collective—singulative", and words like nālūn should not be called collectives, as they are frequently are. Generic nouns denote the genus and are not number-sensitive with regard to their referent: akālu tamūnī may be said by a date-eater regardless of whether he ate one, two, or many dates. Collectives, in contrast, denote a plurality seen as a unit. The singulative is never derived from the collective by adding -atīn. As a matter of fact, in many cases it is the collective that is derived from the singulative by adding the same ending -atīn, thus in participial forms like muqātilīn ("fighter") vs. muqātilīn ("fighting force"), nishātan like sūfīya ("Sūfi") vs. sūfīya ("Sufis"), and fā'āl forms like nağḍārat ("carpenters") vs. nağḍārat ("carpenters") [as a group, guild]. There is a variety of other lexical and morphological means to express this contrast. One should include here also the names of tribes/nations and other groups of people, from which the individual is derived by means of the nisba: al-Rūmī ("the Byzantines") vs. Rūmīnī ("one Byzantine") and qāndīn ("army") vs. qāndīyīn ("soldiers"). Some grammars consider these nisbas a separate type of nomen unitatis (e.g. Corrèente, 81, with precedent among the mediaeval grammarians). While collectives/singulatives always denote sentient beings, generic and unit nouns refer to human beings, but otherwise are semantically fairly spread out (see the categories introduced by Ullmann, Nomen generis, 19-46). The only overlap between the two classes exists with (large) animals; as a result animal names may—quite unpredictably—be singulatives (kalītīn), collectives (abilīn), or generic nouns (bakarīn). Synchronically, this variation in usage defies explanation, and animal nomenclature can be very intricate.

While collectives are mainly treated as feminines, generic nouns are mostly used as masculines, although feminine singular and plural forms of attributive adjectives are not rare either. The latter are best explained as ad sensum constructions: the generic nouns are felt to function like plurals of the unit noun. Note that some mediaeval grammarians and lexicographers had no qualms calling the generic noun a plural of the unit noun (e.g. al-Farrā' [d. 200/822] according to al-Astāridāšī, Sharūkh al-Kifāya, repr. Beirut n.d., ii, 178 1. 18). This is also the reason why the generic noun is more specifically termed ism al-ajins al-ajinnī "the plural-like generic noun" to distinguish it from the wider meaning of ism al-ajins, which is "common noun" as opposed to ism al-ajīn ("proper name") (see A. Fischer, Terminologie, for questions of nomenclature). But this is clearly a secondary development, due to contamination with the collective.

WAHBIYYA [see AL-BAHIYYA].

WAHDA (A.), "unit, unity.

1. As a term in grammar. Here the generic construct ism al-ajins is variously rendered in Western grammars as noman unitatis "noun of unity", "unit noun", "noun of individuality", and "singulative" (but on the last of these, see below). The ism al-ajins forms the counterpart to the ism al-ajins or noman generis "generic noun" and is derived
Both the generic noun and the unit noun can be put in the dual and plural. While unit nouns pose no problem in this respect (\textit{wahdat} “two [individual] trees”, \textit{wahdat al-nufus} “several [individual] trees”), the semantics of the dual and plural of the generic noun have not yet been fully investigated (even Ullmann is somewhat reticent about the semantic side of these forms in his collection of pertinent references, \textit{Nomen generis}, 50-2). In many instances the connotation is clearly that of “kind”: \textit{wahdat al-nufus} “two kinds of trees”, \textit{wahdat\textsuperscript{a}} “[different] kinds of trees”. This tallies well with the original meaning of the generic noun. But in other cases the connotation is rather that of “group” (the examples added by Ullmann, 50, for \textit{hayd\textsuperscript{a}} presuppose the meaning “kinds of eggs” in some cases and “clutches of eggs” in others). In still other cases the plural of the generic noun (e.g. \textit{riy\textsuperscript{a}d}) seems to serve as a plural for the unit noun (\textit{nasad\textsuperscript{a}}), but that is difficult to prove and needs further study. In Modern Standard Arabic it is clearly felt to be so (personal surmises).


2. As a term in philosophy.

Here it conveys the ideas of oneness, unity, union, isolation and solitude (cf. in this last regard the title of Ibn Bādīs\textsuperscript{a}'s \textit{Tažbīr al-mutanawwahīd\textsuperscript{a}} and cf. also Ibn Snīr\textsuperscript{a}'s usage of \textit{waḥdh\textsuperscript{a}} as a synonym of \textit{waḥda\textsuperscript{a}}, whereas \textit{waḥdān\textsuperscript{a}} conveys rather the idea of “unicity, uniqueness”; see A.-M. Guichon, \textit{Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā}, Beirut 1969, s.v.; I.R. Netton, \textit{Allah transcendent. Studies in the structure and semantics of Islamic philosophy, theology and cosmology}, London 1989, 256-320. (I.R. Netton)

\textbf{WAHDAT AL-WUDJUD [see WAHDAT AL-SHUHUD].}

\textbf{WAHDAT AL-SHUHUD (A)}, with \textbf{WAHDAT AL-WUDJUD}, two technical terms of \textit{Ṣūfī} mysticism.

\textit{Wahdat al-wujūd} “the oneness of witnessing” is a doctrine established by Shāfi‘ī Ahmad Sīrīhindī (\textit{q.v.}) in response to \textit{wahdat al-wujūd “the oneness of being” or “the unity of existence”}, a term that by his day was identified with the position of Ibn al-ʿArabī (\textit{q.v.}; see also \textit{taṣawwuf}, 2). Most of the secondary literature has assumed that there really is a specific, recognised doctrine known as \textit{wahdat al-wujūd} established by Ibn al-ʿArabī and that \textit{wahdat al-wujūd} really does offer an alternative or a corrective to that doctrine. Given the history of the expression and the contexts in which it appeared, however, this assumption is difficult to sustain. The various attempts by scholars to explain \textit{wahdat al-wujūd} by employing labels such as “pantheism” or “esoteric monism” succumb to the same assumption and fail to clarify what exactly was at issue in the text. In fact, \textit{wahdat al-wujūd} was more an emblem than a doctrine, and if Ibn al-ʿArabī was considered its founder, this simply indicates that his writings mark Sūfism's massive entry into the theoretical discussions of \textit{wujūd} that before him had been the almost exclusive preserve of the philosophers and the \textit{mutakallimin}.

The underlying issue is how Islam's first principle—\textit{ta’ṣīl}—became such an all-encompassing, or “uni-versal” or “unitary” in a sense that is impossible for His essence to be arranged into parts... it belongs to none but God to be absolute unity” (tr. D.B. Burrell and Nazih Daher, Cambridge 1992, 130-1) (for a discussion of the theological treatment of the phrase \textit{al-wujūd\textsuperscript{a}} and other names meaning “the One”, see D. Gimaret, \textit{Les noms divins en Islam}, Paris 1988, 191-200). The modality of the Unity or Oneness of God precipitated much debate in mediaeval Islamic theology, particularly as theologians grappled with the problems arising from the idea that God had attributes.

In Islamic mystical philosophy and theology, perhaps the best known articulation of the term \textit{waḥda\textsuperscript{a}} was the phrase \textit{waḥdat al-wujūd\textsuperscript{a}} “the oneness of being” or “unity of existence” [see \textit{WAHDAT AL-SHUHUD}]. Whilst Ibn al-ʿArabī does not seem actually to have used the phrase himself in his own authenticated writings, there is no doubt that it represents his philosophical and theological framework. As far as this doctrine is concerned, the phrase \textit{waḥdat al-wujūd\textsuperscript{a}} “the unity of witnessing [only God]” came into being amongst more orthodox opponents of Ibn al-ʿArabī's monism, such as Ahmad Sīrīhindī (\textit{q.v.}) (see Y. Friedmann, \textit{Shāfi‘ī Ahmad Sīrīhindī,} Montreal and London 1971, 59-60, and \textit{taṣawwuf}, 2). But in Sūfism in general, the matter and definition of \textit{wujūd\textsuperscript{a}} could be very complex, and a work like the \textit{Kīlaḥ al-ṣūfīyya} of Abū al-Razzāk al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1330 \textit{q.v.}) is full of gnomic utterances about \textit{kaṭara\textsuperscript{a}} and \textit{wuṣūd\textsuperscript{a}} (cf. \textit{ibid.}, ed. and tr. Nabil Safwat and Pendlebury, \textit{A glossary of Ṣūfī technical terms...}, London 1991).

discussed it along with *wa'd 
and *taw'udh and con- 
sidered it a stage on the path in which the “finder” (*wa'd 
) is aware only of God. Ibn al-‘Arabi follows this usage when he defines it as “finding the 
Real in ecstasy” (*wa'd al-
shuhud *hakh *fi 'l-
wa'dud; Futuhdt, iii, 447.18; cf. Chittick, 
Self-disclosure, 183-4). In the Sufi lexic on, *dan is con- 
trasted with *fahk “separation”; and it denotes seeing 
all things as brought together through God’s rea-
ty. The people of bringing together and finding have 
been so overcome by the vision of God that they see 
no separation between him and the things. In effect, 
they say “All is He” (*hama *ist)—the ecstatic and poet-
ical exclamation found as early as Anšārī and said 
in the later debates to be the position of *wa'dat al-
wa'dud. But Ibn al-‘Arabi does not consider this sort 
of vision the highest stage on the path to God, 
because it amounts to seeing with one eye; with the 
other eye the true Sūfī must also see that all is not He.

If the term *wa'dat al-wa'dud had any significance 
for Ibn al-‘Arabi’s own position, it would have been 
discussed in the writings of his disciples who 
write about theoretical issues, especially Sadr al-Dīn 
Kūnawī and *Abī al-Dīn al-Tīlīnsī (*q.v.). Kūnawī 
does in fact use it on two occasions, but it arises 
aturally in the course of discussions of *wa'dah and *wa'dud, 
and he attaches no special importance to it. In three 
works of al-Tīlīnsī seen by the present writer, the 
closest he comes to it is *wa'dah nayt (*Shahr al-asrār; *bānūn, commentary on the name *asrār). 
Perhaps more significantly, in *Shahr fasīs al-
hisam, the earliest of the many commentaries written 
on this famous book, al-Tīlīnsī says concerning a passage 
from the first chapter that Ibn al-‘Arabi is employing 
philosophical language to allude to *al-taw'udh al-
wuajud. In the passage itself, Ibn al-‘Arabi has made 
the unremarkable statement that *wuajud brings together 
al “existent things” (*maqād). In the one work of 
his so far printed, *Shahr manzal al-asrār, al-Tīlīnsī 
often uses the expression *al-*gāy im *wuajud, defining 
it, in a phrase reminiscent of al-Djumayd’s definition 
of *mushāhada, as “the manifestation [*wa'd] of the Real’s 
*wuajud through the announcement [*fand] of the creature’s *wuajud” (ed. Tunis 1989, 462).

*What might be considered the earliest instances in 
which the term *wu'dat al-wa'dud designates a distinct 
position are found in the writings of Ibn al-‘Arabi’s 
 fellow-Murcian Ibn Sabḍīn (*d. 669/1270 q.v.)., who 
was much more conversant with the philosophical 
tradition. In the most explicit of these, he writes that 
the ignorant and the common people are dominated 
by multiplicity, while “the elect *lāmān” are dominated 
by the root [*as], which is *wu'dah al-*wuajud (Rasā'il 
*Ibn Sabḍīn, Cairo 1965, 194; see also 38, 189, 264, 
266). He may be saying here that *wu'dah al-*wuajud is a doctrinal position; more likely, he is simply asserting 
that the elect see all things in terms of *taw'udh, 
while the common people see dispersion and inco-
herence. What is new here is not the idea but the 
expression, and it is not surprising in the context, 
given the centrality of the term *wuajud to philosophy. 
That this specific expression had no special signifi-
cance for him is suggested by the fact that he does 
not mention it in his major work, *Budd al-'urf, though 
he does insist that *wuajud is one (*Beirut 1978, esp. 
228, 303). Another early use of the term is found in 
two headings of one of the popularising Persian works 
of *Azt al-Dīn Naṣafi, *Kashf al-khahd 'ik (written in 680/ 
1281-2), where it designates a doctrine having four 
different formulations at the hands of two groups 
of Sūfis, “the people of the fire” (*ahbā' *nār) and “the 
people of the light” (*ahbā' *ist; see H. Landolt, 
*La paix de la “face du ciel”: *Azt-e Naṣafi (*VII/XII 
siècle) et le “monisme césarique” de l’Islam, in St. fr., 
xxv [1996], 163-92). The folk of the fire see that the 
one, true *wuajud burns away all “others”, while 
the folk of the light see that the “others” are rays of 
*wuajud’s light; these two perspectives correlate with 
*fand and *bāka'. Again, the expression is new but not the 
ideas.

Perhaps the most telling of the early uses of *wu'dat al-wa'dud is by Kūnawī’s disciple *Sa'd al-Dīn Farghānī 
(*q.v.), who employs it many times in both the Persian 
and Arabic versions of his commentary on Ibn al-
Fārīd’s *al-Tīyāna. In this work, which is one of the 
most detailed and sophisticated discussions of the 
relevant theoretical issues in this period, *wu'dah al-wa'dud is the complement of *kaθrat al-*ilm and provides 
a philosophical basis for *fand and *bāka'. God’s *wuajud
is one through its necessity, while God’s knowledge is many through its objects; thus the oneness of God’s existence is unity, while God’s knowledge is many through its objects; thus the oneness of God’s existence manifests the many-ness of creation, the soul (Mashrik al-dardn, 364-5). In the Arabic passage that corresponds to this discussion, he tells us that the traveller, finding his own spirit, is attracted to “the world of the oneness of true witnessing” (ilm wahdat al-shuhud al-lamid). Both modes of subsistence can be called ‘ilm (Mashrik, 186; Muntaha, ii, 226). At a still higher stage, he achieves magic (ilm al-dj.am), in which the two earlier stations are harmonised. In the highest stage, ahadyyat al-ilm, which is exclusive to Muhammad, the two perspectives are seen to be the same (Mashrik, 395-96; Muntaha, ii, 45). The fact that the earlier, Persian version of this work was based on KunawT’s lectures suggests that Kunawi employed these terms in the same way (Mashrik, ii, 21). When the traveller reaches the advanced stages of the path, he undergoes annihilation of the soul, and this is accompanied by a subsistence in which he achieves the witnessing (shuhud) of wahdat al-wuajud. This prepares him for the annihilation of the spirit, which yields a subsistence that is accompanied by the witnessing of kathrat al-ilm (Muntaha, i, 357). On the side of Maktubdt, rulings of the SharT’a (e.g. Dihlf 1964, no. 61) have not yet gained a special significance, but FarghanT does not always carry it over into contemporary Islamic thought.

Finally, we should keep in mind that the Muslim authors themselves had no interest in the history of ideas in the modern sense. For Sirhindi, wahdat al-wuajud was a living issue, and it was not important to know exactly how it had come upon the scene. He saw that his contemporaries ascribed the expression to Ibn al-ArabT and, like Ibn Taymiyya, he thought that they understood it to mean the absolute identity of God and creation. Thus although his interpretation of wahdat al-wuajud exhibits no understanding of the subtleties of Ibn al-ArabT’s position or of the various meanings that had been given to the term over the centuries, it does reflect the status of ongoing debates on ta‘hid, the most basic of theoretical issues in Islamic thought.


WAHHABIYYA, a term used to denote (a) the doctrine and (b) the followers of Muhammad b. ’Abd al-Wahhab (1115-1206/1703-92) [see ibn ’Abd al-Wahhab].

The term is derived from Muhammad b. ’Abd al-Wahhab’s father’s name “Abd al-Wahhab” and was originally used by Muhammad b. ’Abd al-Wahhab’s opponents to denote his doctrine as mere personal opinion. Probably the first appearance the term made is in the title of the K. al-Saadab, al-bahaya fi ’l-nabil ’ala ’l-Wahhabiyah (first ed. Bombay 1306/1888-9) of Sulaymän b. ’Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1208/1793-4) who up to 1190/1776 had strongly opposed his brother’s teachings. Muhammad b. ’Abd al-Wahhab and his followers called themselves al-Muwa‘hidun “those who profess the unity of God”. Nevertheless, al-Wahhabiyah [and the derivation Wahhab/Wahhabiyah] became the most widespread term for Muhammad b. ’Abd al-Wahhab’s doctrine and followers. In the 20th century it was also used by followers and sympathisers of the movement, like Sulaymän b. Sahmān (d. 1930) in his K. al-Hadīyya al-samyya wa ’l-tufa al-wahhabiyah al-wajdiyya (Cairo 1344/1926) or Muhammad Rasgjid Ridi (q.v.) in his al-Wahhabiyah wa ’l-Hujjāz (Cairo 1344/1926).
The Wahhabiyya came into being by the middle of the 18th century in an oasis settlement in the centre of the Arabian Peninsula. In 1155/1740 Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab began to proclaim publicly his teachings in Ḩuraymila [q.v.] in the province of al-Miḥmal in Najḍ [q.v.].

In Najḍ, Hanbalism [see Ḥanābīla] had for centuries been the dominant madhab and Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab was educated in its tradition. Yet, when he began to appear in public, his teachings were vehemently rejected as dissonant from the Hanbalī madhhab by local Hanbalī scholars (e.g. his brother Sulaymān, then kādi in Ḩuraymila, 'Abd Allāh al-Muways [d. 1175/1761], kādi in Ḥarāma/Suḍayr, Sulaymān b. Suḥaym, Hanbalī scholars from al-Riyād [q.v.]) as well as Hanbalī scholars from the eastern coastal province of al-Ḥaḍā [q.v.] (e.g. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd Allāh b. Fawrūz [d. 1175/1761-2], 'Abd Allāh b. Fawrūz [d. 1216/1801-2]). The conflict between representatives of the Hanbalī madhhab—e.g. the Hanbalī muftī in Mecca Muhammad b. Ḥumayd al-ʿĀmirī (1235-95/1820-78) and Hasan b. 'Umar al-Shaṭṭī al-Dimāḥkhi al-Baghḍādī (1205-74/1791-1858)—and the Wahhabiyya was to continue also in the 19th century.

The very core of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab's teachings was made up of a concept of tawḥīd [q.v.] and its opposite gīrkh [q.v.], on which he based a radical criticism of his contemporaries' religious behaviour. He asserted that the overwhelming majority of Muslims, not only in Najḍ but in the whole Muslim world, had fallen into a state of religious ignorance no better than that of the Ḥādhābiyya [q.v.]. The reason for this he saw in the ignorance of the real meaning of tawḥīd as prescribed by God and exemplified by His prophet Muhammad. Still at Ḥuraymila, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab composed the K. al-Tawḥīd alladījī huwa ḥakīm allāh 'alā l-usūrī, a thematically arranged collection of Qur'ānic verses and hadīths which were to become the basic material for his argumentation (for a survey of its imprints and a bibliographical survey of Hanbalī and Shāfiʿī writings cf. al-Duḥayyābī). According to him, tawḥīd had a three-fold meaning: tawḥīd al-nuḥūbīyya, tawḥīd al-ʿulūhīyya and tawḥīd al-asqam wa l-jīlāt. Whereas he only touched upon the third category (the unity of God's attributes as laid down in the Kur'ān without interpretation) (e.g. al-Mas'ūda al-ṭalāma, in TN, 432), which was later more specified by his descendants (e.g. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥassān b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab, in MT, 156, 176; 'Abd al-Lajjī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān, in MRMN, iii, 319 ff.), he elaborated in detail on the categories tawḥīd al-nuḥūbīyya and tawḥīd al-ʿulūhīyya (for abbreviations used in this section, see Bihl).

Tawḥīd al-nuḥūbīyya (profession of the unity of God with regard to his divinity) was in the mere verbal profession that God is the only, almighty creator and lord of the world. Tawḥīd al-ʿulūhīyya, which he also called tawḥīd al-tāḥā (al-Duḥayyābī al-muṣīla, in MRMN, iv, 1-8, esp. 5; Ḥajī dīn al-ḥabībī in, MT, 73-92, esp. 75), was the profession of the unity of God by serving God alone and proof of tawḥīd al-nuḥūbīyya through the deeds of the believer. According to him, tawḥīd al-ʿulūhīyya was the decisive dimension of tawḥīd, and only its fulfillment formed the distinctive mark between ʿislām and kāf. Equating tawḥīd with the first religious duty, he subjected the behaviour of his fellow-Muslims to an examination according to his criteria concerning tawḥīd, and stated that most of them were not to be considered as Muslims because of their continued violation of their most eminent duty towards God. The proof for his accusation he saw in the expression of religious feelings through practices which he considered to be gīrkh. Among these he counted the following unless these were exclusively directed at God: dāʾūd (prayer of invocation [q.v.]), isdāʿān (seeking help), sīnāḥā (appeal for aid), dāḥab (slaughter), nuḍr (dedication vow [q.v.]), ḥāuṣ (bear), ṭāvākhī (prostration), gūʿā (authorisation), māḥābaha (love), khashya (fear), naḥba (fright), ṣulūq (devotion to religious service), rūḥānī (bending of the body), saḥāf (prostration), ṭāḥṣī (submission), ṭadhurī (self-abasement) and ṭāzīm (glorification) (al-Risāla al-tāʾsīs, in MT, 128-30). Any act of devotion which displayed religious affection expended on human beings or objects like the veneration of tombs and entombed persons considered as saints, or veneration of places considered to possess supernatural powers, were therefore an offence against tawḥīd, thus gīrkh. The consequences he drew from his definition of tawḥīd were that a person guilty of neglecting tawḥīd al-ʿulūhīyya and thus offending against the first religious duty was to be regarded as a muṭḥink and thus outside Islam, even if he verbally confessed the unity of God and fulfilled the other religious duties. "It is well known that the Messenger of God summoned men to tawḥīd many years before he called on them to [obey] the pillars of Islam. And it is also well known that [the message of] tawḥīd which was brought by Dībānī is the most important religious duty (ṣāmīr fārādā), more important than ṣalāt, ṣāḥīt, sawm and ḥajjīt. How is it possible that someone who refuses to profess tawḥīd, which is the religion of the messengers of God from Nūḥ to Muhammad, does not become an unbeliever only because he utters the formula la ilāh illā l-lāh'" (Risāla fi ḥakīkat al-ʿislām, in MRMN, iv, 41-6, esp. 45).

This doctrine of tawḥīd formed the fundamental on which he based the rules for correct behaviour in belief. Attainment of knowledge about tawḥīd (al-Risāla al-dādiya, in TN, 360-93, esp. 372; Ālī ṭalāma al-tawḥīd, in MRMN, iv, 36-40, esp. 37; for later Wahhabi scholars' statements on this topic, see e.g. Ḥadīya, 46, 60, 67). By claiming that tawḥīd was the most neglected religious duty, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab criticised the long-established consensus of the Sunnī madhhab which had accepted the mere uttering of the shahāda as fulfillment of the Muslim's first religious duty. He argued that the rules of tawḥīd as prescribed by God had become corrupted during the course of time, from the time of the Revelation until the 12th century of the Hijra due to negligence by generations of religious scholars who had thus wrongly guided the 'ulama, and he asserted that only the direct approach of the Kur'ān and the Sunna could again reveal its true meaning. In this matter, he saw himself not bound to any scholarly tradition but independently revealing the lost meaning of tawḥīd in an age of ḥādīhiyya to which everybody except himself had fallen victim (al-Risāla al-tāʾsīs, in TN, 209-24, esp. 211; al-Risāla al-dādiya, in ibid., 309-10).
The allegiance to taklid [q.v.] of the madhhab authorities was unambiguously rejected by him, even though he did not claim the right to ijtihād [q.v.]. He argued that the question of the early Islamic madhab (al-antawāliyya) as well as the example of visiting his mosque for prayer but, as a main objective, it is forbidden.

Neither Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb nor his immediate disciples elaborated specifically on a theory of government and state. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb focused on a vision of ḥanḍa [q.v.] which stressed the principle of al-amr bi 'l-maṣūba un tabya 'an al-munkar as the individual's duty to fight tābih (Risāla ṣukrā, 37), to refuse obedience to rulers and religious authorities not acting in accordance with the prescriptions for tawḥīd and to perform ḥidra if necessary. Only in the 19th century did Wahhābī scholars define the functions of the imāmāt in their writings (cf. 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥasan b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, in MRMN, ii/2, 3-13), based on principles which drew from Ibn Taymiyya (cf. Laoust, 527, Unānī, ii, 113).

(b) Development until 1234/1818-19 (the first Wahhābī Su'ūdî state)

Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb continued to propagate publicly his teachings after he was forced to leave Huraymîlā, first in al-'Uyaynî and, after being expelled from there also, from 1157/1744 or 1158/1745 onwards in al-Dawâsîr [q.v.], then controlled by the local wāli Muhammad b. Su'ūd (d. 1179/1765 [q.v.]). With Ibn Su'ūd's support, there developed the community of Muwâhhadîn, defining itself through commitment to the rules of tawḥīd according to the teachings of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb and the exclusion and combat of those not accepting them. By means of da'wa (letters, envos) and armed campaigns against neighbouring settlements (first attack 1139/1726 on al-Riyyād) the community's sphere of influence gradually extended at the local level. Under the leadership of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Muhammad b. Su'ūd (1179-1218/1765-1803) it accomplished—settlement by settlement, tribal segment by tribal segment—the voluntary or enforced subjection of the provinces of Najd, sc. Sudayr in 1177/1763-4, al-Washm in 1181/1767-8, al-Ārid [q.v.] after the fall of al-Riyyād in 1187/1773, al-Khurād [q.v.] and al-Malād [q.v.] in 1199/1785, al-Kasîm [q.v.] after the surrender of 'Unayza [q.v.], and finally in 1202/1788, Wādî 'l-Dawâsîr [q.v.] and Qīqāl Shāmmar [q.v.] in 1205/1790-1.

In the emerging state governed from al-Dirāyā, Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, beaming the title of gārā', acted as the highest religious authority, teacher and supervisor of instruction in Wahhābī doctrine, and, according to Ibn Bahr [q.v.] (Unānī, i, 143), he acted as kāfî, inmām and khath. The rulers of the Al Su'ūd [q.v.], bearing the titles of amīr and inmām, directed the state administration, appointing kudāt, a'immā and umārî in the settlements and for the tribes, collecting taxes (zakāh) from settled people and Bedouin, imposing punitive measures on the forcibly subjugated sections of the population, such as destruction of the agricultural infrastructure, and confiscation of property for the bāyti al-māl or payment of ransom for captives and possessions.

By the death of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb in Dhu l-Ka'da 1206/June 1792, the Wahhābī-Su'ūdī state had already begun to descend the boundaries of Najd into al-Ḥāsā, which was subjugated in 1207-8/1792-3, and it had launched the first attacks against the regions of Katar [q.v.] and northern 'Umān [q.v.].

According to Ibn Bahr (Unānī, i, 93), Muhammad
Abd al-Wahhab was succeeded first by his son Husayn (d. 1224/1809), then by his son Abd Allah (1163-1242/1752-1827), in 1223/1809, both of them being as kūdūti in al-Dir'iyya, while Abd Allah seems to have been more important as a scholar (author of Ḍuwal al-qawālīn li-māl kālīn, al-ṣūrat al-ṣaḥīfa wa 'l-ṣayyāriyya (MRMN, iv, 47-221), al-Raḥla-nāt al-nasī'a fi 'l-mukaffarāt al-mukālāt (MT, 229-96), numerous legal treatises (MRMN, i, and a nisā'a written on the occasion of the Wahhabi seizure of Mecca in 1803 (Hadisyaa, 35-52), directing the Wahhabi madājuwūd and instructing the her-appearant Su'ūd b. Abd al-Azīz (1218-28/1803-14) and his son 'Abd Allah (1229-33/1814-18). Later sources (Āl al-Shaykh, 33; al-Bassām, i, 49) mention 'Abd Allah as the direct successor of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab. Several other descendants of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab (called Āl al-Shaykh) represented Wahhabi scholarship by the beginning of the 19th century: his sons 'Ali (d. after 1233/1818 in Cairo) and Ibrāhīm (d. after 1251/1835 in Cairo), his grandson Sulaymān b. 'Abd Allah (1200-33/1886-1818, temporarily kādī in Wahhabi-occupied Mecca, author of Ṭayyir al-āzīz al-ḥamid, sharh Kāfūr al-tawāhid (Beirut 1970), al-Tawāhid 'an tawāhid al-khalīliyya fi ḍuwal al-ṣālih al-ḥaṣān (first ed. Cairo 1901), Aṣṣāfik 'aṣūr, 'l-imār (MT, 178-92, 192-200), Hujm muwātāt al-ṣīrāq (MT, 209-15), and other tracts (imtā'īyya) (MT, 209-15). 'Abd Allah seems to have been more important as a scholar (author of al-Mustafī al-ṣālih, sharh Kāfūr al-ṣālih, and al-Mukaddimah in al-Ta'if after 1220/1805, author of Ṭullūkhārīs, kādī in al-Diyāriyya and al-Tharībān b. Ṣa'īd al-Mu'āmmār (MRMN, i, 47-101, 1970), 'Abd al-Mu'āmmār al-Ṣa'īd al-Mu'āmmār (MRMN, i, 47-101, 1970), 'Abd al-Mu'āmmār al-Ṣa'īd al-Mu'āmmār (MRMN, i, 564-84); 5) 'Uthman b. 'Abd Allah (1229-33/1814-18), envoy to Egypt under Su'ūd b. Abd al-Wahhab, who finally overran al-Hijaz and the ensuing skirmishes lasted up to a peace treaty in 1212/1798, only to be broken in 1217/1802-3 by the Wahhabis, who finally overran al-Hijaz and took over al-Tā'if (Dhū al-Ka'da 1217/February-March 1805) and Mecca (Muharram 1218/April 1805). The first occupation of Mecca lasted only two-and-a-half months until Ghālib in Rabī' 1 1218 /June-July 1803 recaptured the town, but at the beginning of 1220/ April 1805 the Wahhabis took Medina and in Dhū al-Qa'da 1220/January-February 1806 Mecca for the second time.

Wahhabi rule over the Haramayn, which lasted until the turn of the year 1227/28 (1812/13), became one of the most disputed periods of Wahhabi history (cf. Dahlan): the destruction of highly venerated tombs and mausoleums (cemetery of Ma'lā in Mecca) and domes erected at the birthplaces of the Prophet, of 'Ali b. Abī Ṭālib, Abū Bakr al-Siddīq and Khadidja bt. Khuwaylid (q.v.); the ban on the annual Pilgrimage caravans from Syria and Egypt; and the compulsory instruction of 'alāmā and 'i'mām in Wahhabi doctrines, were the most striking examples of the collision of the Wahhabi interpretation of Islam with the majority view in the Muslim world. In a nisā'a written on the occasion of the conquest of Mecca (see above) in which he took part, 'Abd Allah b. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab elucidated the main points at issue: abolition of taxes considered to be unlawful (mukās/nasīm); destruction of all utensils for consuming tobacco and prohibition of smoking it (cf. also Burckhardt, 284, 303); destruction of all places of shirk al-dīn and immorality; destruction of all domes on graves and further buildings taken as places for worship of others than God; compulsion of all believers in the religion of the Wahhabis to worship only the name Al, which madhabb they might belong—to perform each salāt collectively behind one imām (belonging to one of the four madhhabb); distribution of the writings of Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhab among the 'alāmā and of a summary of their main contents among the 'i'mām, to be studied under supervision; interference in the ritual practices of the madhabb when considered as incorrect (in the case of salāt as performed by the Hanafi and the Malikī madhhabb, where, from the Wahhabi point of view, the moment of tuma'inita in tā'ādūl after rukū' and in gǔlūs between the sajdāt was not properly observed; destruction of books that might lead to širk, like the K. Rāvelte al-ṣa'īd al-baydān (of al-Yāfī'i, d. 768/1367-8 [q.v.]) or that might cause disturbance to people's beliefs, like books on ma'lāt al-ma'nā; abolition of the special position of the al-aḥādīs in society (the doctrine of kafīt'a [q.v.]) in marriage, for which no basis in the Kur'ān and Sunna can be found, kissing their hands which might lead to širk, etc.); prohibition of various bāda'; publicly using the suhkha [q.v.] or rosary, raising the voice at the place of adhān [q.v.] other than for the adhān (Kur'ānic verses, prayers to the Prophet, ḥalīl, ṭawīl and tāfīl, reading ḥajdādīf from Abū Hurayra before the Friday sermon, gathering to hear masībi al-nābī recitations, believing this to be a pious deed, gathering for ṭawīl al-mašā'ib like the ṭāfīl al-Sumānn or the ṭāfīl al-Haddād which even contain širk, recitation of ṭawīl for the mašā'ib after the five daily prayers which might lead to širk. The Suṭar path (al-tarka al-ra'īṣyaa) and the purification of the inner dimension from sinful acts is not rejected, as long as the adherent of Su'tas sticks to the Shāfī (as understood by the Wahhabis).

After the siege of Medina, the treasures amassed in the Prophet's grave were taken by the Wahhabis (for the discussion on this topic, cf. al-Alūsī, 55-6), yet the grave itself, after unsuccessful attempts to destroy its cupola, remained untouched (cf. Burckhardt, 281, 331-2); domes and buildings erected on other graves were destroyed.

In the first decade of the 19th century, the Wahhabi-Su'ūdī state increased its dāwā activities also outside
the Arabian Peninsula (e.g. in Tunisia and Morocco, cf. E. Probster, *Die Wahhabiten und der Magrib*, in *Islamica*, vii [1935], 65-112 and in Syria, cf. H. Fleischer, *Brefchei zwischen dem Anführer der Wahhabiten und dem Paia von Damascus*, in *ZDMG*, xi [1857], 427-43) and reached the peak of territorial expansion. South of al-Hijāz, the Wahhābīs established dominance over al-Rufaydī and raided the Yemeni ports of al-Luhayya and al-Hudaydā (*q.v.*) in 1225/1810. In the east, they subjugated Kāatient al-Bahrayn and the Kūfī tribes of northern coastal ʿUmmān; in the south, they controlled the oasis of al-Buraynt (*q.v.*) and occasionally collected zakāt from the Sultan of Maskāt (*q.v.*). At the same time, they raided into al-ʿIrāq, where in *Dhū l-Kaʿda* 1216/March 1802 they overran the Shiʿī sanctuaries of Karbalāʾ (*q.v.*) for the second time (second time in 1223/1808) and pillaged the tomb of al-Ḥusayn (*q.v.*). Continuous quarrels with the southern ʿIrāqī Muntakī (*q.v.*), vassals of the Ottoman ʿulūl in Baḥgādād, the Wahhābī hegemony over al-Ḥijāz and Wahhābī influence on tribes in southern Syria (the only organised military campaign directed against Syrian territory was the raid on al-Muzayrib and Busrā in Ḥawrān (*q.v.*) in 1225/1810), challenged the Ottoman Empire on several fronts simultaneously. In 1227/1807 Muhammad Allī *ʿAlī* (*q.v.*), Ottoman Sultan of Egypt, sent an expeditionary force to prepare a military campaign against the Wahhābīs, which was, however, begun not until 1226/1811, when Egyptian troops landed at Yanbu (*q.v.*). In *Dhū l-Kaʿda* 1227/November 1811 Medina, and in Muḥarram 1228/January 1813 Mecca, were taken from the Wahhābīs. Driven back to Nadjīd, the Wahhābīs met with a crushing defeat at the hands of the Egyptian troops when in *Dhū l-Kaʿda* 1229/September 1818 al-Diraʾyā was taken and reduced to ruins in ʿShaʿbān 1234/May-June 1819. Measures were taken against the Wahhābī Suʿūdī state aimed at destroying its infrastructure, as well as at annihilating the power of its religious and political elites through executions (among others, ʿAbd Allāh b. Suʿūd, 1234/1818 in Istanbul; Ṣulaymān b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Suʿūd; ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Suʿūd; 1233/1818 al-Diraʾyā) and deportations to Cairo (including an estimated total of 400 sons and grandsons of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb and leading members of the ʿAl al-Suʿūdī, cf. Mengin ii, 151 ff.).

(c) Development until the end of the 19th century (the second Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state) When the Egyptian troops left Nadjīd in 1819 the territories of the former Wahhābī-Suʿūdī state returned to the rule of local ʿulūl (*q.v.*). In the struggle for re-establishment of a central political authority, Turki b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Suʿūd succeeded between 1235/1820 and 1240/1824 in establishing himself in power at al-Riyād as the new capital. The political revival was soon after followed by the reconstruction of Wahhābī scholarship, in which ʿAbd al-Rahmān b. Ḥasan, grandson of Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, who had been deported to Cairo, played the major role when he in 1241/1825-6 returned to Nadjīd, taking over the office of chief religious authority in al-Riyād. Until his death in 1285/1869, he worked as a kādī, as teacher of a whole generation of Wahhābī scholars and kādīs and as author of commentaries on the Kādī al-Taʿṣīlīd (*K. Fāṣl al-maṣādij fi ṣawār K. al-Taʿṣīlīd* (first ed. Cairo 1929), K. Ḳurraʿ ʿayn al-mawāʾühānīn fi ṣawār ṣawār al-khâmīs min al-maṣādij (ME, 297-302), refutations of anti-Wahhābī tracts (*Būyān al-madhājīdīa fi ʿl-nadīl ʿalā ʿl-tawḥīd* (MRMM, iv, 223-85), al-Kaʿīl al-nafsī fi ʿl-nadīl ʿalā ʿl-qaṣīd b. Ḥādīsh, al-Maṣādih wa ʿl-Sālihīn (*Q. al-Tawḥīd* (*Q. Kurrat al-majmuʿ fi sharḥ K. al-Tawḥīd*, vol. 297-542)), refutations of *al-wāṣl al-munkar*. He ordered the letter to be read aloud in all mosques and for this to be repeated every two
months. For a period of 23 years up to his death in 1282/1865, Faysal remained the undisputed imām of the Wahhabī-Su'udī state. Under his second reign, a stable dominance was established over the southern Najd, al-Hasa and al-Kaft, whereas rule over the province of al-Quṣūm and its main settlements Burayda and Unayza [g.e.] was precarious at best; the Dijab Šammār under Tālū b. 'Abd Allāh b. Rashīd (1264-84/1847-67) enjoyed a semi-autonomous status whilst remaining politically loyal to the Wahhabī-Su'udī state and paying zakāt. Relationships of political loyalty expressed by payment of zakāt were established with al-Bāḥrayn, with the coastal shaykhdoms of northern Yamam and with the Sultan of Māṣkat. The Wahhabī-Su'udī state, for its part, expressed a formal loyalty to the Ottoman Empire by payment of an annual tribute via the Sharīf of Mecca.

In al-Ṭayyād, 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan Āl al-Shaykhī was in 1284/1484 joined by his son 'Abd al-Laṭfī (1225-93/1810-76), who had been deported to Egypt in 1234/1819 and had since lived in Cairo. Like his father, he worked as a kāfī in al-Ṭayyād, where he became a teacher in the Wahhabī madrasahs and of numerous treatises and refutations (Tā'tūs al-taklīfī 'l-radd 'alā Dāwūd b. Ṭājīdī [first ed. Bombay 1892], Tustūfī al-tālībī wa 'l-ḍabāsī 'l-radd 'alā Ilīn Dīnjīrī, Muhājīrat al-qulūb 'l-radd 'alā 'l-muqaddim 'alā al-Ṭayyādī, Rashīdī [MRMN, iii, iv]). Another prolific Wahhabī scholar and author of this period was 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭūrkhī, to whom the foundations of the state had been severely weakened, as his elder brother Ṣu'ūdī had established the foundations of the state had at this point ceased to exist.

In 1305/1889, 'Abd Allāh b. Faysal tried to establish himself as a vassal of Ibn Rashīd, while in al-Riyād an amīr of Dijab Šammār, Muhammad b. Rashīd (1289-1315/1872-97). From this time onwards, the relationship between the Āl Rashīd and al-Ṭayyād openly deteriorated, with the Šaṭīrī gradually extending their territory at the cost of 'Abd Allāh's power. In Dhu 'l-Ka'bah 1291/January 1875, 'Abd Allāh b. Faysal took over the imamate, which he returned in 1293/1876 to his brother 'Abd Allāh, who was installed for the third time as ruler of the Wahhabī-Su'udī state and was once again acknowledged as the legitimate amīr by 'Abd al-Laṭfī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

At this point there ended the fraternal strife over the imamate which had split the population in their support of the various pretenders to power. Although the formal continuance of the Wahhabī-Su'udī state had been secured by 'Abd al-Laṭfī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān through legitimation of each new ruler in al-Ṭayyād, the foundations of the state had been severely weakened not only through the definitive loss of the Āl-Hasa to the Ottomans but also through the strengthening of movements for autonomy in other regions. In 1293/1876 'Abd Allāh b. Faysal had to face an upheaval against his authority in Burayda which was supported by the amīr of Dijab Šammār, Muhammad b. Rashīd (1289-1315/1872-97). From this time onwards, the relationship between the Āl Rashīd and al-Ṭayyād openly deteriorated, with the Šaṭīrī gradually extending their territory at the cost of 'Abd Allāh's power. In Dhu 'l-Ka'bah 1291/January 1875, 'Abd Allāh b. Faysal took over the imamate, which he returned in 1293/1876 to his brother 'Abd Allāh, who was installed for the third time as ruler of the Wahhabī-Su'udī state and was once again acknowledged as the legitimate amīr by 'Abd al-Laṭfī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān.

After the brother's return to al-Ṭayyād in Rabī' II 1291/December 1876 'Abd al-Laṭfī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān died and was succeeded by his son 'Abd Allāh b. Faysal (1240-1325/1825-1890), kāfī and teacher in Burayda), Muhammad b. Maḥmūd (1250-1333/1834-1915, kāfī in Wafādīr, Dūrmād and al-Ṭayyād).

Faysal b. Türkī's second reign was the longest period of uninterrupted development for the Wahhabī-Su'udī state in the 19th century. Soon after his death in Radjab 1282/December 1865, a fight for the imāmate began among his sons ('Abd Allāh, Su'ūd, Muhammad and 'Abd al-Raḥmān), when Su'ūd b. Faysal rebelled against his elder brother 'Abd Allāh, who had been recognised as the legitimate imām at his father's death. Su'ūd's claim to rule was uncompromisingly condemned by 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan and his son 'Abd al-Laṭfī. When 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan died in 1285/1869, 'Abd al-Laṭfī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān became the senior Wahhabī scholar, and had to face a worsening of the fraternal strife concerning the imāmate when Su'ūd in 1287/1870 seized al-Ḥasā. Su'ūd's victory led 'Abd Allāh to apply for help from Mīḍāt Pāša [g.e.], the Ottoman wałī of Bagdād. Yet Su'ūd advanced against al-Ṭayyād and captured the town in early 1288/1871. His usurpation of power was acknowledged as a legitimate take-over of the imāmate by 'Abd al-Laṭfī b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān for the sake of the Wahhabī community's preservation. When Ottoman troops entered al-Ḥasā in Rabī' II 1288/

Although the Wahhabi community in the 19th century lacked its initial expansionist zeal and had to face setbacks even in its very heartland of Najd, Wahhabi ideas gained influence in other regions of the Islamic world (see WAHHABIYYA). Details of this process are not well known. The second half of the century brought forth fierce anti-Wahhabi polemics and refutations, of which the most important were written by Ahmad b. Zayni Dahlan (1232-1304/1817-86 [q.v.]), Ahmad b. Zayn al-Din Dahlan, and Dawud b. Sulayman b. Sa'id al-Baghdadi (1279-1349/1862-1930, kadi), and the Indian scholar Muhammad Bashir al-Sahawani (d. 1926) held tenets similar to Wahhabi teachings. However, the actual dimensions of Wahhabi influence in India [see KARATM] and in the Islamic world in the 19th century remain as subjects for research.

Bibliography: Madjmu'at al-ra'd al-wa-sa'i 'l-mas'il al-nadjudiya, 4 vols., Cairo 1346-49/1928-30 (abbr. MRMN); Madjmu'at al-tau'li' al-nadjudiya, ed. M.R. Ridâ, Cairo 1346/1928 (abbr. MT); Usur al-mamkar min ahl al-imâm wa-bayân al-din al-kayyim li tairf in t'anmin wa-ibn al-Kayyim, Bombay 1306/1889; al-Mun'a al-wahhabiya fi radî al-wahhabiyya, Bombay 1305/1888; Aghayd al-qiyás bi'idhāl al-qiyás bi-idhābd, Bombay 1305/1888. Their writings prove the growing importance of Wahhabi teachings for others than the community itself and the need felt by its opponents to reject them. Frankly pro-Wahhabi voices were scarce. The revolt of many of the Ikhwan, beginning in 1924-5 with the conquest of the Hidjaz, was the result of a conflict between pristine Wahhabi ideas and the need felt by its opponents to reject them. Frankly pro-Wahhabi voices were scarce. The revolt of many of the Ikhwan, beginning in 1924-5 with the conquest of the Hidjaz, was the result of a conflict between pristine Wahhabi ideas and the need felt by its opponents to reject them. Frankly pro-Wahhabi voices were scarce. The revolt of many of the Ikhwan, beginning in 1924-5 with the conquest of the Hidjaz, was the result of a conflict between pristine Wahhabi ideas and the need felt by its opponents to reject them. Frankly pro-Wahhabi voices were scarce.
practices considered as *bida* [see *BIDA*] as well as the destruction of mausolea and tombstones at the cemetery of Baq'at al-Dir' [q.v.] and elsewhere, gave rise to heated agitation in many parts of the Muslim world. Likewise, the intervention of Wahhabis in traditional practices of the pilgrimage led to serious clashes and even international crises, one of the first and most famous ones being the so-called *mahmal* incident of 1926 [see *MAHMAL*]. These events resulted in serious tensions between Saudi Arabia and a number of Muslim countries such as Egypt and Iran (see Boberg and Kramer, in *B Idol*). As for Iran, the strife over pilgrimage issues and the control of the Haram in [q.v.] flared up again after the Islamic revolution there of 1978-9 (see the annual surveys by M. Kramer, in *Middle East contemporary survey*, Boulder, Col., etc., esp. vol. xi [1987] onwards).

With a few exceptions, the leading Hijādī families of scholars and merchants, most of whom had earlier been closely linked with the Hijādīmutes, were eventually won over by Ibn Su'ūd and adopted, at least externally, Wahhabi doctrine and practices. To the dismay of many Nadji'ī 'ulamā', however, the enforcement of Wahhabi norms has been restrained, in the Hijādī and elsewhere, by both tacit local resistance and governmental consent. In addition, there has been a more or less constant influx of foreigners from a great number of Muslim and non-Muslim countries and with differing social and cultural backgrounds: specialised expatriates, asylum seekers, religious students, etc. Their presence, together with local traditions, has militated against a total assimilation of Saudi society to the Wahhabi way of life. Finally, the gradual erosion of Wahhabi values must also be seen in connection with the affluence resulting from oil wealth and a number of social developments related to it (Grandguillaume, in *B Idol*).

Consequently, the religious discourse and daily practice (not only in the Hijādī in one way or another has come under the influence of the norms and values of the Salafiyya [q.v.] and similar trends (which in the past may have themselves been inspired by the Wahhabiyya). The frame of mind of many intellectuals, civil servants and technocrats in the country is dominated by the principles of reformism [see *ISLAH*, i] and may be described as a kind of "neo-Wahhabiyya" (Schulze in *B Idol*, index, 500, 505). This process of partial moderation has been strengthened, from the 1950s onwards, even by the immigration of members of the Muslim Brotherhood [see *ISLAM, MUSLIM*] and related groups who, coming to Saudi Arabia as political refugees, have served there as advisers, school teachers and in other capacities.

Nevertheless, ultra-orthodox Wahhabi principles and practices are upheld to a considerable extent. Representatives of this current, such as Shaikh 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Bāz (until his death in May 1999 Grand Mufti and president of the Board of Senior Scholars, *Hay'at kibār al-‘ulamā’, established in 1971) make their influence felt, e.g. by issuing fatwās (q.v.) as well as by shaping the structure and curricula of the Islamic University in Medina, an institution founded in 1961 (see也为, index, 494, and Nāīf Muhammad al-Amārī, *Taḥfīf li ’l-Madina al-Munawwara*, Cairo 1414/1993, 610-40). In addition, Wahhabi ‘ulamā’ (including members of Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s family, known as the Al-Shaykh) still play an important rôle in the deliberations of the Mecca-based Muslim World League (*Rāhibat al-‘alām al-islāmī*), a Pan-Islamic organisation founded in 1962 (Schulze, esp. 181 ff, and see *AL-RABITA AL-ISLAMIYYA*). To their embarrass-

ment, however, some of their religious opinions and legal rulings are adopted by militant zealots and used in agitation against what the latter see as a betrayal of religious principles and reparation claiming Wahhabi legitimacy. The ideology of the rebels who seized the *haram* of Mecca in November 1979 is a case in point (see Kechichian, in *B Idol*, also Schulze, 369-74).

In spite of the opposition of many ‘ulamā’ to legal reform, a continuous process of modernist legislation characterised by a pragmatic approach can be observed in Saudi Arabia. There are even indications of the emergence of a legislative authority outside the control of the Wahhabi ‘ulamā’ (see Lavish, in *B Idol*). In line with this development, the promulgation in 1992 of three statutes or basic laws (niyām, sing), including one concerning the establishment of a *muğlis al-ālūm* [see *MAJSIS, ŞHFIR*], are to be seen as a further step away from the traditional Wahhabi position of denying the need for any constitution beyond the Kur‘ān and the Sunna of the Prophet (Titelbau, in *B Idol*).

In the course of the 20th century, the Wahhabiyya have been rehabilitated in the eyes of many Sunni Muslims all over the world. In particular from the second half of the 1920s onwards, prominent Salafis and Arab nationalists such as Rashīd Ridā [q.v.]. Shākhī Arslān [q.v.], Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Ḫāṭibī [q.v. in *Suppl.*] and others have been instrumental in this development. There are, however, authors of different persuasions (including, of course, Şiffs and Şhi‘īs) who have continued to criticise Wahhabi doctrine and practice. (For bibliographical surveys of this literature, see ‘Alī, *Muḥjīm*, in *B Idol*, and Āl Salmān, who in addition quotes Wahhabi refutations of these works, *Kuwa‘*, i, 250-87.)

Wahhabi authors tend to describe the history of their movement in general, and with regard to the 20th century in particular, as an almost unremitting success story. In this connection, they are prone to exaggerate the direct influence of the Wahhabiyya, from the 18th century to the present, on more or less similar reform movements in West Africa, India and elsewhere (see e.g. the works of Djum’a and Dahir, which nevertheless are useful surveys, and also Q. Ahmad and Kaba, in *B Idol*).


WÄHID, a sultanate and confederation of tribes occupying the territory about 320 km/200 miles to the east of Aden [see ‘ADAN], forming a delta shape from the Indian Ocean shore in the south, stretching north about 208 km/130 miles to the region of Bayhân [q.v.], and flanked by the ‘Awläki states in the west and the Ku‘ayfî sultanate in the east (e.g. map in Johnston, *Steamer Point*). Its administrative capital was latterly Mayfa‘a near the impressive pre-Islamic fortifications of Nakab al-Hâdir, whose pre-Islamic name, MÝFT, it took, in the centre of the sultanate, while nearby ‘Azzân remained the home of the Wähidî ruling family (dawla) and Habbân in the west the commercial capital. Other important towns included Bi‘r ‘Ali (by 1961 incorporated into the one sultanate, but previously independent and whose exulcian was alive then), the pre-Islamic incense port of Cana (Kana), on the south coast, and al-Hawta, a centre of religious visitations, between Mayfa‘a and Habbân.

The name Wähidî is traditionally derived from one ‘Abd al-Wähidî, a Kurashî (or Himyarî) chief who gained control of the area, probably about the beginning of the 19th century, and established his residence in Habbân (Arab tribes, 100). Local tradition and a passage from Bal-Pâkhî al-Shâhî’s Tarikh (see Serjeant, 40-1), however, relates that this is the oldest dawla in Southern Arabia and places ‘Abd al-Wähidî about two centuries earlier. His inscribed tomb is reputed to be in the gämi mosque in Habbân. In the 1890s, the sultanate appears to have split into three, with Bi‘r ‘Ali and Balhâf on the southern coast becoming independent of the ruler of Habbân and ‘Azzân (Arab tribes, 102). When the Protectorate treaties were signed in 1888 and 1890, four separate treaties were ratified between the British government and states covering the area of the later sultanate: the "Shawkî" of ‘Irîka (on the southern coast) (1888), the "Shawkîs" of Hawra (a short distance inland) (1888), the "Sultans of the Wähidî tribe" of Bi‘r ‘Ali (1890) and the "Chiefs of the Wähidî tribe of Balhâf" (1888) (Arab tribes, 180-6, with the texts of the treaties). From 1937 the sultanate formed a part of the British-administered Eastern Aden Protectorate, but
in late 1961, having joined the Federation of Arab Amirates of the South whose other member states belonged to the Western Aden Protectorate, it joined the latter grouping of states, Burwayes Dictionary, 377, dates accession to 1962). After entry into the Federation, the then Sultan Nâşir b. ʿAbd Allâh al-Wâhîdî was given the portfolio of agriculture and fisheries in the Federal Government and the sultanate administered by the State Secretary, Amir Muhammad b. ʿAqîd. The sultanate ceased to exist in 1967, when the British handed over power to the National Liberation Front in South Arabia.

The Wâhîdî sultanate had some large areas of fertile agricultural land and its main produce was dates, grain crops and vegetables. Wâdî Dîjdîn in the north remains famous for its high-quality honey, this high-quality said to result from the abundance of "lb. (pl. `ulta) trees (Ziziphus spina Christi Willd.) in the area.


AL-WÂHÎDÎ, ABU ʿL-ḤASAN ʿALI b. AHMAD b. Muhammad b. ʿAli b. Mattûyya al-Mattûyyî (Mattuwi) al-Naysâbûrî al-Shafîʿî, Arab philologist and Kurʾân scholar. He was descended from a family of merchants from Sâwâ [q.v.] who were very likely originally Christians. He was born in Naysâbûr (Nishapur), and died there after a long illness in advanced age in Djumada al-Wâsit bayân Radjâb 461/May 1069 under the title al-Wasit fi al-amthal (for old mss. of parts of it, see Chester Beatty 3731, 3736, 5105). Particularly in demand was the material he (for old manuscripts of parts of it, see Chester Beatty 3733, 4522; latest prints Cairo 1411/1990, Beirut 1411/1991).

Like his teacher al-Thâlabi, al-Wâhîdî composed a K. al-Magâhîz, which seems to have been preserved (cf. R. Şeşen, Sokullûd al-makhtûûtât al-arabiyya, Beirut 1402/1982, iii, 57).

As grammarian, lexicographer and rhetorician he made a special name for himself with his commentary on the Dînhîn al-Mutanabbî [q.v.] (Şeşen, ii, index). For the al-Wâṣîf fi l-amthâl falsely ascribed to him, see MATHAL.I.Ş; Sellheim, in Osiris, xxxi (1986), 82-94, xxxii (1990), 469-9.


WAHM (A., pl. awhm), lit. "notion", "supposition", in particular also "false notion", "delusion". In non-technical parlance the negative meaning of thinking something to be the case, contrary to fact, is preponderant; sometimes it comes close to sahu "inadver- tency", "inadvertent omission". In later texts it may have been preserved (cf. R. Şeşen, Sokullûd al-makhtûûtât al-arabiyya, Beirut 1402/1982, iii, 57).
acquire the meaning of “hallucination” and “spectre” (see Dozy, s.v.).

1. In philosophy the term denotes “estimative faculty,” “estimative faculty” (also al-hawdab al-fidla, see美学), and the “notion” resulting from the activity of this faculty (the plural is used with this last meaning, rarely also the second). Wahran belongs to the “internal senses” (al-hawdab al-bdtina, see美学), and in Ibn Sīnā it refers to the highest quasi-mental faculty in animals, that which allows a sheep to recognise the notion (madūn) “enemy” in a wolf and run away. Goichon and Afian, following Nāfi's translation of Latin usages, translate the term as “estimative faculty.” It is rather close to khayāl (takhayyul) “imagination” (see تاخيّة) and as a result, in Mediaeval Latin translations one finds it rendered as estimatio, imaginatio, intellectus and opinio.

Rahman found that nothing in Greek corresponded directly to wahm but that it was “a differentiation of Aristotle’s ‘phantasia’ (pavioia) through Stoic influences”. According to Morewedge, “there is no doubt that the concept was not directly borrowed from Aristotle” (324). Goichon concurs with this, while Wolfson espoused the idea of borrowing from the Greek. Walzer notes the problems that the Arabs had in finding an agreed rendition of the Greek word for “representation” (pavioia: Wahm, as the chosen translation for khayāl, was popular with such early translators as Ustath [q.v.] and Ibn Nāfi'ī who respectively translated Aristotle’s Metaphysics and the so-called Theology of Aristotle (see تاخيّة) for al-Kinḍī. Walzer (385) points out that there is a diversity of terminology in Abū 'Uthmān al-Dimashqī’s summary of Ḥunayn b. Ishāq’s translation of Galen’s Peri ṣēm, which includes laqawwara, taṣawwara, and the curious hybrid takhiryyul fi 'l-wahm'. Al-Kinḍī used the transliteration fantihāya and also taṣawwara; al-Fārābī, relying on later translators, usually renders “representation” by takhiryyul (e.g. al-Maḍīna al-fidla, ch. 1, 14; cf. Walzer, 385), which became the standard equivalent. For al-Fārābī, the delusory character of taṣawwara is prominent; commenting on Aristotle’s De Interpretatione 21a, 32-3, “al-Fārābī is... misled by the translator’s choice of taṣawwara [imagination, with a suggestion that what is so imagined is mere fantasy for ḍāfa', a word elsewhere rendered as ṣīdāq [belief].” He comments: “... that is to say, if a thing is said to be imagined it is excluded from existence. For our imagining it means that we picture it in our mind without its existing. If we raise in our minds something which exists we do not imagine it but know it” (Zimmermann, 156-7 and n. 1). Similarly, in Ibn Sīnā’s Dānig-nāma-i ‘Alā’ī, wahm “refers to the ability to have a mental experience of an event in contrast to the actual happening of that event” (Morewedge, 321). But mostly, wahm is a technical term in the “psychological epistemology” of Ibn Sīnā whereby it “is an internal sense belonging to the animal soul” (ibid.), see above.

Morewedge (322) points out that wahm “has frequently been used in Persian to designate a mental power from which a being can cause entities to emanate by mere thought”.

2. In mysticism [see Suppl.].


WAHRĀN, the Arabic name for the North African coastal town conventionally known as Oran, the chief port of western Algeria (lat. 35° 45’ N., long. 0° 38’ W.). It is dominated by the Djebel Murtjudjo (400 m/1,312 feet) and sheltered within one of the large bays of the southwestern Mediterranean. In its hinterland lie vast, semi-arid plains, with the Great Sebkha [see sabkha] in its western part.

It was founded by Muslims from Umayyad Spain in 290/903, not far from the bay of Marsā al-Kabīr, which was probably the ancient Portus Divini mentioned in the Itinerarium of Antoninus, and just a short time before the disintegration of the Khāridjite state centred on Tihert [see RUSTAMIDS], which had controlled the roadsteads of the port. This was the period of Spanish Umayyyad-Fāṭimid conflict. The former, with the support of Berber confederations like those of the Ifran and the Maghrāwa [q.v.], the latter with the support of the Zīrīds [q.v.], endeavoured to impose their political domination and to control the routes bringing gold from the Sudān. Hence Wahran was destroyed and rebuilt on two occasions, in 297/910 and 342/954. You’re mere fantasy for ḍāfa‘, a word elsewhere rendered as ṣīdāq [belief].” He comments: “... that is to say, if a thing is said to be imagined it is excluded from existence. For our imagining it means that we picture it in our mind without its existing. If we raise in our minds something which exists we do not imagine it but know it” (Zimmermann, 156-7 and n. 1). Similarly, in Ibn Sīnā’s Dānig-nāma-i ‘Alā’ī, wahm “refers to the ability to have a mental experience of an event in contrast to the actual happening of that event” (Morewedge, 321). But mostly, wahm is a technical term in the “psychological epistemology” of Ibn Sīnā whereby it “is an internal sense belonging to the animal soul” (ibid.), see above.

Morewedge (322) points out that wahm “has frequently been used in Persian to designate a mental power from which a being can cause entities to emanate by mere thought”. 
gards with windmills (al-Bakn); Leo again, at the opening of the 16th century, praised its building and estimated its population at 6,000 hearths, say ca. 30,000 inhabitants, sedentary Muslims as well as Jews, some autochthonous and other immigrants from Muslim Spain who had arrived in waves since the setting-up of the Inquisition in Spain in 1391. The town had spread beyond its original site to suburbs on the Karguena plateau on the other side of the Ra's al-Ayn defile. Its prosperity was linked with that of Tilmisân, but was nevertheless now an independent maritime city and, like other Mediterranean coastal places, practised corsair marauding to compensate for periods of economic recession.

Encouraged by 'Abd al-Wâdid decline and the Mamfûkâ' delusion of the trans-Saharan trade routes towards the Nile valley, the armies of Castile undertook a Reconquista along the coastlands of the Maghribi. In 910/1505 Marâs al-Kabîr was seized, followed by Pedro Navarre's entry into Wahrân and its agricultural hinterland on 17 May 1509. Massacres (of 4,000, according to Marmol) and deportations took place under Cardinal Ximenes. As at Biqâtay, the population of Wahrân fell, down to 3,500, almost half of these being troops; the town was closed to Muslims, there were forcible conversions and the remaining Jews were expelled. It was near the port that the Spanish governor in Wahran, ended in disaster by Salah Re'Is. An expedition of Count Alcaudete, by Urudj's brother Khayr al-Dm Barbarossa [q.v.], who had made himself master of Algiers, and in 1543 restored the 'Abd al-Wâdid Abu 'Abd Allâh to his throne in Tilmisân and made him their vassal. A new state was founded and organised around Algiers by Urudj's brother Khâyir al-Dîn Barbarossa [q.v.], and the 'Abd al-Wâdis expelled from their capital by 'Âlâ' Re'is. An expedition of Count Alcaudete, the Spanish governor in Wahran, ended in disaster at Mustaghânim [q.v.] /965/1558/. Thereafter, Wahrân remained for over two centuries (except for an interval 1708-32 when the Turks recaptured it) a preoction, to which the fort of Santa Cruz overlooking the town remains, together with the fort of San Andrea, and Burdj al-Hawfî and the Canastel and Spanish gates, bear witness. The Spanish presence created beyond a reduced agricultural region, a large urbanised area, compared with that in which Ximenes described as a paradise, a no-man's land, the bled el baroud or "land of warfare", left to tribal allies like those of the Banû 'Amir, Loi Mons de Paz, a hinterland left to nomadism and semi-nomadism. Maritime activity in the port revived somewhat under the bey Bu Shalaghîm in 1120/1708, but after the Spanish, led by the Count of Montemar, regained the undefended town 24 years later, it was reduced to being a port for landing provisions for the increasingly isolated garrison. It had hardly more than 12,000 inhabitants, even after its recapture in 1206/1792 by the Bey of Mascara, the Kûl-Îqîlu [q.v.] Muhammâd al-Kabîr, 2,000 people having perished in the previous year from a terrible earthquake. Muhammâd al-Kabîr made Wahrân the capital of the Western Beylik, undertook rebuilding and moved in population, Muslims and Jews, from other towns of the region. To the plaça de Oron, dominated by the kâba (now in an advanced state of ruin) was added on the right bank of the Wâdî 'Irâhî the new Jewish quarter, and two great streets, each 700 m long, along the plateau of the village of Karguenta. Corsair activity revived on a reduced scale, together with external trade, shared with Arzew and Rachgum, especially with nearby Gibrâlik and Spain, until the blockade of Algeria which preceded the French occupation of 4 January 1831.
centre, and a minority in the working-class quarters, except for Saint-Antoine, one of the rare mixed quarters of Oran.

From 1865 onwards, the expansion projects of the colonial town on the Karguena plateau entailed the regrouping of some 2,000 Algerians there in one stretch of land. In 1880, when the European town had spread over the plateau, forming what became progressively the new town centre, the 9,000 Algerians remained concentrated almost wholly in what the Europeans called the “village noir” and which the Algerians were to name Madina J'dida, in opposition to the old town and in deference to the Islamic urban tradition, even though neither its regular plan nor the architecture of its buildings conformed to this tradition. The urban life which developed there included the commercial and artisanal specialisation of streets, a concentration of mosques and madrasas, a makdmdt, a medina, (those of Sidi Ka'dhir and Sidi Bilâl), but also the reformist madrasa al-Falah and its offshoots in the suburbs of al-Hamri and Medjini. A form of urban life emerged there, with the oldest immigrants, now Oulad el-bled, contrasted with the barriqân, newly-arrived rural immigrants, making the Madina J'dida, also called madînat al-hadâr, the ‘âsma or capital of Muslim Oran and its rural hinterland.

The disturbances in the wake of the famines of the 1960s and the war for independence, greatly swelled the Muslim population, which became a slight majority (210,000 out of a total of 400,000), concentrated on the marginal peripheries, whether planned, or spontaneous like the bidonvilles, and in the now saturated Madina J'dida and the southern and southwestern suburbs. The war brought about a violent cleavage, not between Muslim and Christian, as during the Spanish period, but between the indigenous population and the coloured, beneficiaries of the colonial period and jealous of their privileges.

The substitution of Algerians in the 40,000 houses freed by the exodus of Europeans before and after independence has forcibly homogenised the communal landscape. At present, the town centre alone has over a hundred mosques and a large number of prayer rooms. Despite an influx of over 100,000 immigrants from the Maghreb in the 1960s and 1970s, forming an agglomeration oranaise, of 1,170,000 inhabitants over 6,500 ha, there are reflections on the state of the city’s urbanisation oranaise, in Cahiers du GREMAO, no. 12 (1995), Paris VII-D Diderot.

There emerges from his writings that he received from the great men of his time, and towards the end of his life he held the office of kushâdâ, delivering sermons at the Friday worship. Seeling faults of money is a favourite theme of his epistles addressed to Şâlih el-Dîn el-Ayyubî [q.v.] and to various viziers and judges. His panegyrics were mainly in prose, but he also composed numerous satires against his enemies, his rivals, and even against himself, displaying verse and humour, as well as erotic and scatological motifs which recall Ibn Sûkûr, Ibn al-Hâdjîjî and Abu ‘l-Mu‘izzî al-‘Aâdfî [q.v.]. If this ātîq al-hâzî (“light-hearted treatment”) of his subjects dominates his œuvre, there is also a lyric strain when he describes his miserable state as an author and complains that the pursuit of adab does not give him a living.

Although a great admirer of al-Hârîfî [q.v.], al-Wâhrânî did not imitate his style. His makâmât are rather a gallery of comic portraits, sketching, by a few touches, a burlesque and grotesque picture. Another of his frequent traits is his use of prosopopeia, putting words in the mouths of minor characters, or his own mule, complaining of hunger (an indirect method of soliciting help for himself!). In his stories of dreams, he speaks both of his contemporaries and persons of the past, the most developed one being one in which he describes the resurrection of the dead. In a story which recalls al-Mâ’arrî’s Risâlât al-Ghifrân, al-Wâhrânî finds himself in the Afterlife with various other writers who, although suffering the pangs of Judgement Day, still keep up their trivial and paltry quarrels. Providing an occasion for al-Wâhrânî to settle his accounts, this eschatological dream, much admired by Ibn Khallîkân, is one of his finest compositions.
AL-WARRANI — WAHSHI

There are notices of the author in Ibn Khallikan, ed. 'Abbas, iv, 385-6; Safadl, Wafi, iv, 386-9; Ziriki, Dām, vii, 19. See also Brockelmann, H. 1489. [Adelbert Kilti]

WAHRIZ, son of KAMDAR, a Persian general of KAIRUSAN ANUSHARWAN (A.D. 531-79 [see KAIRUSAN]). The name would apparently stem from MP *vēhriz* “having a good abundance,” see Noldeke, Gesch. der Perser und Araber, 223 n. 2, and Justi, Iranisches Namensbuch, 340, but was in origin a title, since the Byzantine historian Procopius names the commander of the SASANID emperor Kavad’s expedition into Greece and Lazica (early 5th century) as having the title Oruzīr (recte *wahri*; see DASYM, at Vol. II, 190a.

In response to an appeal ca. 570, via the LAKHMIDS [q.v.], from Sayf b. Dīf YAZAN, the leader of a Yemeni national movement against Abyssinian rule there, the Persian emperor dispatched a force under the aged Wahriz. The story in the Arabic sources that these 800 troops were condemned prisoners released specially from prison for this do-or-die expedition is a later, folkloric detail; the force was much more probably one of Daylamidi mercenaries. It sailed from the head of the Gulf around the Arabian shores to Yemen, landed there, fought its way to the capital Ṣan’a‘a, killed the Abyssinian governor Marṣūk, son of Abrahā [q.v.], and installed Sayf b. Dīf YAZAN as the Persians’ vassal ruler in Yemen. After an expedited Abyssinian revanche, Wahriz returned to Yemen and finally installed the dead Sayf’s son Ma‘dī Kābir as ruler in Ṣan‘a‘a, thus inaugurating a period of some 60 years’ Persian dominance in Yemen. Wahriz is said to have died in Yemen shortly before Anusharwan’s own death.

**Bibliography:** Ibn Hishām, Sīra, 41-6, tr. Guillaume, 50-4; Dinawari, Cairo 1960, 64; Yāqūt, Historiae, i, 187; 227; Tabari, iii, 948-58, 984, 988. tr. Noldeke, op. cit., 253-7, 257-8, 263-4, tr. C.E. Bosworth, The History of al-Tabarī, v, The Sasanids, the Lakhmids and Yemen, Albany 1999, 239-52, 289, 294; Hamza al-Isfahānī, Beirut 1961, 114; Mas‘ūdī, Murūqī, see ed. Pellat, indices, vii, 759-60; Bosworth, in Camb. hist., Iran, iii/1, 606-7. See also AL-YAMAN. 35. [C.E. Bosworth]

WAHI (A.), an adjective meaning “wild, desolate, uninhabited” (al-dār al-wahshiyya) “the desolate abode,” both with and without gender agreement), but more frequently a collective noun meaning “wild animals.” The relative adjective (and the singularive) is wuhush; the “wild ass” (reute “onager”) is thus either himār al-wuhush or al-himār al-wuhush. The most frequent plural is wahshū “kinds of wild animals,” as one typically finds it in the title of the fautūb al-wushūwī, lexicographical studies dealing with wild animals (name of the male and the female, age groups, etc.); see the relevant monographs by Kutrub (d. 206/821 [q.v.]) and al-Asma‘ī (d. 213/828 [q.v.]), ed. R. Geyer, in SBAW Wien, Phil.hist. KL, cxx (1888), 353-420. The opposite of wuhush is shīt “domesticated.” Non-domesticated wild animals can nevertheless become tame; al-Dāhīq makes this point about the animals kept in “wild-life enclosures” (sīng. hayr al-wuhushī, see WAHHI), as maintained by caliphs and governors (H̲a̲w̲a̲w̲a̲n, ed. Hārūn, iv, 422; he mentions those of al-Mu‘taṣim and al-Walīqīk).

Wahshī forms an opposition also with insī, the relative adjective, and singulative, of the collective noun insī “mankind”. As adjectives they are used to denote the two sides of certain things in relationship to the human body: one that points toward the human body is calld insī and that which points away from it is called wahshī; this refers to body-parts occurring in pairs (thus the insī side of the arm faces toward the rump, the wahshī side away from it, cf. al-Aṣama‘ī, Ḥaṭḥā al-ṣanūsī, ed. I. al-Abyarī and T. Husayn, Cairo 1378/1959, i, 45). This being the case, one might suggest that the place name al-Wahshī was erroneously extracted from phrases like bilād al-himdr al-wahshī, which really means “the land” or “the sands of the feral camels.”

The general area in which this land is located (broadly speaking between Yabrin and al-Shibr) tallies well with the strong probability that the one-humped camel was domesticated in the desert areas of southern Arabia. The Ḥaṭḥī may even be a faint memory of truly wild camels, which today no longer exist. Al-Dāhīq [q.v.] speaks of ibi al-wahshīyā and ibl al-wahshī “wild camels”, which are allegedly the remnants of the camels of ’Ād and Thamūd (Ḥaṭḥā al-ḥaṣādīn, Cairo 1389/1969-70, i, 23, II. 20-1), and Wabār [q.v.], the area in which the Ḥaṭḥī camels are predominantly found, is the former land/city of the ’Ād [q.v.] that, after their destruction, was given by God to the jinn. Cf. R. Bulliet, The Camel and the Wheel, New York and Oxford 1990, 48.

For wahshī/ḥaṭḥī as a term of literary criticism, see the following entry.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

WAHHI (A.) and ḤUHHI (A.), synonymous terms in literary criticism denoting words that are uncoutch and jarring to the ear due to their being archaic and/or Bedouinic (often including the criterium of cacophony). It is thus mostly used in the context of “modern” poetry [see MUNDATHAN, in Suppl.]; and it mostly refers to single words rather than to any contextual obscurity (ʿAbd al-KĀHIR al-QJRĐJAN says this explicitly: Dala‘īl, ed. M.M. ŠAHRK, Cairo 1404/1984, 44, l. 4). It is not, however, an exclusively poetic phenomenon. Al-Dāhīq speaks of speech in general, when he says that the wording should be neither “plebeian, base, vulgar” (ṯamīm, sūḥ, sūḥ) nor “strange, uncouth” (garih, wahshī); unless, in the latter case, he adds, the speaker is a Bedouin (badawīyan‘ul-a‘rabīyy), as wahshī speech is understood by wahshī people, just as sūḥ jargon (ratūna) is understood by sūḥ people (Bayān, ed. ʿAlī Abū Mulhīm, Beirut 1412/1992, i, 135). From this we can deduce that (a) there is a golden mean between the all too colloquial, on the one hand, and the all too archaic, on the other; and that (b) for the Ancients and the
Bedouin, the wahshi may be natural and thus not reprehensible. This latter point is taken up again by Kudama [q.v.], who says that the Ancients used wahshi words not by conscious search and affection (utadhall, takalluf) but according to their wont and the nature of their speech (lit. ṣadūtak wa-laalā sadqiyatul lafṣihi) (Nakd al-ṭiwar, ed. S.A. Bonebakker, Leiden 1956, 100). Ibn Sinān al-Khaḍḍījī (d. 466/1074) gives it a slightly different slant by putting the “naturally gifted Bedouin” (al-badlawat ṣathāb al-ṭalāb) — who could be a contemporary — in the place of the Ancients and contrasting him with the “effect-seeking sedentary” (al-karawat al-mutakallif); the latter knows only these words, whereas the former has knowledge (just uniques) from the study of books (Sīr al-faṣaḥa, ed. Ābū al-Mutall al-Ṣaʿīdī, Cairo 1389/1669, 63). A finely tuned scale of acceptability with regard to ṣahrabta and ibbhīl (‘tiriteness’), based on a tripartite structure of language users (‘Arab, khāṣṣat al-muhdāth, tannat al-muhdāth) is offered by Hāsim al-Kaḍḍāgainī (d. 684/1285 [q.v.]; Minhāj al-bulūgh, ed. M. al-H. Belkhodja, Tunis 1966, 385-6; since the first part of the Minhāj, dealing with lafī, is missing in the unique ms., this passage has been culled from Bahrā al-Dīn al-Subkī, ‘Āris al-ṣafāt fi ṣahr Tākhtās al-Mīṣfātū, and printed in an appendix; al-Subkī calls it a mulkubhaksa).

In spite of all this discussion, there was a popular misconception that the use of wahshi words equaled falsa [q.v.]. Îbâdīr b. al-Maḥdī (d. 224/839 [q.v.]), the highly cultured ‘Abbasid prince, is quoted as having said to his secretary Ābū ‘Abbāl b. Ṣā‘īd: “Be careful not to seek out the waḥshī in speech, desiring to acquire eloquence; for that is the worst kind of inability to express oneself (fa-inna ḥabība huwa faṣāḥ ‘l-ahkār); take that which is easy while avoiding the words of the hāl politi” (ʻādūf Ibn Rasḥīf, ‘Umda, ed. M.M. ‘Ābū al-Hamīd, Cairo 1383/1963-4, i, 265-7). Ibn Sinān al-Khaḍḍījī recounts a wadgūs in which one of the people present called Ibn Sinān’s teacher, Ābū ‘l-‘Alā al-Ma‘ārrī, a possessor of faṣāḥa, because much of his work was unintelligible even to the literati (!). And a few centuries later, Sa‘īf al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. ca. 752/1351 [q.v.]) was accused of being a less than perfect poet, because he did not use waḥshī words in his poetry, an accusation against which he wrote a well-known poem with a satirical beginning, see Vol. VIII, 803b.

For Ibn Ῥābaṭābā (d. 322/934), finally, all this is just a matter of the art of the poet; if he is good, he can turn the distasteful and waḥshī into something pleasant and likeable, and the pleasant and likeable into something unpleasant and strange (‘ṣār al-ṣāfīr, ed. al-Mā‘ānī, Riyāḍ 1405/1985, 202).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(W.P. Heinrich)

WAHSHĪ BĀFĪ (or YAZDĪ), Persian poet of the mid-10th/16th century. Contemporary sources give his name as either Shams al-Din Muhammad (Mayḥāsna) or Kamāl al-Din (Arūshī). Wahshī was born in the village of Bāfī, located between Yazd and Kirmān, sometime around 933/1523-2. After being tutored in poetry by his brother Marādī and the local poet Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Ali Bādji, the young Wahshī moved to Yazd and the nearby palace-complex in Taft and lived there for most of the rest of his life. Although Wahshī wrote a few poems dedicated to the Saḵawī Šáh Taḥmāsp I [q.v.], most of his encomiums were addressed to the local rulers of Kirmān, Kāḥān, and especially to the hereditary governors of Yazd, Šahīd al-Dīn Mīr-i Mīrān and his son Khalīl Allāh, descendants of Šah Nāṣir al-Dīn Mīr-i Mīrān [q.v.] and its laws of the Saḵawī royal house. As a result of excessive drinking, Wahshī died in Yazd in 991/1583.

Although Wahshī never ventured far from his birthplace, his poetry was widely known during his lifetime and has been admired by both contemporary and modern critics. Awhādī Bālāyānī (Arūshī) considered Wahshī the greatest rival of Muḥtašam Khāḥānī, the poet laureate of Taḥmāsp’s court. Wahshī is especially important for his role in the development of the muḥtāb-i waḥshī, “the school of the incident” or “realist style”, which employed simple, colloquial language to describe and analyse the everyday incidents and emotions of profane love affairs. The unusually scornful way in which Wahshī often addressed the beloved was dubbed wa-ṣūkī [see wa-ṣūqī]. These features are found chiefly in Wahshī’s ṣahrbaḥ and tarkhī bands, the genres in which he achieved his greatest fame. His ḡazals also contains ṣahrbaḥ bands, ṣabī’s, and ḥāflas. In addition to several short, untitled works, Wahshī’s mathnawīs include Qudrātī barīn, Nāẓīr wa Manṣūr, and Fāhrūd wa Šarīnī. The last of these remained unfinished at Wahshī’s death and was twice “completed” in the Kāḏjīr period by Waṣīlī Shīrāzī and Shābīrī Shīrāzī.

Bibliography: For a list of tadbīrī kārī sources, see Dī. Sa‘īf, Tarkhī-i adabīyyūt dar īrān, Tehran 1364 h./1985, v/2, 761. The most important of these sources are collected and quoted at length by H. Nakhā’ī in his introduction to Wahshī’s Dīwān, Tehran 1339 h./1960 (including the otherwise unpublished notice from Awhādī Bālāyānī’s Arūshī). See also Fakhr al-Zanāmī Kāzwīnī, Taḏkīrāt-yi Māyḥāsna, ed. A. Gūčīnī-Mā‘ānī, Tehran 1340 h./1961, 181-97. Among the secondary sources, see Browne, LHP, iv, 238-40; Rypka, Hist. of Iranian Literature, 296-7; Uways Sā‘īlī Sadkhī, ʻAṣr-i čap naghudo-yi Wahshī, in Maḏzdī-yi Dīnagūzda-yi Adabīyūt wa Ummān-i Isāīt-yi Dīnagūzda-yi Tahmān, xvii (1350 h./1971), 105-16; and A. al-Khūlī, Wahshī Bāfī, Cairo 1978. Wahshī’s works have often been published; for a full listing, see Fīrūzī kitābā-yi čap-yi Fīrūz, i, cols. 1274-75 (Qudrātī barīn), cols. 1392-93 (Dīwān), and ii, col. 2413 (Fāhrūd wa Šarīnī).

P.E. Lossky

WAHY (a.), a term of the Kurān, primarily denoting revelation in the form of communication without speech. Cognates in other Semitic languages include Palmyrene Aramaic tawbīt (tawbīth) “decreet [of the government]” and Mehri ḥawī “to come to someone’s help”.

In the Kurān, waḥy is presented as an exceptional modality of God’s speaking to His creatures. This waḥy forms a concept of inspiration and communication without linguistic formulation, conveying the will of God, as in VII, 117: “And We suggested/put the idea into the head (awḥayna) to Moses: ‘Cast thy staff’. And lo, it forthwith swallowed up their lying invention”. On other occasions, it conveys the speech of God to be shared as a message, as in XVIII, 27: “Recite what has been revealed (ḥawīya) to thee of the Book of thy Lord”. This waḥy contains a prompting into action for its recipient (see T. Izutsu, God and man in the Koran, Tokyo 1964, 180), a doctrine held in common with a Biblical motif and reflected in the prophetic stories as retold in the Kurān (VII, 160, Moses; XX, 77, Moses; XXVI, 52, Moses; XXVI, 63, Moses; X, 87, Moses and Aaron told to take certain houses in Egypt for prayer; XXVIII, 7, Moses’ mother told to suckle her child and then cast him into the sea; XX, 38; XII, 73; XXIII, 27; XCG, 5).
Prophets are not the only recipients of wahy: the bees (XVI, 68) and heaven and earth (XLI, 12) are also spoken of. Not is God the only source of wahy: the satans among humans and djinn also inspire via wahy, cf. VI, 121: "The Satans inspire (yuḥūna) their friends to dispute with you; if you obey them, you are idolaters". But it is wahy which inspires the prophets, cf. IV, 163: "We have revealed (aṣḥaḥna) to thee as We revealed (aṣḥaḥna) to Noah and the prophets after him, and We revealed (aṣḥaḥna) to Abraham, Ishmael, Isaac, Jacob and his posterity, and (Jesus) and Job, Jonah and Aaron, and Solomon, and We gave (aṣḥaḥna) to David Psalms ..." (see also XII, 109; XVI, 43; XXI, 7; XLII, 3, 51, in which a spirit, ruḥ, is the agent).

Arthur Jeffery (The Qur'an as Scripture, in MW, xl [1950], 190-2) argued that wahy has the basic sense of internal prompting, which is to be understood as guidance in a general way (as in XVI, 123, for example: "Then We revealed (aṣḥaḥna) to thee: 'Follow thou the creed of Abraham, a man of pure faith and no idolater'"), but that it becomes combined in the Kur'ān with an external sense such that the message itself is also a product of wahy, e.g. VI, 19: "Say: 'God is witness between me and you, and this Qur'an has been revealed (aṣḥaḥna) to me that I may warn you thereby, and whosoever it may reach'"; see also XXI, 45. This identification is made with the product of wahy: "Recite what has been revealed (aṣḥaḥna) to thee of the Book". XLII, 7 speaks of an Arabic Kur'ān as the product: "And so we have revealed (aṣḥaḥna) to thee an Arabic Kur'ān". In this usage, the word may be seen to be functionally equivalent to tanzil, the word frequently used with the image of a literal "bringing down" of a message.

In dealing with wahy, it has been common for scholars to resort to ideas of historical development in Muhammad's thought (e.g. Jeffery, Scripture, 193, 201, in which "internal" inspiration is early, reflecting an idea native to Arabs and "external" revelation is later, that being a scriptural notion). Thus a separation is seen to be between a notion of internal "inspiration", similar to that claimed by the poets and which is argued to belong to Muhammad's early conceptions, and a firm sense of revelation from outside which is seen to emerge later in Muhammad's career as the distinction between himself and poets became clearer to him. Even Izutsu (God and men, 180), who normally wishes to assign single meanings to words throughout the Kur'ān, speaks of the non-technical (and even pre-technical) versus the technical: a prompting to see the word in its letter form (which, of course, it is at times in the Kur'ān).

"Inspiration", it is worthy of note, is a reflection of cultural values and has different meanings in different settings. The modern tolerance of the artistic temperament and its inspiration is a continuation of the Platonic (and other) idea of inspiration as a type of madness. However, the prophet of the Near East relied on inspiration to give advice, first to the ruler, then in later times to the public at large. The Kur'ān shares in a Near Eastern value of inspiration, one transformed through the history of Islam in the desire to protect Muhammad (and the Arabic language) from contemporary and necessarily secular (since prophecy had ceased) ideals of "inspiration".

Muslim perceptions and understandings of the process of revelation are contained in the sûra and hadith literature and are intimately connected to the life of Muhammad such that his biography is reflective of and shaped by certain understandings of how revelation occurs. The material may be summarised as follows.

The beginning of revelation consisted in dreams anticipating real events (Ibn Ḥīqām, 151; al-Ṭabarī, Taṣfīr, xxx, 130; Ibn Sa'd, Ḥ., 1/1, 129). Also, afterwards, such dream visions are said to have occurred. Why then 'A'īshah was under suspicion, she hoped that God would reveal her innocence to Muhammad in a dream vision (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, vi, 197; al-Bukhārī, Taṣfīr, on sûra XXIV, bāb 6).

The first revelation in which Dājjāl (q.v.) appeared to Muhammad took place on Mount Ḥirā', when the angel said to him, "I am Dājjāl". Thereupon Muhammad hastened to Khadhīja, crying, "Wrap me up", an allusion to Kur'ān, LXXIII, 1, or LXXIV, 1).

The first portions of the Kur'ān revealed was sûra XCVI, when the angel, in the month of Ramadan, during the retreat, showed him a piece of cloth, on which this sûra was written, saying, "Recite!" When Muhammad protested that he could not read, the angel pressed him so strongly that he nearly suffocated. At the third repetition, the angel pronounced the verses which Muhammad then retained.

After this there came a pause (fatra [q.v.]) in revelation. During this time Muhammad was in such a depression that the thought of suicide came upon him (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1150; Ibn Ḥīqām, 156, 166; Ibn Sa'd, Ḥ., 1/1, 131). The pause ended with the revelation of Kur'ān, LXXIV, or XCIII.

The angel who transmitted revelation was visible to Muhammad and to others (al-Bukhārī, Fadā'il il-Kur'ān, bāb 1; Ibn Ḥīqām, 154, cf. 156; Abū Nu'aym, Dalā'il il-mubawwa, Ḥayḍarābād 1320, 69). To some extent the ascension (see mā'ṣaṣ) and the night journey may also be reckoned as revelations. Visions are also mentioned in the Kur'ān. LIII, 4-18, is the central focus here, with the idea of seeing someone or something typically identified as Dājjāl (see also LXXII, 22-3). In other parts of the Kur'ān, however, revelation is said to have taken place by audition as in LXXV, 18. These auditory experiences become a major element in sûra and especially hadith, and the accounts may be classified in a variety of ways.

(a) How they were perceived by Muhammad

1. "Sometimes it comes as the ringing of a bell; this kind is the most painful. When it ceases, I retain what was said. Sometimes it is an angel who speaks to me as a man, and I retain what he says" (al-Bukhārī, Bad' al-wahy, bāb 2; Bad' al-khalk, bāb 6;

2. In a different form of this tradition, Muhammad says, "Sometimes it approaches me in the form of a young man (al-*fäti*) who hands it down to me" (al-Nâsâ’î, *Iftitdh*, bab bdb 37).

3. The Apostle of God heard a sound like the humming of bees near his face; thereupon *Kurân* came upon him (*Fadâ’il*, bab 43; al-Nâsâ’î, *Iftitdh*, bab bdb 37; al-Tâyâlîsî, no. 2628).

4. The Apostle of God used to move his lips from pain as soon as the revelation began. After the revelation of *LXXV*, 16, however, he listened until *Dhîbrîl* had withdrawn; thereupon he recited what he had heard (al-Bukhârî, *Taâhid*, bab 43; al-Nâsâ’î, *Iftitdh*, bab bdb 37; al-Tâyâlîsî, no. 2628).

5. "... on the authority of ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Umar: I asked the Prophet: ‘Do you perceive the revelation?’ He answered, ‘Yes, I hear sounds like metal being beaten [cf. no. i. 1]. Then I listen and often I think I will die (of pain)’" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 222).

(b) How they were perceived by others

1. Even on cold days, sweat appeared on his forehead (al-Bukhârî, *Bu’l*, bab 2; Tâfîtîr on sura *XXVII*). Muslim, *Fadâ’il*, no. 86; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 58, 103, 197, 202, 256 ff., cf. iii, 21, and cf. further, above (a) 1.).

2. Muhammad covers his head, his colour grows red, he snores as someone asleep, or rattles like a young camel; after some time he recovers (surriyya *anhu* al-Bukhârî, *Hâdîqî*, bab 17; ‘Umar, bab 10; Fadâ’il al-Kursân, bab 2; Muslim, *Hâdîqî*, no. 6; Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv, 222, 223).


4. He falls into a lethargy or a trance (subdt) (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 103).

5. “... the Apostle of God sat down, turning towards him [’Uthmân b. Maz’ûn]. When they talked, the Apostle of God let his gaze swerve towards heaven; after a while he looked down to his right side and turned away from his companion, following his gaze and began to shake his head as if he tried to understand what was said to him, while ’Uthmân sat looking on. When Muhammad had reached his aim, his gaze turned anew towards heaven, etc." (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 318).

6. “When Muhammad received a revelation … this caused him much pain, such that we perceived it. That time he separated himself from his companions and remained behind. Thereupon he covered his head with his shirt, suffering intensely, etc." (Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 464).

7. “... the Apostle of God received a revelation, he began to cover his face with his shirt. When he swooned, we took it away, etc." (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 34; cf. above (b) 2.).

8. Zayd b. Thâbit said, “I was at Muhammad’s side when the *sakâna* came upon him. His thigh fell upon mine so heavily that I feared it would break. When he recovered, he said to me, ‘Write down’, and I wrote down *Kurân* IV, 97" (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 184, 190 ff.; Abu Dâwûd, *Dhîqân*, bab 19).

9. ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Amr said, “Sûrat al-ma’dîya was revealed to the Apostle of God while he was riding on his camel. The beast could not bear him any longer so he had to descend from it” (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 176). A similar tradition is transmitted from Asma’ bt. Yazîd (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 455, 458); another tradition of the same type is found in Ibn Sa’d, i, 1, 131.

10. “The circumstances under which revelation came upon Muhammad (c)

1. Muhammad is directly or indirectly asked for his opinion or decision when the answer is revealed to him. Examples include the use of perfumes during the ‘umma (al-Bukhârî, *Hâdîqî*, bab 17 [see above (b) 2.]); excuses for staying at home during an expedition (Abû Dâwûd, *Dhîqân*, bab 19; Ahmad b. Hanbal, v, 184); whether evil may proceed from good (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iii, 21; al-Tâyâlîsî, no. 2180); whether Muhammad’s wives were allowed to relieve a want near a town (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 56); whether ‘A’îsha was guilty or not (al-Bukhârî, *Tâfîtîr*, sura *XXIV*, bab 6; Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 103, 197); whether divorce can be demanded in the case of adultery witnessed by one witness (al-Tâyâlîsî, no. 2667); and concerning *zâhir* (al-Tabânî, *Tâfîtîr*, xviii, 2). It is to be noted that the contents of these revelations are not always communicated and, if they are, they are not necessarily a part of the *Kurân* (cf. Noldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qor.*., i, 236-61); examples include Muhammad’s answers to the above questions regarding evil and his wives, as well as issues related to fornication (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 317, 318, 320 ff., 327) and the permission of *lith* (al-Tâyâlîsî, no. 2667).

2. Revelation comes upon Muhammad while he is riding (see above (b) 8.) (al-Tabânî, *Tâfîtîr*, xxxi, 39), while his head is being washed (ibid., xviii, 2), while he is at the table, holding a bone in his hand (Ahmad b. Hanbal, vi, 56) and while he is on the pulpit (ibid., iii, 21).

In Classical Muslim theology “... revelation as such was not the object of a consistent theory; for this we have to wait until the time of the philosophers...” (J. van Ess, *Verbal inspiration? Language and revelation in classical Islamic theology*, in S. Wild (ed.), *The Qur’an as text*, Leiden 1995; 189; the entire article, 177-94, is a perceptive overview of the implications of the *Qor*., written in anticipation of vol. iv of his *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert* Hildesheim, Berlin 1997). The philosophical challenge [see e.g. nars] did, then, produce a theological reaction. Al-Idîjî (d. 756/1355) and his commentator al-Dîrâjdînî (d. 816/1413) combat the views of philosophers, according to whom it is a charisma peculiar to the prophets that "they see in the angels in their corporeal forms and hear their speech by revelation; it is not to be rejected that, when they are awake, they see what the common people see when they are asleep; that is, they see persons who speak poetical words to them, which point to ideas corresponding to what really happens, since their soul is free from bodily occupations and can easily come into contact with the divine world (’alâm al-kuds). Often this peculiarity becomes in them a settled faculty which is easily working". This theory of revelation is, according to al-Idîjî, misleading, not being in harmony with the views of the philosophers themselves, according to whom the angels cannot be seen, being merely psychic beings who do not produce audible speech, a property which belongs especially to corporeal beings. So the theory of the philosophers explains revelation as the imagining of what has no basis in reality, as little as what comes from the lips of ailing and lunatic people. Yet if any of us should
command and prohibit on our own authority what is salutary and sensible, we would not, on account thereof, be a prophet. How much less, then, would be a prophetic utterance based upon imaginings which have no foundation and are often contrary to reason? (Kūthāb al-Mawṣūf, ed. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, 172 ff.).


**Wālī** [see Bahu] / Bāghī [B. Wālī] / **Wālī** [A.J. WENSINCK- [A. RIPPIN]]

**Wālī** (Ar., pl. wālī) preacher, mostly preacher who admonishes, to be distinguished from kāṣī [q.v.] and muddakhkhir. This distinction, however, is only clearly made from the 4th/10th century onwards. It is the preacher's task to give sermons conveying admonishments (wa'z, maw'iz) the public performance of which is called maḍāfis al-wāz or maḍāfis al-dīghāt. In contrast to the kūṭāba [q.v.], it can be held at any place and time. Etymologically, the Arabic root w-c-z is related to Hebrew y-c-s. A wālī is a king's adviser, mostly in worldly affairs (Baumgartner, *Hebraisches und Aramäisches Lexikon*, s.v. y-c-s); in Hebrew, the term lacks the aspect of religious warning. In the Kūthān, the root w-c-z and its derivations (wa'z, maw'iz) in most cases contain a warning. Consequently, the Kūthān commentators explain maw'iz with ʾbir. The form II of the root w-c-z, al-dīghāt, and the form V al-dīghakhi, have the somewhat weaker nuance of "admonishing, to be admonished". However, the root may also indicate "good advice" (naṣūḥ, nāṣūḥa) and "right guidance" (irghādā). Finally, wa'z can also mean waŷaṣṣa, the spiritual testament which a father gives to his son. In old Arabic poetry the root is also used in the sense of admonition.

1. In classical Islam.

The wāzā often carried a stick and sat on a stool (jarīt). His public could consist of huge masses of people, as in the case of Ibn al-Dīghāt (see below), but also of individuals, such as rulers, before whom he would stand in a mākṭūm; in principle, his sermon was addressed to everybody. From the 5th/11th century onwards, the function of wa'z becomes institutionalised. Thus Niẓām al-Mulk [q.v.] introduced it at the Niẓāmīya in Baghdad. Consequently, the wa'zā was often used for political and ideological purposes, as in discussions between schools of law and dogmatic movements, especially in Baghdad.

Themes of warning sermons were the transitoriness of the world and of life; the motif ʿuḥuṣṣūn ʿuhi ante nos in mundo fuere, the threat of death; the weakness of the soul; the call to penance and to renunciation of the world (zuhd). In this way, the soul was to be shaken up and to judge itself, man was to become his own warning preacher. It is thus understandable that it should be the adherents of the pietistic-mystical movements who were active as wa'zā.

In addition to the pious traditions found in the Kūthān, haddith and the kāṣā al-ʾanbiyāʿ, rhythmed prose (ṣaṭī′), haddā [q.v.], and poetry were often used as rhetorical means. Such means could also serve love poetry, re-interpreted in a mystical, Sufi sense, which in the listener's soul was meant to kindle a longing for the only real beloved, God. Criticism of the wa'zā was directed against an exaggerated use of this kind of poetry, against the use of weak traditions and of stories which only incite worldly interests. Famous warning preachers are above all known from Baghdad.

To the 3rd/9th century belongs Manṣūr b. ʿAmām (d. 225/839-40; see van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft*, iii, 102-4), and to the 5th and 6th/10th and 11th centuries belongs the Hanbali theologian Ibn ʿAqīl (d. 513/1119 [q.v.]).ʿAbd al-Kādir al-Dīghtānī (d. 561/1161 [q.v.]), whose name is connected with the Kādīriyya, was also famous as a preacher. The polytheist Ibn al-Dajawī (d. 597/1200 [q.v.]), finally, left an account of the overwhelming influence of his sermons.

Texts of sermons, in particular of those held before rulers and dating from relatively early times, were transmitted by al-Djahiz (d. 255/868-9), Ibn Kutayba (d. 276/889) and Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih (d. 328/940). Abū Ṭālib al-Makkl (d. 386/996) and Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī (d. 555/1111) [q.v.] enter into a critical discussion on specific aspects of the wa'zā phenomenon; in the 8th/14th century, criticism is taken up again in Mamlūk Egypt by Ibn al-Hādījī (d. 785/1383 [q.v.]). The most detailed opinion on the function and task of the preacher and his sermons is given by Ibn al-Dajawī. Not only did he collect information on famous preachers of the past but he also assembled his own sermons into monographs, such as Sayd al-khātāt and Kīthāb al-Mudāḥīq, and provided them with instructions for correct usage.


(B. RADTKE)
Some preachers have taken the distribution of the cassettes on which their sermons were registered into their own hands, and the sale of such cassettes may have become a modest source of income to them and their staff. However this may be, sermons by popular preachers are offered for sale almost everywhere in towns and villages in the Muslim world. Often, cassettes containing sermons are dated and numbered. This makes it possible to find out whether a preacher has been absent from the pulpit, for reasons of health or imprisonment. Wāzīz can thus be a political manifestation. The distribution on cassette tapes means that sermons are not only available in a written form (and hence in formal Classical Arabic), but also in the form in which they were actually delivered. Printed sermon collections usually "adapt the language of the sermon to the needs of the printed page", which, at least, means "replacing colloquial words by classical ones". It would be a matter of surprise if this would not have happened in the past as well. The modern cassettes, however, make the observation of the stylistic technique of "code-switching" a distinct possibility.

Although Islam is "a lay religion par excellence" (Snouck Hurgronje, not everybody is allowed to preach a sermon from the pulpit of the mosque. A preacher is usually referred to as Shaykh but this is a general, deferential title that also is used in many other settings they address by a preacher is a sermon. Depending on the social context, his words may be referred to as a muḥādara "lecture" or dars "lesson".

The authority of the preacher depends on his knowledge, and on the recognition of this knowledge by his audience. Formal, Azhar-type training in Kūrān and Shāfa‘ī is not always deemed to be sufficient: "Specialists in modern technical ways of knowing, and new prestigious branches of science, presume the right to displacethis exemplary scholar" as preachers. 


WA'IZ (A.), verbal noun of the verb ṭāla‘a, a technical term of Islamic religion, and more generally, of commercial practice and law. It means to commission, depute or authorise a person to act on behalf of another. It is a term far from easy to encapsulate in one meaning since it carries a variety of legal, and theological concepts. One of the attributes of God, given in the Kūrān and hadīth is al-Wāzīz, which indicates protection and sustenance, while according to al-Sarakhsī, the word indicates the entrusting of (hijāz) of another person's property.

The concept of waiz is significant in Islamic law as a practical mechanism by which all forms of
contracts may be activated. According to Ḥanafi law, it is the basis of all forms of contractual partnership.

For validity, the following basic rules are required, many of which are the same as expected in general contracts:

1. The condition of contract validity (ṣubbā) requires that both parties must be able to dispose of their property, that the object of wakāla must be definite and legal, and that the obligation and acceptance of both parties (ṣālah, ḫālīf) are clearly manifest.

2. The authorization may be specific or general within the configuration which will be explained below.

3. The wakāla contract is like that of wakalāt [as mentioned previously], representing a voluntary contract which would be converted into a commercial contract if fees are stipulated.

4. No responsibility is incurred on the proxy (wakalah) except in case of negligence (ṣawāfī) or intentional transgression (aḏadī).

5. The contract can be terminated at the behest of either party or, like any other contract, by the death, insanity or legal incompetency of either of them.

Wakāla contracts may vary according to the nature of the economic operation that is governed. According to the requirement of the contract, wakāla can be either general (ṣuma) to cover all forms of transactions and deals, or special (ḥāṣaṣa) which is restricted to a particular disposition, for example a wakāla for selling. Even then, it can be invalid in a transaction for letting. Muslim scholars differ regarding the legitimacy of the wakāla if it is drawn up in general and unlimited terms. Although the Ḥanāfī and Ḥalāshī schools accept this kind of wakāla, both Ẓāfīs and Ḥanbalīs restrict the legitimacy of such contracts to what is stipulated. The reason that they give for rejecting general wakāla is that it can lead to great deception (ḏhann). This is probably why all the schools of Islamic law accept the prevalent custom (ṣaf) as a guide to control the deputed action. Accordingly, if the deputy violates custom and sells an object with great loss (ḏhann ḡāḥib), his action can only be valid if confirmed by his client.

Agents can also be limited within certain logistic stipulations such as price bid, and quality and condition of the good or object. This wakāla, which is restricted by its modus operandi, is termed a wakāla mudājāna, or, opposite being the unrestricted wakāla mutlaqa. When the timing of the contract is important, the contractors may opt for a time restriction on the wakāla. The wakāla mudawwakata is the form of wakāla which is restricted by a time designated in the contract setting it up.

Due to the religious nature of Islamic law, wakāla as a legal mechanism extends itself to cover religious practices, too. It is part of the lawyer's undertaking to assess the validity of the wakāla in matters such as the pilgrimage (ḥajjd), although, according to Ibn Ḥudāmā, wakāla is not valid in matters that specifically target or involve the personality of individuals ('an al-mukalaf) such as testimony (ṣahāda), oaths (ṣawāmn), and pledges (naḥdār); or in rituals that individuals may find physically possible to perform, in contrast to those that may represent potential impossibilities such as ḥajjd. The personality of the two parties is also an important element that differentiates wakāla from other contracts. The most important legal consequence of the personal aspect of wakāla is that it involves an inbuilt mechanism that terminates the contract once one of the two contractors dies.

Al-Sanāḥūrī, following the French terminology, cited wakāla as one example of the nominated contracts ('aṣāid mu'ammat), which are contracts popularly known by a specific usage term. The nature of a represtation contract as a "nominated contract" has apparently caused some confusion in French law and in the Arabic legal systems that have inherited its legacy. This confusion has resulted in the distinctive nature of the wakāla's subject (mashall al-ṣāfī) when compared with other contracts' subjects. The nature of the wakāla's subject is a legal action (ṣa'arif ḥānūn) or acte juridique, whereas all other contracts involve material action or acte matériel. The confusion arises in the classification of the contracts of professional persons such as lawyers, medical doctors and teachers which are considered by French law to be a deputation contract rather than commission (mukāsala) contract. According to al-Sanāḥūrī, this is an unfounded assumption, based purely on personal grounds, because the subjects of all these contracts are legal actions and not material ones. However, al-Sanāḥūrī's statement generalises by treating each of these professions as one, despite the difference in their provided services. From an Islamic legal perspective, it is the service which represents the decisive factor whether the contract is one of deputation or commission. Accordingly, lawyers' services would be within the wakāla definition, whereas teachers' and medical doctors' employment falls within the spectrum of commission or an employment contract. The critical factor, in all contracts in Islamic law, is the nature of what the individual is offering and not the name. In Islamic law, all professions are ruled by the rules of professional contract ('ṣāf al-ṣa'umm), which are contracts that consider the provided service as the main guideline when problems concerning responsibility are raised.

A similar confusion about the position of wakāla arises in modern Arabic legal systems. Various definitions of wakāla seem to be affected by prevalent practical use within commercial life. Often the term is extended to include the supplier who is not necessarily an agent. In countries like Bahrain, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia and the UAE, it is important to examine each individual law separately in order to decide whether the actual basis constitutes wakāla.


For the use of wakāla in architecture, see KAYSARIYYA; JUNĀ. (MAWIL Y. IZZI DEEN)
ceived at the Kādjar court and met Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, he was ill at ease in the capital city. His five brothers (especially Wissāl’s third son Muḥammad Dāvār) and two sons were all also capable poets.

In his many works of poetry and prose, Wākār adheres to the models and style of the classical writers of the 5th-7th/11th-13th centuries. Containing more than 25,000 verses, his ʿādiʿān (first vol. printed Tabrīz 1348 ḍh./1969) includes all the traditional genres, but it is in the ḵāṣṣa that Wākār shows his real mastery. These poems are addressed to many members of the Kādjar court, in particular the governors of Fārs province (see Nawāʾī, 69-74). Imitating earlier masters, including Farrūkhī, Maʿnūchī, Sanāʾī and Anwārī (q.v.), Wākār’s ḵāṣṣas are noted for their descriptions of the seasons and for an often personal, epistolary tone. His accounts of earthquakes in Shīrāz are frequently cited. Wākār composed three mathnawīs. Bahāʾīn wa Bihūrz, a didactic romance about the conflict between two brothers, remains unpublished. Rūmāz al-imāra (Shīrāz 1331/1913) is a verse translation of ʿAlī’s letter to the governor of Egypt in the name of the Shīh-nāma. In the manner of Rūmūn’s Mathnawī, Wākār’s Misāṣa wa ḵāṣṣa (Shīrāz 1361 ḍh./1982) tells the story of these two prophets, digressing frequently into commentary and parallel tales. Among Wākār’s prose works, ʿAṣṣūman-i dāneḵ (Shīrāz 1365 ḍh./1987) consists of anecdotes interspersed with poetry in the style of Saʿdī’s Gūstān. Rūmāz-i Ḵoṣūṣvān-i Pārī (Shīrāz 1356 ḍh./1977) is an account of the legendary kings of ancient Iran. Also in the historical vein is Wākār’s long prose work on the martyrdom of ʿImām Ḥusayn, Ṭargān-yi kāmilā (Shīrāz 1361 ḍh./1982). Wākār penned a number of shorter prose epistles; these are unpublished, except for his commentary on six chronograms by Muḥarramī-i Kāḏānī (q.v.).


WAKF (A.), in Islamic law, the act of founding a charitable trust, and, hence the trust itself. A synonym, used mainly by Mālikī jurists, is ḥabūs, ḥabūs or ḥabūs (in French often rendered as habous). The essential elements are that a person, with the intention of committing a pious deed, declares part of his or her property to be henceforth unalienable (ḥabūs, habīs) and designates persons or public utilities as beneficiaries of its yields (al-ṭaqaddūk bi ʿl-manfaʿ, taṣbīl al-μanafa). The Imāmī Shīʿa distinguish between waḵf and ḥabūs, the latter being a precarious type of waḵf in which the founder reserves the right to dispose of the waḵf property.

I. In Classical Islamic law

II. In the Arab lands

1. In Egypt

2. In Syria [see Suppl.]

3. In North Africa to 1914

4. In Muslim Spain in the modern Middle East and North Africa

III. In Persia

IV. In the Ottoman empire to 1914

V. In Central Asia

VI. In Muslim India to 1900

VII. In Southeast Asia

VIII. In sub-Saharan Africa

I. In Classical Islamic law

Not mentioned in the Kurʿān, it derives its legitimacy primarily from a number of hadīṯs. The first one is related on the authority of Ibn ʿUmar and is included, in various versions, in the main hadīṯ collections:

ʿUmar had acquired land in Khaybar and came to the Prophet to consult him in this matter saying: “O Messenger of God, I have acquired land in Khaybar which is more precious to me than any property I have ever acquired.” He [Muḥammad] said: “If you want, make the land itself unalienable and give [the yield] away as alms (in ʿalāh-bābasta aslāḥa ʿalāh wa-taṣāḏdakta bāḥa).” He (Ibn ʿUmar) said: Thereupon ʿUmar gave it away as alms [in the sense that the land itself was not to be sold, inherited or donated. He gave it away as alms for the poor, the relatives, the slaves, the djīḥād, the travellers and the guests. And it will not be held against him who administers it if he consumes some of it's yield] in an appropriate manner or feeds a friend who does not enrich himself by means of it (Ibn Ḥadǧār al-ʿAskālānī, Bulūḡ al-ʿamām, Cairo n.d., no. 704).

Another hadīṯ often quoted in favour of the legitimacy of the waḵf is included in the Sahīḥ of Muslim: “The Messenger of God said: ‘When a man dies, only three deeds will survive him: continuing alms, profitable knowledge and a child praying for him’.” (ibid., no. 783). Further, there is a report by Ǧābīr that all companions of the Prophet who were financially capable of doing so, had made waḵf (Ibn Ḥudūmā, al-Ḥubūs, v, 596-9).

1. Origins

In the legal discussions of the 2nd and early 3rd century A.H. we find several legal institutions that in the later legal doctrine were subsumed under the heading of waḵf and left their traces in that doctrine (see Schacht, Early doctrines). The terminology was probably fluid in the very beginning and was systematized only later. The first institution is that of al-bāb fi saḥl Alāh, the donation of horses, weapons, slaves for the sake of djīḥād or houses for sheltering the warriors at the frontier. The second one (bāb ʿaṣal, sadaka muḥarrama) is a kind of temporary endowment for a limited number of people that after their extinction reverts to the founder or his heirs. The word muḥarrama here has the original legal meaning of “suspended” and only later did it acquire the meaning of “made into a waḵf”. This type of waḵf has survived in Mālikī doctrine. Thirdly, there was the permanent waḵf (called sadaka muḥarrama by the early Shīʾīs), usually in favour of the poor, or in favour of certain classes of relatives and descendants or even clients (maṣalīf) and then, after their extinction, to the poor. Its validity was contested, especially by Aḥū Ḥanīfī. Finally, there were permanent waḵfs in favour of mosques or public utilities. It seems that waḵf in favour of one’s relatives or descendants (waḵf abūl...
were very common in the early period and that the wakf in favour of mosques and public utilities (wakf ḥayrī) were secondary.

At the beginning of this century, C.H. Becker (in *I.S., ii* [1911]) argued that the institution of charitable wakf was influenced by the *piecausa* in Byzantine law. His view was widely shared (see e.g. Hefling, *Wakf in EI*, and J. Schacht, *Droit byzantin et droit musulman, in Fondazione A. Volta, atti dei convegni*, [1957], 213-15, where the older literature is quoted). Apart from the obvious structural similarities between both institutions (elaborated by A. Cahen, *Comparatione*), Becker’s arguments were that, according to al-Makrizi, there were only wakfs of urban real estate in Egypt during the first three centuries of Islam, and that this state of affairs, in accordance with Byzantine law, was the same regarding Coptic pious endowments in this period. Cf. Cahen (*Rerum..., 31-50*), however, showed that the evidence put forward by Becker was not convincing. If al-Makrizi’s observation is reliable, Cahen argued, this applies only to Egypt. Elsewhere, there is no indication of such a restriction, and, in fact, wakfs of rural property were widespread in early Islam. This seriously weakens the argument of Byzantine influence on the development of the Islamic doctrine of wakf. Moreover, the fact that, in Egypt, wakfs were restricted to urban property in the early centuries of Islam may stem from the fact that the rural population of Egypt at that time was predominantly Christian. Finally, Cahen pointed out that, in early Islam, wakfs in favour of relatives and descendants were predominant and not those in favour of religious institutions.

The immediate spread and popularity of the wakf derives from the fact that it served social and economic needs. It was a means to protect an estate against confiscation by the state or against disintegration as a result of *Shar'a*’s succession. Moreover, it could be used to circumvent the rules of Islamic succession and keep property as much as possible within the agnatic group. At the same time it could provide a regular income for one’s relatives and descendants in order to protect them from want. With regard to mosques and public utilities, there were two types, each serving its own purpose: there were wakfs consisting of the mosque or the utility itself (school, bridge, fountain) and there were wakfs generating the income for the maintenance and operation of these utilities. Finally, wakfs provided relief for the poor.

2. Founding a wakf.

(a) The founder (al-wakīf, al-muhābbas)

The founder of the wakf must have the general capacity to act and contract (al-fa‘īla al-‘ādil), i.e. he must be adult, sound of mind, capable of handling financial affairs (ṣabīb), a free person and not under interdiction for prodigality or bankruptcy. Being a Muslim is not required; in principle, wakfs founded by dhimmīs are valid. In addition, the founder must be sound of body to be legally capable of performing gratuitous acts. For if a person founds a wakf during his last illness (manad al-māni), it is subject to the restrictions with regard to bequests (wasiyya *q.v.*), that is, its value may not exceed one-third of the estate. In Mālikī law, finally, a married woman would need her husband’s authorisation if the value of the wakf exceeds one-third of her property, as in the case of gifts.

(b) The object (al-mawṣūl, al-muhābbas)

The goods that are made into wakf must be goods that are not excluded from legal traffic and can be the object of a valid contract (mu‘āvakhasa). This means that (1) people have control over them (hence not a fish in the sea or a runaway slave; (2) their use is lawful hence not musical instruments or objects used for worship in other religions, nor impure goods like wine and pork; (3) they are not otherwise excluded from legal traffic (hence not public domains; wakf property or an *umm waqal* [q.v.]). These are general requirements that are applicable to all contracts involving the transfer of property.

In addition, there are some other requirements that are specific regarding the founding of a wakf. Only physical goods (ṣamī‘ī) are clearly defined and exist at the moment that the wakf is founded can be made into a wakf. A debt or “one of the houses owned by me” (if the founder owns more than one house) cannot validly constitute the object of a wakf. Furthermore, the founder must be entitled to dispose of the intended object of the wakf. He cannot make a wakf of another person’s property or his own property if it has been pledged. The previous conditions are mentioned by all the law schools with the exception of the Mālikī. *Wakfs* must be perpetual, but there is controversy on the implications of this principle with regard to the object of the wakf. Goods whose use consists in their consumption cannot be dedicated to wakfs, but most schools allow movable goods that wear out by their use. Some jurists have argued that even silver and gold coins can be made into a wakf. The Hanafīs, however, are stricter in this respect. Their basic rule is that only immovable property (both ‘āshr and ḥāndīq) land) can be the object of wakf. Only in exceptional cases do they allow that movable goods are made into a wakf. These exceptions are:

1. Movable goods that follow immovable property, such as the slaves, animals, and agricultural tools belonging to a rural estate;

2. Movable goods that are mentioned in certain *hādhā biyyas* as valid objects of wakfs, such as horses and weapons for *dīkād*: this is Abū Yūsuf’s opinion;

3. Movable goods that people are accustomed to dedicate to wakfs, such as shovels, pickaxes and biers, to be used in graveyards, copies of the Qur’an, to be read in mosques or schools, and cooking pots to be used in public kitchens for the poor; this view, ascribed to Muḥammad al-Shaybání, has become the authoritative one within the Hānafī school.

(c) The beneficiaries

Both persons and public utilities, such as mosques, schools, bridges, graveyards and drinking fountains, can be the beneficiaries of a wakf. Beneficiaries of the first type can be one or more individuals (“Fulūn bi ‘Inūn”; “my children”, “my male offspring”) or collectivities (“travellers”, “the poor of this town”). The jurists note that in the case of wakfs in favour of public utilities the actual beneficiaries are all Muslims, or the Muslims of a certain region or the inhabitants of a town, who collectively have the right to use these utilities. Modern legislation distinguishes between charitable wakfs (wakf ḥayrī) dedicated to pious causes (public utilities, the poor) and family wakfs (wakf ‘ibdī) made in favour of one’s relatives and descendants. Classical doctrine does not make this distinction and the two types of wakf are governed by the same rules. There can be two groups of beneficiaries who are entitled at the same time, e.g. if the founder has stipulated that half of the proceeds go to the poor and half to his children. Usually, several subsequent classes of beneficiaries are mentioned. A very common clause is to designate first one’s sons and unmarried daughters, then one’s agnatic grandparents and unmarried agnatic granddaughters, then one’s agnatic great-grand-
sons and unmarried agnatic great-granddaughters, and so on. In such cases, no class becomes entitled until the previous one is entirely extinct.

A valid dedication must satisfy the following conditions:

1. The immediate beneficiaries (i.e., the first class of beneficiaries) must exist at the time of the foundation of the wakf and be identified or identifiable. The designation of an unborn child as the immediate beneficiary of a wakf is therefore invalid. Only the Malikis hold that beneficiaries that do not yet exist may be designated. The proceeds are saved until he is born. If this does not occur, they return to the founder or his heirs.

2. The beneficiaries must be capable of acquiring property. This excludes slaves and ḥarāb, but not dhimmis. The scholars disagree on whether a mustaʿmin can be a beneficiary. Regarding wakf being in favour of public utilities, their users are regarded as the beneficiaries.

3. The purpose of the wakf must be lawful. Therefore, a wakf for the building and maintenance of churches, synagogues and monasteries is null and void, even if made by dhimmis. However, some jurists point out that wakf for in favour of churches and monasteries may be valid if they serve specific functions not related to worship, e.g., offering hospitality to the poor or travellers.

There is controversy on the validity of a wakf in favour of the founder. Most jurists hold that such a stipulation is invalid. They argue that founding a wakf implies the transfer of the right to dispose of and the right to use the wakf property. Retaining (part of) the right to use it is in conflict with this principle. The Hanafis, however (with the exception of Muhammad al-Shaybani), assert that such a wakf is valid on the strength of the hadith about ʿUmar quoted above, since he stipulated that the wakf’s administrator was entitled to “eat” from its proceeds, and it is well known that he himself was its first administrator. The Hanballah interpret this hadith in a more restricted sense: they regard a stipulation to the effect that the founder can use the wakf’s proceeds during his lifetime as valid, but not his designation as a beneficiary.

The Hanafi school, with the exception of Abū ʿUṣuf, hold that it is required for the validity of a wakf that the designation of the beneficiaries should include a final class whose existence is regarded as perpetual, such as the poor. Otherwise, they argue, the perpetuity of the wakf, which is an essential element, is jeopardised. According to the other law schools and Abū ʿUṣuf (whose opinion became the prevailing one within the Hanafi school), the absence of such a designation does not affect the validity of the wakf, since it is not known that the Companions included such stipulations when founding wakfs. As a consequence the jurists have discussed what happens to the wakf after the extinction of the last beneficiaries, or after the institution for which the wakf has been founded, has been destroyed and cannot function anymore.

There are certain stipulations that are regarded as null and void. Some such stipulations have already been discussed: wakf dedicated to an unlawful aim or those for which the founder has been designated as beneficiary. There are, however, several others. These are related to two principles: the immediate effect of the act of founding a wakf (tandīz) and its perpetual character. All jurists except the Malikis agree that founding a wakf to be effective at a future point of time (mawālā), renders the act void. There is only one exception: all law schools allow that a person founds a wakf by testament, effective upon his death. This, then, is governed by rules of testament (waqiyah [q.v.]). Stipulations that the wakf is founded for a limited period or that the founder may revoke it or sell or give away its property, are regarded by all jurists except the Malikis as contrary to the required perpetuity of the wakf and invalidate its founding.

(c) Conditions of irrevocability (ḥadd). In some agnates, or

The Malikis, Hanafis (with the exception of Abū ʿUṣuf), the Imamī Shi՚a and some Hanballahs hold, in analogy with gifts, that a wakf is not binding and irrevocable until the property has actually been transferred to the beneficiaries or the administrator. If, before the property has been handed over, the founder dies or loses his right of disposal over the property as a result of bankruptcy or serious illness, the wakf is void. Regarding public utilities, transfer of property is assumed to have taken place as soon as the founder
lets the public use them. The Imāmi Shi'a, however, require also in this case that the property be actually handed over to the administrator. Those who do not require transfer of property argue that the aforementioned hadith from 'Umar does not mention it as a condition and that founding a wakf is more like the freeing of a slave (an act which does not require this transfer) than making a gift.

There is also a difference of opinion on the question of whether it is required for the irrevocability of the wakf that the immediate beneficiaries, at least if they are defined, accept their rights. For most law schools, their acceptance is not a condition for the irrevocability, but, as in the case of bequests, a condition for acquiring their rights. The Shi'īs, however, hold in analogy with bequests that the wakf is only binding and irrevocable after the immediate beneficiaries have accepted. Those beneficiaries that acquire their rights after the wakf has been founded, do not have to accept expressly. However, they may reject it, after which they forfeit their rights.

3. The legal effects.

All law schools hold that establishing a wakf is a valid and irrevocable act. Only Abū Hanīfa asserted that a wakf is only irrevocable if the founder establishes it as from the moment of his death or if it is affirmed by a kādi's sentence. (For the discussion and arguments, see al-Kāsī, Badi'ī, 'al-ṣaḥīhī, vi, 318-19; Ibn Kudama, al-Mugnī, v, 598-600.) If a person founds a wakf during his lifetime, Abū Hanīfa holds that the wakf remains his property and he may revoke the wakf by alienating its property. After his death, the property reverts to his heirs. Establishing a wakf during one's lifetime is, in Abū Hanīfa's view, nothing else than a vow to donate the proceeds of the wakf property to the beneficiaries at the moment of one's death. This opinion, however, was not followed by his companions Muhammad al-Ṣayyābīn and Abū Yūsuf, who held, like the jurists of the other legal schools, that establishing a wakf is an irrevocable and binding act. In order to dispel all doubts about the binding character of a wakf, Hanafī practice was for the founder to have recourse to judicial proceedings. The standard procedure was that the founder, after having handed over the wakf property to the administrator, would reclaim it alleging that the wakf was revocable according to Abū Hanīfa's doctrine. The judge then would establish the irrevocability of the wakf by giving judgement according to the doctrine of Muhammad al-Ṣayyābīn and Abū Yūsuf and finding for the defendant.

The majority of the jurists have their opinion that establishing a wakf is a legally valid act on the hadith that have been mentioned at the beginning of this article. Abū Hanīfa, however, argues that wakfs may not infringe upon the rights of one's heirs and quotes a hadith transmitted by Shurayh to the effect that after the revelation of the verses of succession Muhammad said: "No wakfs to the detriment of the ℓa ℓam 'an ℓa ℓam". Moreover, he addsuces a hadith transmitted by 'Abd Allāh b. Zayd (not included in the main collections; for the text, see Ibn Kudama, al-Mugnī, v, 598) according to which the Prophet sold land that had been made wakf. And as to the examples of the Companions, he alleges that these instances may date from before the revelation of the verses of inheritance.

The irrevocability of the act of founding a wakf implies for all law schools except the Mālikīs (for whom the founder remains the owner of the goods, albeit without any of the powers of ownership) that the founder ceases to be the owner of the object of the wakf. Since Islamic law confers legal personality only on natural persons, the jurists had to come to grips with the problem of who becomes the new owner of the wakf goods. In order to answer this question, they made use of two analogies leading to two different solutions. As we have seen above, most law schools compare founding a wakf with making a gift or other gratuitous legal act. For them, the beneficiaries become the new owners, although their ownership is a restriction as long as the beneficiaries continue to hold the right of disposal. As in the case of gifts, they regard the actual transfer of property and the taking possession by the beneficiaries or the administrator as the moment when the founder's property right ceases to exist and the wakf becomes irrevocable. Some jurists, however, compare it with the act of freeing a slave ('ībād) and are of the opinion that the ownership, immediately upon the declaration, is transferred to God. On this theoretical issue, advocates of both views can be found within each law school, except for the Mālikīs. Since a wakf is founded in perpetuity, the goods belonging to it need maintenance. If the goods are exploited by renting it out, maintenance must be paid from the proceeds, before the beneficiaries get their shares. If the beneficiaries of the wakf only have the right to use it, they themselves are liable for the maintenance of the goods. If they do not use it for its intended use, the wakf is entitled to take appropriate measures, e.g. evicting the users of a house and renting it out in order to generate money for its maintenance. The same applies to wakfs consisting of e.g. slaves or animals. Horses dedicated as a wakf to the dhūhr, are the responsibility of the Bāyi al-Mal. What happens to the wakf if the wakf goods are seriously damaged or destroyed? One could think of a ruined house or mosque, a mosque in a region left by its inhabitants, trees that have died or a horse no longer fit for warfare. Now, if the damage to the goods is the result of a tort, there is no problem. The administrators or the beneficiaries can claim compensation, which then belongs to the wakf and must be used to repair or replace the goods. However, if the damage is not caused by human activity, there is a great deal of controversy among the jurists. The Shi'īs and the Imāmi Shi'a hold that the wakf remains in existence as long as there are goods left that can be used or exploited in whatever way. Solely if the remaining goods can only be used by consuming them do they accept that the wakf ends and that these goods become the property of the beneficiaries. The other law schools accept under certain conditions that the remaining goods be sold and that new wakf property be acquired with the proceeds of the sale (istibdāl). The Mālikīs allow this only with regard to movable goods that are unfit for their intended use. The Hanbalis are more permissive in this respect. They regard istibdāl as lawful if the goods of the wakf have been damaged or destroyed to the extent that they can no longer be used for their intended exploitation. Unlike the other law schools, the Hanafīs first pose the question of whether or not the founder has stipulated for himself or for the future administrators the power to practice istibdāl. Although Muhammad al-Ṣayyābīn argued that such a stipulation is void, Abū Yūsuf's view, which prevailed among the Hanafīs, is that such a clause is perfectly valid, except with regard to mosques. If the founder has failed to introduce such a clause, or has even expressly forbidden istibdāl, the kādi may still allow it, if he deems it in the interest of the wakf. However, he can
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only act with the authorisation of the caliph or sultan.

4. Administration of the wakf.

Especially if there is more than one beneficiary, the founder will usually make arrangements for the administration of the wakf by appointing an administrator (nāẓir, mutawallīl, kayyim) and laying down rules for the appointment of his successors. According to most law schools, the founder is entitled to administer the wakf himself during his lifetime. Only the Mālikīs do not allow this, since they require for the validity of the wakf that the founder actually hand over the property to the beneficiaries or the administrator. If the founder has not made arrangements, the jurists disagree as to who is entitled to appoint an administrator. According to Abū Yusuf, the founder, being the person closest to the wakf, is entitled to administer it. During his lifetime he has the right to appoint an administrator. By testament he may transfer this right to his testamentary executor (waqfī). The other jurists hold that, in this case, the kāfīr is responsible for the administration of the wakf and that it is he who must appoint an administrator. However, if the number of beneficiaries is limited and identifiable, the Mālikīs, most Hanbalis and the Imāmī Shi‘a are of the opinion that the beneficiaries have the right to administer the wakf because they have rights to the wakf property, either because they are regarded as the virtual owners of the wakf (Hanbalis and the Imāmī Shi‘a) or because they own the right to use and exploit (milk al-manfa‘) the wakf property (Mālikīs).

An administrator must accept his appointment. The approval of the beneficiaries is not required (except according to those who hold that the beneficiaries, under certain conditions, are entitled to administer the wakf, if such conditions obtain).

The administrator must have the capacity to act and contract. According to all law schools except the Ḥanafīs, he must be Muslim and male. In addition he must be trustworthy (amīn) and have the necessary skills. The Šafī‘is and some Hanbalis require that he should be ḥālī [p.2].

His duties are, in the first place, the maintenance and the exploitation of the wakf property. He decides on the repairs that have to be carried out and on how the property is made profitable. Finally, he distributes the proceeds among the beneficiaries. He is entitled to take a remuneration for his activities. His position is similar to that of a guardian over a minor or an insane person, and like him, the administrator of a wakf is under supervision of the kāfīr.

5. Extinction of the wakf.

A wakf is intended to last forever. Nevertheless the jurists envisage several situations that may result in its termination:

1. When the goods of the wakf perish. In the event the goods are destroyed or damaged, to the extent that they can no longer be used or exploited in the way envisioned by the founder, Muhammad al-Shaybānī held that the wakf becomes extinct and that the remains of the goods revert to the founder or his heirs. The other jurists assert, however, that no possibility of alternative use or exploitation must be left unexplored before the wakf comes to an end, and they carry this to great lengths. In principle, wakfs consisting of land cannot become extinguished.

2. A wakf can be declared null and void by the kāfīr if it does not satisfy the conditions of validity, or if the founder has introduced stipulations contrary to the essence of the notion of wakf.

3. A wakf becomes null and void if the founder apostatizes from Islam.

4. According to the Mālikīs, if a wakf is made in favour of a limited number of beneficiaries for their lifetime or for a certain period, it becomes extinct when the last of them has died or when the period for which the wakf has been founded has expired. The wakf property then returns to the founder or his heirs.

5. Under Mālikī law, a wakf can be cancelled by the founder if he has stipulated that the property will return to him or may be sold by him in case he needs it.


II. IN THE ARAB LANDS

1. In Egypt.

The earliest pious foundations in Muslim Egypt seem to be gifts for charitable purposes rather than waqaf as subsequently known. This was the case with the foundation of the first mosque built by ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ in the first year of the Arab conquest (Ibn ʿUmar, i, 62-3). On the return of the Arab troops from Alexandria in 21/641, Ḥusayn b. Kūthm, one of the abī al-rūya, donated to the community a piece of land which he owned for the foundation of a mosque. The mosque personnel was paid by the Bayt al-Mīl. Other plots were similarly donated for...
communal use, e.g. to establish a market for cattle. Al-Kalkashandi attributes the earliest charitable wakf in Egypt based on the alienation of treasury land (Bayt al-Mal) to the Abbasid period, the founder, the financial official Abū Bakr Muhammad b. 'Ali al-Madhara'i, alienated the pond called Birkat al-Habash together with the orchards around it for charitable purposes (the ponds of Cairo became waterless when the flood began to recede in the fall; they were then used for agricultural purposes). The revenue was to be used to operate a hydraulic complex and to buy food for the poor. The pond called Birkat al-Habash, together with the orchards around it for charitable purposes (the ponds of Cairo became waterless when the flood began to recede in the fall; they were then used for agricultural purposes), dated 307/919, is published as a diwan al-ahbād (purposes). The revenue was to be used to operate a hydraulic complex and to buy food for the poor. The text of this wakf, dated 307/919, is published as a résumé by Ibn Dukmāk (i, 55-6; Amin, Awdā', 37-8). Another document from the Ikhdhirid period (dated 355/965) refers to a hydraulic complex known as Bīr ar-Ruwātī consisting of waterwheels and a well, which were endowed for charitable use (al-Makρīzī, Māṣīt, ii, 135).

Al-Makρīzī states that the earliest pious wakfs were based on the alienation of commercial buildings, mainly apartment houses (nībād), and that no land was alienated in the early period of the governors and their successors; even Ibn Tulun's foundations of a mosque, a hospital and an aqueduct were financed only with the revenue of apartment buildings (ibid., ii, 295). The previous examples, however, show that during the 'Abbasid period pious and family endowments did include agricultural land (ibid., ii, 114).

The origins of a central wakf administration cannot be precisely defined. Al-Kalkashandi attributes, in rather vague terms, the origin of the diwan al-ahbād to the time of 'Amr b. al-Ąṣ (Saḥīḥ al-Łajūcī, iv, 38). During the Umayyad period, an institution for wakf administration was already well established, as the case of the kadī Tawba b. al-Namir (115-20/733-4) demonstrates; he supervised the awdā', ensuring that the charitable funds (sadalakā) reached their destination and prevented abuses. Upon his death this diwan had already become an important institution (Halm, 47-8). A similar diwan was later created in Basra, which suggests that the same kind of tax farming (ddmin) was already well established, as the case of the kadī Tawba b. al-Namir (115-20/733-4). The diwan al-ahbād was later created in Basra, which suggests that the same kind of tax farming (ddmin) was already well established, as the case of the kadī Tawba b. al-Namir (115-20/733-4) demonstrates; he supervised the awdā', ensuring that the charitable funds (sadalakā) reached their destination and prevented abuses. Upon his death this diwan had already become an important institution (Halm, 47-8). A similar diwan was later created in Basra, which suggests that the same kind of tax farming (ddmin) was already well established, as the case of the kadī Tawba b. al-Namir (115-20/733-4).

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gious foundations which were, per se, entitled to funds from the public treasury.

The Mamluks introduced their own reforms of the wakf system during the reign of Baybars, the wakf administration was divided into three parts. A distinction was made between ahbâs and awkâf. The latter included the awkâf hukmiyya and the awkâf ahliyya, whereas the ahbâs consisted of the rizâk ahbâsyya. The awkâf hukmiyya were supervised by the Shâfi‘i chief kâfî and included urban buildings in al-Kahîra and al-Fustû (Mîsîr) whose revenue served purely philanthropic functions such as the support of the Holy Cities and the poor and the payment of ransoms for Muslim prisoners of war. The awkâf ahliyya included the great foundations of sultans and amîrs, such as madrasas, khânakâhs, kuttâbs and funerary complexes; they were supported by urban and agricultural estates, both in Egypt and Syria, and their revenue was to serve combined charitable and private purposes by sustaining a religious institution and securing an income to the founder and his clan.

The rizâk (meaning income) according to al-Nâbulsîf, Ibn Dûkmâq and Ibn al-Dî‘ânî, is a special kind of endowment based on the alienation of treasury land for the benefit of individuals, rather than institutions, for providing specific services. This system seems to have originated in the late Ayyûbîd period (Michel, 108). The rizâk ahbâsyya were established under the Mamluks had as their main purpose the provision of services to the rural areas. Individuals were directly endowed with agricultural land which provided them with an income, often coupled with the condition that they maintain or serve some religious or philanthropic institution in the villages. The rizâk provided for the salaries of the religious personnel of the mosques and zâmsîs, for craftsmen and employees, such as the guardians of fields and villages, and building craftsmen. They also provided funds for the purchase of agricultural tools. These services included Christian villages as well (Halm, 52-3; Michel, 111-12). The supervision of the rizâk came within the Great Dâwâddî’s sphere of competence. N. Michel sees the rizâk as a local Egyptian, non-religious institution, which originally was not ruled by religious law and was thus distinct from wakf. Over the course of time, however, the rizâk ahbâsyya were mistaken for wakf and acquired their legal status as irrevocable and exempted of taxes (Michel, 114).

Al-Kalkashandî writes that the nazar al-ahbâs al-mabrûra, i.e. the general supervision of the pious endowments in the early 15th century, was either in the hands of the Sultan himself or delegated to his deputy or to the Great Dâwâddî, mostly to the latter. In the Bahrî Mamlûk period, however, the supervision of the great pious wakfs was assumed either by an amîr or by the Shâfi‘î kâfî ‘l-kâhîdât.

Notwithstanding the role of a central wakf administration, the Mamlûk kâfî was involved with wakf at the court level, where every wakfîyya had to be registered in several copies, of which one remained in the kâfî’s archives.

From the outset, the Mamlûk sultans made full use of wakf possibilities. Their religious foundations were often part of ambitious urban projects which are still visible in the present Old City of Cairo. For their endowments, they allocated far more investments (land or commercial structures) than necessary for the upkeep of the religious foundation in order to produce a substantial surplus for themselves and their descendants. Such measures became necessary under the kâfî system, which in principle gave the amîrs and state servants only a life-time usufruct of the land or other assets, excluding inheritance, not to mention confiscations and extortions ordered by the sultans. As a result of the large-scale use of wakf, it became a source of income not only for the religious and teaching establishments but also for an important number of administrators and other employees.

The main beneficiaries of Mamlûk wakfs were, in addition to the founders and the religious and educational foundations of all types, the water supply, hospitals, the Holy Cities (including Hebron and Jerusalem), and various services related to the pilgrimage and its infrastructure, including the kiswa for the Ka‘ba. There were also public kitchens, like the ones sponsored by Sultan Barâkû in Hebron and by Ka‘îtib in Mecca and Medina. In times of plague, washing and burying the dead and providing coffins and shrouds were also provided for by pious endowments. Ka‘îtib included in his endowment for the Holy Cities two ships to carry wheat from Egypt. Military institutions such as the arsenal (khîsûn al-silâh) and fortifications might also be maintained by wakf in the Mamlûk period.

At this time, all kinds of movable objects or chattels could be alienated, not only books, utensils and furniture for the religious foundations but also slaves or animals. Although discussions about the wakf of cash did take place in the Mamlûk Egypt, no such wakf is so far known prior to the Ottoman era (Amin, wakf, 100). The Mamlûk elite also made use of the family wakfs, i.e. those whose beneficiaries were the family and the clan. Sultan al-Nâsîr Muhammad remunerated his amîrs by making family wakfs for them and their descendants. In his own family endowment deed, he stipulated explicitly that his daughters should get the same share as his sons, thus circumventing the inheritance law (M. Amin, appendix to Ibn Habîb, ii, 578).

Some family wakfs included a simultaneous charitable share, consisting of donations to religious foundations, sometimes tied to specific services, such as to increase the number of students or raise the salaries, to add a fountain or buy candles, etc. The Azhar mosque and the hospital of Khâlûn were among the institutions that, over the centuries, regularly acquired such endowments both in the Mamlûk and Ottoman periods.

The Mamlûk chroniclers repeatedly criticised wakf abuses by the ruling establishment. A device used by sultans and amîrs to acquire wakf property was simply to invalidate the wakf on legal grounds, either justifiably or not. The most famous case of wakf confiscation in the Mamlûk period was that of Dîmâl al-Dîn al-Ustâdîr (al-Makrîzî, Khatât, ii, 70-1). Sultan Barâbî, who demolished wakf shops to build his own madrasa in their place, is reported to have made a fair offer to the tenants without pressuring them (iđem, Sulâm, iv/2, 636-7; Khatât, iii, 330). The wakf properties accumulated over generations represented a significant share of Egypt’s resources and at the same time a great temptation to the rulers. Whenever the Mamlûk state was in need of liquid funds, especially in times of war or other crises, the tapping of the wakf resources was inevitable.

The urban mawâahkan in the Mamlûk and Ottoman periods included apartment houses (rabî‘), commercial buildings of various types (kâyârîyya, wakîla, fundak, khân), shops, food stalls (masmât), factories (sugar, soap, starch, glass, textiles, tanneries, etc.), ovens for baking chickens, mills, bakeries, oil presses and baths. In the Ottoman period, the coffee-house became one of the most lucrative wakf investments.
The wakf were a major concern for the Ottoman conquerors of Egypt and one of the first issues which Selim I [q.v.] tackled once he entered Cairo. According to legend, Selim decided to conquer Egypt after having tested the Egyptian ulama and finding them corrupt enough to authorise the liquidation of the Azhar endowments for a good bargain. A decree dated Rabii' II 925/May 1517, i.e. the year of the Ottoman conquest, affirms, however, Selim's intention to respect the pious endowments established by the Mamluks ("Awli, Awkdf 256-7). In 928/1522 a nizir al- awkf was appointed from Istanbul to control the waqfs of Egypt and to reform the religious institutions so that they included Turkish scholars and Sufis. According to the K'am-n'am of Süleyman the Magnificent, the waqfs of the Mamluk sultans were to be inspected by the daqdar al- awkd and controlled by the authorities in Istanbul. Later, this office was replaced by the nizir al-naqzar, who was appointed from the governor's entourage. The awkf of the Harem came similarly under Ottoman control. The supervision of the great pious waqf, however, remained on the whole in the hands of local amirs and beyis. Those of the Holy Cities were sometimes controlled by Ottoman agans of the Dār al-Sa'āda in Istanbul. Also, awkf were now no longer exempt from taxes, as had been the case in the Mamluk period.

Owing to the continuous sale of treasury land in the Mamluk period, the Ottomans found that almost half of Egypt's agricultural land had been alienated as waqf. They abolished the ikta system, ordered a new cadaster, dissolved the dzur al-abbās and investigated existing waqfs in order to cancel all those of dubious origins or which were lacking proper documents. These measures helped them increase considerably the treasury land.

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Giving supremacy to the Hanafī madhhab, the Ottomans stressed the distinction between waqf and irād, a distinction that had no much relevance under the Mamluks because of the prevalence of the Shafi'i madhhab at that time (K. Cuno, Irād). The alienation of treasury land under the Ottomans needed therefore to be authorised by the sultan or his governor (Nahal, 69). Due to the resistance of the 'ulamā', however, the Ottomans were cautious when dealing with pious endowments inherited from their predecessors, which they preferred to maintain as long as they fulfilled philanthropic purposes. Thus rizāk ahbāsyya were also investigated but largely tolerated, even when their origin was suspect, as long as they secured an income for the needy. They were called waqf irādī or simply irādī (Michel; Cuno).

The separation of military and judicial powers by the Ottomans limited the encroachments of the ruling establishment in waqf issues. The Ottoman kāft was independent of the wakf and had a greater administrative authority than his Mamluk predecessor, including also some of the mahtasib's competence. He was expected to appoint or dismiss the nizirs, to examine their reports, to control rural and urban waqf employees, to check that the stipulations were followed and the beneficiaries' interest secured, and also to implement regulations pertaining to the neighbourhood. Because of the importance of the waqf's resources, however, the Ottoman governors of Egypt nevertheless did interfere in waqf matters, as on the occasion when the supervisors of all great waqfs were compelled to purchase quantities of copper in order to get rid of a surplus sent from Istanbul.

The Ottoman governors of the 10th/16th and the 11th/17th centuries created important charitable waqfs in Egypt, some of which also included a private share for the founder. Their awkf involved the foundation of new religious institutions, mostly favouring the Hanafī madhhab, but most of all they endowed, upgraded and often transformed existing ones. Special attention was devoted to saints' tombs and shrines. Al-Azhar's prestige as an institution increased during this period. The governors' waqf included an important number of commercial buildings of the waqala type, built in the port cities and in Bulaq, Cairo's port, to facilitate the transport of goods to Istanbul and to provide at the same time funds for philanthropic works. The Pilgrimage infrastructure and its caravan benefited. Sultan Dāmān and Kā'tīb's endowments for the Holy Cities (dār al-hikma) were enlarged by Selim I and Süleyman the Magnificent; Murad III made a new endowment called the dār al-sugra, and Mehmed IV's wife also alienated agricultural land in Egypt for the Holy Cities. The Ottomans thus supported the Haramayn mainly with the waqf revenue of Egyptian land. Following Kā'tīb's example, Süleyman and Murad III endowed ships for the transportation of wheat from Egypt to Mecca and Medina (Behrens-Abouseif, Qādiryya's foundation, 67). The Ottomans made use of the cash waqf, albeit on a small scale (eadem, Adjustment, 217).

The military aristocracy of the Ottoman period became increasingly involved from the 11th/17th century onwards in the creation of large private waqfs in Cairo for the benefit of the founder's own clan or household, which had a great impact on the upgrading and revitalising of their urban neighbourhoods. Notables of the religious establishment and the merchant class also created such endowments, which included the large number of sabti-maktabs built all over Cairo during the Ottoman period. The Black Eunuchs of the Imperial Harem, whose careers often ended in Cairo, also figure among the founders of great private waqfs which included a philanthropic share; that of 'Othmān Ağa in the early 11th/17th century, however, was purely charitable and of particular urban importance for the city of Cairo (Behrens-Abouseif, Tannures).

Shortly after coming to power, Muḥammad 'Ali abolished the šālimūn [q.v.] or tax-farming system applied by the Ottomans. He also tried to prohibit the creation of new waqfs by a decree of 9 Radjab 1262/3 July 1846, which was never implemented, however, and was even revoked by his successor 'Abdās I. Following the overthrow of the mamluks, his son Ibrahim, who became the governor of Upper Egypt, confiscated all waqf land there. Muḥammad 'Ali assumed, moreover, control of the rizāk ahbāsyya all over Egypt, compensating their beneficiaries only partly, but did not interfere with waqf of urban properties. In 1835 he established a general waqf administration which was abandoned three years later, apparently because of the 'ulamā's opposition (Sekaly, 96, 410, 450, 628; Baer, 169). Muḥammad 'Ali himself did allocate large agricultural estates (23,000 fādān) in a waqf for educational institutions in his hometown of Kavala or Kavāla [q.v.]. As a result of his confiscations, pious foundations established prior to Muḥammad 'Ali's reign deteriorated, and primary education provided by the maktabs (kutṭāb [q.v.]) was left without income (Baer, 149). The resulting desperate situation of the pious foundations prompted the Khedive Isma'il later to allocate 10,000 fādān for the benefit of mosques that were left without resources; moreover, he made vast endowments for the educational system of Egypt. In the second half of the cen-
During the 19th century the great landowners of the Muhammad 'Ali family and other notables made extensive use of family endowments with agricultural land in order to regulate inheritance matters and safeguard properties against fragmentation. Paradoxically, the opposite result was achieved. Due to the perpetual nature of the endowment leading to an increasing number of beneficiaries over generations, the property was infinitely split up, as the critics of the family or ahli wakf have always emphasized. The result was that the beneficiaries, left with an insignificant income, lost interest in their wakfs, leaving the supervisor free to handle it according to his own interests (Baer, 167).

In 1864 Isma'īl ordered that the wakf administration established by 'Abbās I in 1851 should acquire the status of a ministry which would assume greater control over the pious wakf, and he introduced severe punishments for usurpation and decay. To achieve this, he needed the authorisation of the Porte to act on behalf of the Ottoman Chief Kādi, who continued to be the de jure official authority in Egyptian wakf matters, including those of the Hanawīn. In 1884, two years after the British occupation of Egypt, the Khedive Tawfīk abolished the Wākī Ministry and replaced it by an independent administration under his own direct supervision (Sēkāly 111–12; Baer, 171), a measure necessary in order to prevent Christian officials, now in control of the ministries, from dealing with the Muslims' pious endowments and getting involved with Şarṭā's issues. The British, however, did not approve of the way in which the new body functioned, and in 1913 Lord Kitchener re-installed the Wākī Ministry with the consent of the Porte, under the condition, however, that it would be allowed to maintain a certain autonomy including the budget. During the late 19th century the Khedive's control of the wakf was indisputable, assuming the traditional competencies of the Ottoman Chief Kādi, from whom he still needed an authorisation (Sēkāly, 109). This went on until World War I when the de jure Ottoman authority was finally also abolished.

The problems of abuse of the wakf system in Egypt have been virtually the same for all periods of Egypt's pre-modern history. Ever since Ibn Mammātī's comments in the 6th/12th century, the subject of wakf abuse was a regular issue in the chronicles and often a major political issue setting rulers against 'ulāma': The tremendous accumulation of assets in wakf properties made it inevitable that the rulers, whether due to pressing circumstances or simply to greed, would turn to these resources. The success of the 'ulāma's resistance varied. The Mamlūk sultans managed to a great extent to manipulate judges according to their own will; Ottoman ones were more independent. In order to safeguard his wakf against abuses, every wakf founder formulated strict stipulations, which often included that no wakf property should be rented for more than three years, neither should it be sold or exchanged (istibdāl). The stipulations limiting or excluding the mode of wakf property did not imply, however, the total blocking of an endowment. A wakf could always be enlarged through the addition of new investment estates by the founder himself, his successors or any other person. Sometimes, however, the status of religious foundations changed through such enlargements: a mosque would become a madrasa, a madrasa for the Shāfiʿī madhhab would be enlarged to also include Hanafi teaching or Şūfi service as well, a mere masjid might acquire the status of a dār al-ḥikr; such transformations, however, did not remain undisputed. Although all important endowments stipulated that the revenue should be spent in the first place on maintaining the premises, over the course of time the alienated estates fell into disrepair, thus becoming less lucrative. The supervisor had no choice but to take rescue initiatives. These included the sale of the dilapidated estate in order to cover the restoration expenses or to acquire other assets instead (istibdāl). Such initiatives, which necessarily contradicted the founder's stipulations, had to be authorised by the kādi, who would need an assessment of the estate's dilapidated condition. For this purpose he had to summon a consortium of master-masons, jurists, wakf administrators and witnesses. Such assessments, however, were often fabricated, or the building might even be demolished overnight when a powerful person was involved (al-Maqrīzī, Sulīk, ii, 320–1; Kādhī, ii, 69).

Long-term lease contracts were another solution to the problem of wakf decay. This allowed the tenant himself to carry out the necessary repairs and restorations, and to subtract the expenditures gradually from the rent. The long term often implied subrenting the estate and freezing the rent for a long period, while it gave the tenant a proprietor-like status. Sultan Bārķī, who was in need of funds for his army but was not authorised to dissolve his predecessor's wakfs, allowed his amirs to rent wakf land on extended terms and exploit it to their profit; they subverted it in order to make a profit from the balance (al-Maqrīzī, Sulīk, iii, 345 ff.).

The hikr [q.v. in Suppl.] was a long-term lease of land only, giving the tenant the right to own and alienate the buildings on it. He could then replace dilapidated wakf buildings by new ones and alienate them in wakf of his own. As a rent, several wakfs could be involved in the same plot. The Mamlūk sultans often participated as share-holders in commercial structures within the city that belonged to older wakfs; this offered them lucrative investment opportunities for their own wakf, while they could rescue an old one from total decay. The khalwāt was a device that evolved during the reign of Sultan al-Ghawrī and was vividly discussed among the jurists of the time. It was a form of rent that gave the tenant the right to act like a proprietor, i.e. in selling, bequeathing and alienating his rights in the property ('Affī, Asābī, 116).


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WAKF

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2. In Syria [see Suppl.].

i. Public endowments. The Marinid [g.3] sultans cre-
ated public endowments (wakf khayn) for mosques, 
zâmiyâs, hospitals and, especially, madrasas. They built 
at least six madrasas in the period between 721/1321 
and 756/1356, designating revenue-producing prop-
erties as endowments to pay the salaries of teachers
and the expenses of students. These assets included 
stores (khanâqâ), used for commerce and crafts, houses,
apartments, stables, public baths, mills, orchards, pub-
lc ovens, inns, halls, factories for weaving and soap-
making, and arable land. Marinid support for madrasas 
was an aspect of their internal politics. At the begin-
nning of their reign, they sought to check the influ-
ence and power of Andalusian mosques. Other endowed 
books included: Abu Yusuf (r. 656-65/1258-86) acquired books from al-Andalus and deposited them in the Madrasa al-Saffârin which he had constructed in 684/1285. The sultans were aware of the needs of the scholars who taught in the 
madrasas, with whom they consulted before ordering 
that a manuscript be copied. In 728/1327, Abu l-
Hasan endowed the K. al-Tâmbîd of Ibn ‘Abî al-Barr 
and al-Bayân wa l-tahâsil of Ibn Rushd al-Djadd [g.3] 
in Suppl.) for the use of madrasa students attached to 
Andalusian mosques. Other endowed books included: 
al-Tabari, Dâmî al-hajjân; al-Kâddî l’aydâ, Madânî al-
ansûr; al-Kurtubi, Tâfiûr, and Ibn al-Clâlâb, K. al-
Tarîf. In the middle of the 8th/14th century, Abu 
‘Inân (r. 749-59/1348-58) built a library attached to 
the Karawiyyn mosque, one room of which was 
devoted exclusively to copies of the Kur’ân. The sultan 
also nominated a clerk who was responsible for keeping a 
record of the books as they were put into use, and 
provided endowment revenues for the maintenance of the 
library. At the end of the century, Ibn Khaldî [g.3] 
sent a copy of his K. al-Bthr from Egypt to Fez 
as a waqf to be deposited in the library of the 
Karawiyyn mosque.

The management of waqf resources was a position 
of great responsibility, to be undertaken only by persons 
of unquestioned integrity. A supervisor (mîqâtir), specifi-
cally appointed for this task, was entrusted with the 
administration of these funds under the supervision of the 
kâddî. This office, like others, was often inherited. 
Improper management of a public endowment caused a 
major scandal in 8th/14th-century Fez. Abu l-Fâdîl 
al-Mazdaghî, scion of a distinguished family, served as 
hâlit of the Karawiyyn mosque for thirty con-
secutive years. In consideration of his personal wealth
and stature, al-Mazdaghî was entrusted with the waqf 
revenues deposited in the Karawiyyn. He reportedly 
invested the money in different economic enterprises, 
purchasing real estate and hoarding grain, in anticipa-
tion of a bad harvest when prices would rise. When 
it became apparent that he would not be able to 
return the money, he asked the Sultan Abu l-Hasan 
for “three charges of gold”. Stung by the discovery that the 
hâlit had betrayed his confidence and that of the 
community, the sultan fisted for three con-
secutive days, after which he consulted with his reli-
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Al-Mazdaghî was reinstated as hâlit, but died soon 
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Marinid endowments had a significant impact on 
many aspects of urban life and contributed to the 
urbanisation of Moroccan towns and cities. Public en-
dowments attracted teachers, staff and students to 
urban centres, thereby increasing the demand for food, 
shelter, and clothing; the purchase, sale and rental of 
real estate added capital to the economy. But the 
heavy reliance on a single sector of the economy, sc.
real estate, meant that the daily operation of the 
endowment system was sensitive to economic fluctua-
tions. It was not difficult for individuals to misuse 
hamâms; the yearly rent of three large houses; six-
teen shops; seven-eighths of the Inn of Darb al-
Qârâbâ; the mill located on the spring of Kamâmâ; 
a large oven in Fâs Djadîd together with two shops 
connected to it and constructions above them; and a 
shop located outside the madrasa. 

The Marinids also endowed books and created pub-
lic libraries, located in mosques or madrasas. Abu Yusuf
(r. 656-85/1258-86) acquired books from al-Andalus and 
deposited them in the Madrasa al-Saffârin which he 
had constructed in 684/1285. The sultans were 
aware of the needs of the scholars who taught in the 
madrasas, with whom they consulted before ordering 
that a manuscript be copied. In 728/1327, Abu l-
Hasan endowed the K. al-Tâmbîd of Ibn ‘Abî al-
Barr and al-Bayân wa l-tahâsil of Ibn Rushd al-Djadd [g.3] 
in Suppl.) for the use of madrasa students attached to 
Andalusian mosques. Other endowed books included: 
al-Tabari, Dâmî al-hajjân; al-Kâddî l’aydâ, Madânî al-
ansûr; al-Kurtubi, Tâfiûr, and Ibn al-Clâlâb, K. al-
Tarîf. In the middle of the 8th/14th century, Abu ‘Inân (r. 749-59/1348-58) built a library attached to 
the Karawiyyn mosque, one room of which was 
devoted exclusively to copies of the Kur’ân. The sultan 
also nominated a clerk who was responsible for keeping a 
record of the books as they were put into use, and 
provided endowment revenues for the maintenance of the 
library. At the end of the century, Ibn Khaldî [g.3] 
sent a copy of his K. al-Bthr from Egypt to Fez 
as a waqf to be deposited in the library of the 
Karawiyyn mosque.

The management of waqf resources was a position 
of great responsibility, to be undertaken only by persons 
of unquestioned integrity. A supervisor (mîqâtir), specifi-
cally appointed for this task, was entrusted with the 
administration of these funds under the supervision of the 
kâddî. This office, like others, was often inherited. 
Improper management of a public endowment caused a 
major scandal in 8th/14th-century Fez. Abu l-Fâdîl 
al-Mazdaghî, scion of a distinguished family, served as 
hâlit of the Karawiyyn mosque for thirty con-
secutive years. In consideration of his personal wealth
and stature, al-Mazdaghî was entrusted with the waqf 
revenues deposited in the Karawiyyn. He reportedly 
invested the money in different economic enterprises, 
purchasing real estate and hoarding grain, in anticipa-
tion of a bad harvest when prices would rise. When 
it became apparent that he would not be able to 
return the money, he asked the Sultan Abu l-Hasan 
for “three charges of gold”. Stung by the discovery that the 
hâlit had betrayed his confidence and that of the 
community, the sultan fisted for three con-
secutive days, after which he consulted with his reli-
gious advisers, who recommended that he draw upon 
his private resources to replace monies lost by pri-
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endowment system was sensitive to economic fluctua-
tions. It was not difficult for individuals to misuse
the system through embezzlement, extortion or theft, and it was therefore necessary for the agents of the legal system to play an active role in the regulation of endowments.

Beginning in the early 11th/17th century, members of the Turkish ruling elites in Algiers created family endowments (see below) in which they designated the poor of Mecca and Medina (al-Haramayn) as the ultimate beneficiaries. As the family lines came to an end, these assets accumulated in what came to be known as the Wāqf al-Haramayn. To facilitate the supervision of these individual endowments, local governors issued orders for the compilation of the “waqfyya of Algiers” sometime between 1101 and 1125/1689-90 and 1713-14; this measure was designed to ensure that the ultimate beneficiaries of the city's many familial endowments would know of their existence.

Supervision of the affairs of the Haramayn was entrusted to four people, two officers of the Turkish aqāq in Algiers and two indigenous Algerians. This was part of a new policy designed to instill confidence in the safety of endowment assets and trust in their proper administration, and to promote a political, administrative and economic atmosphere conducive to the creation of additional endowments. During the second half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th, administrators of the Haramayn used surpluses left over after maintenance and repairs to purchase additional assets. Between 1078/1667-8 and 1250/1834, the number of properties controlled by the Haramayn increased from 182 to 1,748, an average annual increase of 9.6%. To deal with the problem of old properties that had fallen into ruin, Muslim jurists and judges adopted a flexible approach to the interpretation of waqf law, giving their approval to legal instruments that served the material interests of the waqf, including perpetual leases (fā'āla; ġalsa), and exchanges (mu'āqada) that made it possible for waqf administrators to relinquish one asset and receive another in its place. In most cases, the rental value of the incoming asset was higher than that of the outgoing property. Exchange transactions were used to expand and improve the water system, to establish industrial enterprises, and to build or reconstruct mosques and gürpüş. The new policy facilitated the recycling of urban property and the re-allocation of urban space, thereby contributing to the development of Algiers (see Höxter, Endowments).

ii. Family endowments. The specific terms of a family endowment are set out in an endowment deed, a legal instrument drafted with great care in an effort to eliminate any possible ambiguity. In the words of the Fāṣist jurist al-Mawāsī (d. 896/1491), "Legal documents are predicated upon the removal of all ambiguities and summary statements... even if this causes them to run on at great length" (al-Wangariṣ, Mīyār, vii, 346). Unlike the Hanafīs, the Mālikis do not allow a founder to designate himself or herself as the initial beneficiary. The founder customarily begins by designating the first generation of beneficiaries, usually one or more children, and indicating whether or not males and females are to be treated equally. Next, the founder indicates what happens to the revenues belonging to a beneficiary of the first generation upon his or her death. If that beneficiary leaves a child, his or her share reverts to that child; if the beneficiary dies without a child, his or her share reverts to the surviving beneficiaries of the first generation or their descendants. In this manner, the entitlement of extinct branches reverts to the surviving branches of the lineal descent group.

Referring to the second generation of beneficiaries, the founder generally indicates that the revenues are “for their descendants and their descendants’ descendants” (emphasis added). Such phrasing was understood by the jurists as signifying that entitlement now applies to anyone who qualifies as either a descendant (akib) of the founder or a descendant of a descendant; thus two (or more) generations of lineal descendants may qualify as beneficiaries simultaneously. Such an endowment is characterised as being mu‘ākāb ("for a descendant of a descendant").

A founder who does not want an endowment to become mu‘ākāb must use some particle, word or phrase conventionally understood as signifying that entitlement does not pass from the first to the second generation of beneficiaries (or from the second to the third, etc.) until all members of a given generation have died out. The founder may use the particle γύμμα ("then"), as in the phrase, "then for their descendants", or the phrase one generation after the other (æwad‘ & fa-æwad‘). The revenues in an endowment of this type are distributed exclusively among the members of a single generation. As the members of a single generation of beneficiaries die, the revenues accumulate in the hands of the surviving members of that generation until the longest-lived member eventually controls the entire endowment. Upon his or her death, the revenues are divided per capita among the next generation of beneficiaries, whereupon the process begins again.

When a line of beneficiaries dies out completely, the revenues revert to the charitable purpose specified by the founder, usually a mosque or some other religious institution (see below).

ii. Social practice. Any family endowment rests upon the presumed charity or piety of its founder, as specified in an endowment created "for the poor among my children and my children's children", or "for the needy of so-and-so's family" (ibid., vii, 484), or for the founder's "needy relatives on both his father's and mother's sides" (ibid., vii, 478), or for the town's lepers (ibid., vii, 186).

By creating an endowment for a pious purpose, the founder hoped to earn a divine reward in the next life, a hope that is expressed in common formulae that appear in testamentary endowments, e.g. the founder indicates that he or she is seeking "the face of God the Almighty and the abundance of His momentous reward". This formula invariably is followed by the citation of Kur’ān, XVIII, 30, "Surely We leave not to waste the wage of him who does good works" (al-Wangariṣ, vii, 80).

A family endowment may be created for many reasons: as an act of piety; as a legal fiction to prevent revocation of a sale or to secure property whose ownership is contested; to avoid confiscation; as an act of loving kindness toward a dying husband; etc. Whatever the founder's motive, the endowment serves to keep property intact, to assure the entitlement of beneficiaries for the duration of the object and to regulate the transmission of usufructuary rights from one generation to the next. Not only does the institution accord a founder the freedom to make decisions denied him by Islamic inheritance law [see FARA’ID; MIRATH], but the creation of a family endowment also gives a proprietor a legal means to remove all or part of a patrimony from the effects of that law.

The creation of an endowment for the benefit of one's children and descendants—regarded as a pious act—reduces the quantum of property available as an inheritance for the founder's ascendants, collaterals,
and spouse or spouses, thereby limiting its fragmentation through inheritance.

Founders who created an endowment for sons and their lineal descendants frequently used additional females and their descendants frequently stipulated that, if the line of males came to an end, the endowment was to revert to a daughter or her female descendants (ibid., vii, 80, 223). The specification of females as secondary beneficiaries of familial endowments suggests that Muslim society in the Marinid period was not as rigidly patriarchal as is often asserted. Indeed, the familial endowment frequently was used to supplement the rights of females. Family endowments customarily were created for the benefit of the founder’s children, male and female (ibid., vii, 9). It is true that a founder more often than not invoked the Kurānic principle that a son was to receive twice the share of a daughter. But the founder’s ability to define a descent strategy made it possible to circumvent this provision if so desired (ibid., vii, 281). The stipulation of equality between males and females could be applied to the founder’s grandchildren and subsequent descendants, as, for example, in a deed specifying that the revenues of the endowment were to be divided “equally among [the founder’s] male and female children and grandchildren” (ibid., vii, 141).

In a study of 101 disputes relating to family endowments, seventy-five cases were identified in which both a founder and a beneficiary are mentioned. Of these endowments, 75% were created by fathers and mothers on behalf of their children and, less frequently, grandchildren. Fathers outnumber mothers as founders by a ratio of six to one. The remaining 25% of the endowments were created for someone other than the founder’s children and lineal descendants (Powers, *The Malikī family endowment*, 396-8).

The institution commonly was used by males to support the interests of other males. In the same sample, fathers were three times as likely to create an endowment for sons as for daughters. By contrast, mothers appear to have been more even-handed.

Twelve percent of the endowments created by parents for the benefit of their children specify that the children were minors at the time the endowment was created, suggesting that it was common for a parent to establish a family endowment soon after he or she married and produced offspring. This practice points to a desire on the part of proprietors to make de facto arrangements for the ultimate devolution of their property while they were in the prime of life, a phenomenon that required founders to make special provisions for the inclusion of unborn children in the endowment (al-Wanḥāsī, vii, 223, 229, 269, 442). If a man had two or more wives, his calculations were more complex. Some husbands favoured the offspring of one wife over those of another; others treated sons of co-wives equally (ibid., vii, 278, 281).

Because a testamentary endowment takes effect only upon the founder’s death, the founder retains control of his property throughout his lifetime. This advantage is offset by two disadvantages: the endowment is limited to one-third of the estate and it may not be made in favour of an heir. The latter restriction entails that a testamentary endowment may not be created for the benefit of a son or daughter, thereby posing a dilemma for the founder who wants to maintain control of his property until he dies, but also wishes to designate one or more children as beneficiaries. Because the prohibition on bequests to heirs does not apply to a grandchild whose father is alive, one way to solve the dilemma is to designate a currently living or unborn grandchild as the initial beneficiary. Since a minor grandchild is subject to the authority of his father, the latter would exercise effective control of the endowment revenues. An unfavorable consequence for an unbound grandchild or great-grandchild as an endowment beneficiary also gives the founder an opportunity to privilege the offspring of one branch of the family over another (ibid., vii, 311).

When a designated family line becomes extinct, the endowment revenues revert to a public institution. Commonly, a founder specifies that the revenues are to revert to “the poor, the indigent and the Muslim poor” (ibid., vii, 49) or to “the poor and indigent” (ibid., vii, 60). Some made very particular designations, e.g. “the poor and the indigent in Granada and al-Bira” (ibid., vii, 463), or “the poor and indigent who reside in the mausoleum of Shāykh al-Muhammad” (ibid., vii, 343), or “those beneficiaries” (ibid., vii, 186). One founder stipulated that upon the extinction of the designated line, the revenues were to be used to support students, ransom captives and to manumit slaves (ibid., vii, 438).

The most common way to insure the perpetuity of an endowment was to designate a religious institution such as a mosque, school or Şīfī convent—or the personnel associated with such an institution—as the ultimate beneficiary (ibid., vii, 46, 281, 452, 459). In a testamentary endowment created on 5 Radjab 791/30 June 1389, the founder stipulated that when the founders died out, the revenues were to revert to the Djāmī’ al-Sābīrīn inside the Victory Gate of Fez for the purchase of olive oil and carpets and for the repair of the mosque itself; any surplus revenues were to be used to feed the poor Şūfis and *maraḥīs* associated with the mosque (ibid., vii, 312). Other founders designated as the ultimate beneficiary “the poor and the indigent” and “the poor and indigent who reside in the mausoleum of Shāykh al-Muhammad” (ibid., vii, 202), or “whoever recites [the Kur‘ān] over the graves of the founder and his relatives” (ibid., vii, 141).

There are no constraints on the size of endowments created *inter vivos*, and we find individuals who designated part or all of their property as a familial endowment (ibid., vii, 80, 432). In the 9th/15th century, the Zayyānīd Sultan Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad designated as an endowment for a religious scholar an immobilized property that included gardens, land for preparing for sowing and a bath (ibid., vii, 248-9). More commonly, however, a founder would designate a discrete piece of property or a fraction thereof as a familial endowment: residential property such as a room (baṭr), house (dātir) or compound (raḥ); non-residential property such as a shop, bakery or mill; agricultural property such as gardens, orchards and olive groves; unspecified village properties; and even entire villages. It was not uncommon for a founder to designate a share of a piece of property as a familial endowment, e.g. half a house, one-fourth of a jointly-held compound, half of an unspecified share in several shops, two-thirds of a well-known strip of land, or one ferdan of land (ibid., vii, 43, 49, 75, 202, 226, 423, 446). It is likely that, over the course of time, considerable segments of the urban and rural landscape were being converted from private property into endowment property.
great care. But even the most carefully drafted deed could not anticipate every potential dispute over control of the endowment. Such disputes typically were of two types: an external challenge to the endowment by persons who did not qualify as beneficiaries; or an internal struggle for control of the revenues among the beneficiaries themselves. A dispute over control of an endowment might arise during the lifetime of the founder, or, more commonly, one or more generations after his or her death (ibid., vii, 261-2, 311-21, 435, 452-3); such disputes might last for several generations (Powers, Court case, 229-34).

The tendency for disputes to arise one or more generations after the death of both the founder of the endowment and the witnesses to the deed meant that written records played a critical role in the resolution of disputes. For this reason, an endowment deed was customarily deposited in a family archive for safekeeping, and it would pass from one generation of beneficiaries to the next. In the event of a dispute, the deed, together with other important documents, would be presented to the judicial authorities (al-Wanghafari, vii, 80-2). In one case, a woman produced an endowment deed in an effort to secure her status as a member of the first set of beneficiaries. The deed was torn, and this fact cast doubt on the validity of the endowment. Although the mufti to whom the case was referred suspected that the document had been tampered with, he accepted it as legitimate in its current state; he also warned that whoever had torn the document would suffer disgrace in both this world and the next (ibid., vii, 455). Another strategy of a person who exercised physical possession of an endowment deed was to frustrate the claims of potential beneficiaries by refusing to make the document available. Such behaviour typically manifested itself in conjunction with the transfer of entitlement from one generation of beneficiaries to the next (ibid., vii, 279-81).

Many muftis refrained from issuing a judicial opinion until they had seen a certified transcription of the original endowment deed (ibid., vii, 29-30, 228-9). On occasion, the muftis complained about the summary nature of the transcription (ibid., vii, 91). It was only when it was suspected that the transcription of the endowment deed that the interpretative task could begin in earnest. No matter how carefully the notary had formulated the deed, how detailed the descent strategy specified therein, and how long the resulting document, the subsequent pattern of births, deaths and marriages within the family frequently resulted in ambiguous situations that required the intervention of either a judge, or if the case was difficult, a mufti. Asked to determine the exact intention (İr̈k̄da, kaud) of the founder at the time of the endowment’s creation, the jurists generally assumed that this intention was accessible in the words preserved in the endowment deed, irrespective of the passage of time or the changed circumstances of the endowment beneficiaries. They treated the founder’s words as sacred and immutable, comparing them to God’s words as preserved in the Qur’an. One Andalusi jurist wrote:

“The words of the founder are like the words of the Divine Lawgiver. Their sense must be followed with respect to both the unambiguous meaning of the texts (muwa‘a) and the preponderant meaning of ambiguous texts (zawā‘iḥīn)” (ibid., vii, 285). In response to the contention that the revenues of a testamentary endowment created for both currently alive and unborn persons should be frozen until all of the potential beneficiaries had come into existence, the Fāsi jurist al-Mazdjalāfi (d. 864/1459-60) said, “This [conclusion] is not required by either the founder’s words or his intention” (ibid., vii, 23).

Viewed from the perspective of the nature of the relationship between litigants, endowment disputes fall into three categories:

(1) Beneficiaries versus the founder’s heirs and agnates. Unlike inheritance law, which imposes compulsory rules for the division of property among a wide group of male and female heirs in a manner that tends to fragment property, endowment law enables a proprietor to allocate usufructuary entitlements to specified people in specified amounts, to regulate the transmission of those entitlements from one generation of beneficiaries to the next and to insure the physical and economic integrity of an estate or a piece of property. The wide gap separating these two sets of legal norms, sc., inheritance and endowments, may be illustrated by comparing the group composed of the beneficiaries of a familial endowment with the group composed of the founder’s heirs. While most beneficiaries are also heirs, many heirs do not qualify as beneficiaries. A man who establishes an endowment for his children and lineal descendants effectively disinherits his spouse, siblings, cousins, uncles and nephews, to mention just a few. Because they have been disinherit ed, these “outsiders” have an obvious material interest in challenging the validity of the endowment; a successful challenge will result in the property’s redesignation as inheritable property. As heirs, the spouse, siblings and other relatives stand to inherit a fractional share of the estate.

Endowments created from jointly-held property frequently resulted in disputes between the endowment beneficiaries and the founder’s other heirs. The relationship between endowment beneficiaries and others could be complicated if the relative amount of endowed and unendowed portions of jointly-held property was unknown, e.g. due to carelessness on the part of the notary who formulated the endowment deed (ibid., vii, 45-6, 49, 72, 432).

(2) Founders and their children. As noted, Malikī jurists do not permit the founder of an inter vivos family endowment to secure an accurate transcription of the endowment deed that the interpretative task could begin in earnest. No matter how carefully the notary had formulated the deed, how detailed the descent strategy specified therein, and how long the resulting document, the subsequent pattern of births, deaths and marriages within the family frequently resulted in ambiguous situations that required the intervention of either a judge, or if the case was difficult, a mufti. Asked to determine the exact intention (İr̈k̄da, kaud) of the founder at the time of the endowment’s creation, the jurists generally assumed that this intention was accessible in the words preserved in the endowment deed, irrespective of the passage of time or the changed circumstances of the endowment beneficiaries. They treated the founder’s words as sacred and immutable, comparing them to God’s words as preserved in the Qur’an. One Andalusi jurist wrote:

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When the object of an endowment was a house in which the founder resided, the founder was obligated to vacate the premises for one year; failure to observe this rule could result in nullification of the endowment. In practice, many founders ignored the rule. A founder’s failure to observe the one-year rule could
result in litigation setting parent against child (ibid., vii, 202, 218, 260, 426).

(3) Disputes over transmission of entitlement from the beneficiaries of the first generation to those of the second and subsequent generations. Questions relating to the timing of economic transfers surface again at the moment when endowment revenues are transferred from the first generation of beneficiaries to the second and subsequent generations. At this stage, three issues appear repeatedly: [a] the determination of whether or not an endowment becomes mu’akkab (see above); [b] in the event that it does, the criterion according to which the revenues are to be divided among the qualifying beneficiaries; and [c] the definition of the lineal descent group for which the endowment had been created.

[a] The first issue has important consequences for the division of revenues among the founder’s lineal descendants: If an endowment does become mu’akkab, the revenues, in theory, are to be divided among all of the founder’s living lineal descendants irrespective of their generation; if it does not become mu’akkab, the revenues are controlled by the members of the oldest generation. In practice, a younger generation of descendants often contended that the endowment had become mu’akkab, while the surviving members of an older generation insisted that it had not. In disputes of this nature, one or more paternal uncles might try to prevent the inclusion of their nephews in the division of the endowment revenues (ibid., vii, 248, 486-8).

[b] If it is determined that an endowment does in fact become mu’akkab, there remains the determination of the criterion according to which the revenues are to be divided among the qualifying beneficiaries. Some authorities maintained that they should be divided on a per capita basis, while others held that the judge should allocate the revenues according to need, as determined by his independent reasoning (ibid., vii, 358). Need was defined by a number of variables, including family size, financial resources and degree of the beneficiary’s relationship to the founder (ibid., vii, 88, 358, 396, 462, 478, 484). In their discussions of this issue, the jurists manifest an explicit concern for the notion of equity (ibid., vii, 359).

[c] The third recurring issue relates to the principle of agnation, as reflected in the definition of kinship terms. The term walad was defined by Malik b. Anas as “a man’s sons and daughters and his son’s children, males to the exclusion of females”. An uninterrupted line of Mālikī jurists defined the word ‘abād as “the descendants of a person who are not separated from him (or her) by a female link” (ibid., vii, 281-5). Thus a female may qualify as a member of an agnatic lineal descent group, but she does not transmit this status to either her sons or daughters. If a man creates a family endowment for his son and the latter’s lineal descendants, the principle of agnation will progressively exclude from the resulting lineal descent group both female and male cognate descendants of the founder. These cognates are referred to as “the children of daughters” (aswad al-bandt).

We repeatedly find “the children of daughters” seeking inclusion in a lineal descent group established by a founder, and, significantly, a series of muftis interpreted the terms of a particular endowment in such a manner as to validate their claims. This approach to the issue of gender was made possible by the muftis’ adoption of a literalist approach to statutory interpretation, as illustrated by a case referred to the Cordovan jurist Ibn Rushd (d. 520/1126 [q.v.]). A man created an endowment for his two concubines, stipulating that when both had died, the endowment was to revert to his two paternal cousins, Ahmad and al-Hasan, and to “their descendants and their descendants’ descendants”. The two concubines died; Ahmad died leaving no descendants; and al-Hasan produced at least three generations of lineal descendants, including a grandson whose mother was al-Hasan’s daughter, and a great-grandson whose mother was al-Hasan’s agnatic granddaughter (his son’s daughter). Although neither of these two persons was agnatically related to al-Hasan, both sought inclusion as beneficiaries of the endowment. Ibn Rushd ruled that the grandson qualified but that the great-grandson did not. He reasoned that al-Hasan’s daughter is his agnatic descendant and that her son qualifies as the “descendants’ descendant” mentioned in the deed. The great-grandson, on the other hand, did not qualify as a beneficiary because the founder had not specified “the descendant of a descendant’s descendant” (al-Wansharišī, vii, 463-4; Powers, Futūḥī, 313).
land from the free market, thereby posing a serious, ongoing obstacle to "economic progress". Initially, the French tried to mitigate the effects of *habous* by legislative means. The Ordinance of 1 October 1844 declared the sale of endowment property by Muslim beneficiaries to European settlers to be legally binding (ibid., 90-1). According to Article Three of this ordinance, "No conveyance of immovable property agreed upon by a native in favour of a European may be contested [merely] on the ground that immovables are inalienable according to Muslim law" (Sautary and Cherbonneau, *Droit musulman*, ii, 414). This provision was extended, by the Decree of 30 October 1858, to sales between natives. Now, "the provisions of Article Three of the Ordinance of 1 October 1844 ... will apply to past and future transactions between a Muslim and a Muslim, and between a Muslim and a Jew" (ibid.). To the chagrin of the French, most of their Muslim colleagues ignored this legislative decree and refused to sell endowment land.

French settlers pressed their leaders to create better conditions for European entry into the Algerian land market. In response, the French government enacted a legislative decree on 26 July 1873 that was intended to resolve the land problem by declaring that all land in Algeria was henceforth subject to French law. Known as the *Loi Warnier*, the decree stated that "the establishment of immovable property in Algeria, its conservation, and the contractual transmission of immovables and property rights, irrespective of the [legal status] of the proprietor, will henceforth be subject to French law". Article Seven of this decree left Muslims subject to their own laws in matters of personal status and inheritance—a provision that was to be of critical importance (ibid., i, 3).

Like its predecessors, the *Loi Warnier* proved inadequate, in part because the divisions and categories of French law do not correspond exactly with those of Islamic law. Most French jurists maintained that family endowments were subject to the law of property, while Muslims viewed them as subject to the law of succession (Henry and Balique, *La doctrine coloniale*, 15-6). French jurists soon became embroiled in a controversy over the proper interpretation of the *Loi Warnier*. One group held that the law abolished religious endowments, basing its argument on Article One, para. 2, which states, "All property rights (droits réels) ... based upon Muslim law that are contrary to French law are hereby abolished". These jurists reasoned that an endowment was a property right, that it was contrary to French law, that it was included within the scope of Article One, and that it had therefore been abolished. Other French jurists came to the opposite conclusion. They referred to Article Seven of the law, which not only states that nothing had been derogated from the Muslim law of inheritance but also makes no distinction between successes regulated by the law of inheritance and those regulated by family endowments. This latter group reasoned that family endowments, which would permit a person to transmit property to the next generation according to his or her own wishes, constituted a special case (ordre spécial) of inheritance. Therefore, they insisted, the legal status of family endowments should be determined, not by Article One of the *Loi Warnier*, but by Article Seven. Their view was validated by the Court of Algiers in a decree issued on 23 March 1874. Accordingly, family endowments remained within the jurisdiction of the Muslim courts (Sautary and Cherbonneau, *Droit musulman*, ii, 413-4).

French jurists understood the economic and political interests of colonialism, and many served those interests, consciously or unconsciously, by advocating changes that facilitated the new system of land tenure. Specifically, they argued against the aforementioned view confirmed by the Court of Algiers on 23 March 1874. Between 1885 and 1904, E. Zeys, E. Mercier, and M. Morand published a series of studies of *habous* that collectively developed the following three-fold argument: (1) historically, public endowments antedated family endowments; (2) family endowments deviated from the pious and humanitarian goals of public endowments and thus were, from an Islamic perspective, not only immoral but also illegal; and (3) family endowments and inheritance were mutually exclusive and incompatible institutions. French colonial scholarship, virulent in its opposition to family endowments (see especially Zeys, *Traité élémentaire*, ii, 185-6; Mercier, *Code*, 14, 27, 43-5, 129-34; Morand, *Etudes*, 226, 229-30, 233, 249-50, 264-6; for other French studies of *habous* published between 1886 and 1904, see Henry and Balique, *La Doctrine coloniale*, 118-21), prevailed in much of the Western scholarly literature during the course of the 20th century, resulting in a serious misunderstanding of both Islamic legal history and the social dynamics of Muslim societies (see El. art. Wâkf).


4. In Muslim Spain

The term waqf is generally replaced in al-Andalus by ḥubūs or ḥabūs (pl. ḥabīs). The root ḥ-b-s is used in this sense appears in one of the ʿalāḏīn which is cited to trace the institution back to the Prophet: ḥabīs as-Sabīḥ wa-sabīḥ ṭūn-ṭūn. The Spanish Arabism ḥabīs is assumed to have been derived from ḥabīs pronounced with a variation in timbre (mālī), i.e. ḥabīs, and not from the word ḥabīs. The oldest Arabic texts use this term to denote property intended for charitable use and converted into a non-transferable right, but it is one which is not recognised in the Andalusī juridical texts concerning mortmain.

Matters concerning this institution occupy numerous pages of Andalusī works of ʿfikr (see Bīḥāʾ), and these describe ṭūn-ṭūn as the process by means of which during his lifetime the founder (muḥabbīs) renounced ownership of property, and such property remains permanently withdrawn from any commercial transaction (ḥubūs muʿaḥhad) and is converted from an item of personal estate to the real estate of a family or an institution. An essential clause states that the muḥabbīs entrusts the property to a third party who will take possession (haṣṣez usṣ-release) of it on condition that the usufruct is passed on for the immediate or longer term benefit of the needy, or for a charitable cause.

The Andalusīs have always maintained that, in accordance with the teaching of the school of Mālik, their goods and chattels may become the property of a charitable foundation. Thus among the awakf about benevolent giving, there are found gifts of books "which are to be available for those who are seeking knowledge, so that they may copy them, compare them or study them" (al-Dīwānī, d. 585/1189, Makātib, 288). Normally, such works or pamphlets were deposited in mosques or madrasas, but they have also been known to have been kept in an individual’s house if necessary. Ḥārūn b. Śālīm (d. 238/852-3) was one such individual, and he set up a waqf with his books in the house of Ahmad b. Khiład (Ibn al-Farāḍī, Taʿrīḵ, ed. Codera, no. 1528).

In al-Andalus it is common to arrange more specifically for goods and chattels or animals to be ḥabīs, and these could be used in the cause of ʿṣāḥ, such as swords and other military equipment, slaves, beasts of burden, horses, etc. The horse would be marked on the hindquarters with a distinctive sign to show that it was muḥabbīs, and then it was frequently placed in the hands of a horseman whose valour and prowess in combat were recognised.

The majority of ṭūn-ṭūn khayriyya or charitable foundations of a public nature, were based on goods and chattels. Most of the mosques, hospitals and cemeteries were built in this way or equipped with private funds. It is also the case that houses were sometimes set up as ṭūn-ṭūn for particular individuals to live in, such as pious women who were living alone, the imām of the mosque, pilgrims, etc. The running of such establishments was made possible by patrimonial funds granted as ṭūn-ṭūn: farmlands, property for letting, commercial establishments (kilns, bath-houses), and the income from them was allocated to such religious or charitable institutions.

But not all the mosques had access to sufficient ṭūn-ṭūn to meet their needs. Ibn al-Imām was therefore consulted about the person in charge of a mosque who was supplementing his salary with different ṭūn-ṭūn. All the property which was called ṭūn-ṭūn al-dīteʿin in al-Andalus was let out to individuals (muṭakabbīnut) by means of a contract in which the amount (kaḥl) to be paid each year was specified. The intermediary or agent charged with the task of reaching an agreement with the tenants was called the ʿdāṣ. All those who were in possession of property in any location belonging to the ṭūn-ṭūn were summoned once a year, eight days after the ʿid al-ʿaḥdha, to draw up a corresponding contract for the following year. In order to avoid the situation whereby the tenant of muḥabbīs al-wasīt al-Andalus was let out to individuals (muṭakabbīnut) in the total sum to be paid as rent was made on the grounds of gracious remission (istiʿṣṣiḥ). Since their task was the good business management (nasār) of the ṭūn-ṭūn, the fukāḥaʿ were in the habit of allowing such remissions to ensure that there would always be candidates willing to rent the property, seeing that they were vying with each other to profit from some of these contracts. There was a fear that the land would remain uncultivated, as is evident from numerous reports of muḥabbīs consulted on this subject in Andalusia. However, other ʿulamāʿ deplored the fact that the tenants abused the custom, and that they accepted these contracts in the sure knowledge that they would be granted the exemptions requested and that the result would be that it would in fact become an implicit clause in any contract in question.

Numerous ṭūn-ṭūn khayriyya were established by members of the Andalusī aristocracy. In 364/975 this was the way that caliph al-Ḥakam II (q.v.) set up a
foundation with rents from the shops in the market of Cordova, which were used to pay the salaries of the teachers whom he had appointed to teach the Qur'ān to the sons of the poor. He also instituted as a hubus for the recently enlarged mosque in Cordova, the revenue derived from a quarter of all the rural properties he had inherited from his father, the caliph 'Abd al-Rahmān III. The Andalusī authors of takhrīj advised the donor to remove the power of his executor, an officer of al-Hakam II, in turn set up important abblās for which Ibn al-Maḥṣātī (Ibn al-Abbār, Ṭakmilā, ed. Codera, no. 384) was appointed nāżir.

In al-Andalus an essential tool for legally avoiding the application of the Islamic rules of inheritance was the wakf ahli, an allocation to the descendants of the founder, on the condition that if they disappeared it would revert to needy persons or to charitable causes. It was frequently established with the aim of preventing the fragmentation of the family inheritance and ensuring that it remained economically viable. In addition it could prevent the transmission of property to women, although that would have been considered maʿhrūb by the Andalusīs' 'ulāma'. It was also used to defend the inheritance from confiscation, such as was decreed by higher authority with relative frequency. These decisions declare that the owners of the property concerned were guilty of infringement, or were lacking in loyalty towards authority. The celebrated formulations of Ibn al-ʿAṭār (d. 399/1009) and of al-Dīzzīrī provided models of deeds authenticated by a notary of istiʿrah or of taqyya, in which a person would testify that he was going to set up a foundation in mortmain, not as a meritorious gesture before God, but as a means of avoiding being forced by authority to relinquish it.

The high number of abblās which are known to have been instituted in favour of descendants of the founder shows that the Andalusīs must frequently have thought them a good means of providing security against poverty for their successors. But this did not always yield the good results anticipated, for the heirs might not receive with the land the money necessary for running it. It has been shown that sometimes they ran the risk of incurring severe hardship, for they were prevented from selling any part of the land to obtain liquid assets. In such cases, the Andalusīs musāfīs were consulted about the possibility of disposing of some of this property. However, according to Ibn al-ʿAṭār (Wasiqāt, 176), the founder could decree that, if any of the beneficiaries of the hubus were to find himself in a state of need (it would have to be properly certified, unless he had stipulated that the heir would simply have to be believed if he claimed to be in a state of poverty, and that he would not have to have his statement attested), he could sell his portion and thus be relieved from his poverty.

In Andalusī works about notorial formulations, there are various models of deeds of constitution for a hubus (waqīyat takhīs, ʿakd hubus). In these models the verbs hubus and wakīfah are used. According to the one that indicates that the property has been placed outside the commercial channels, and the second states that it has been established exclusively for a specific purpose. It was within the power of the founder to designate a person to be in charge of the foundation and to be responsible for the aims that he had envisaged for it. If this person were to die, or prove to be unfit for such a mission, it was the duty of the kāfīl to find someone to be a substitute for him.

The most delicate clause was perhaps the one in which the muḥābbīs designated the tenants to benefit from the property in question. The Andalusī authors of takhrīj advise that the dālār of the document should question the grantor about his intentions in the matter. The founder could institute that the male descendants would be paid a double portion, or that all the descendants would have equal portions; or he could decide that the sons would be included in the division of profits during the lifetime of their father, or only after his decease. The Andalusīs' 'ulāma' discussed whether the expression "in favour of my children (asalādī) and their children" included the sons of daughters. Ibn Abī Zamanīn was of the opinion that the female line of descent should not be included, but other fuqahā' expressed the opposite opinion; for this question they were followed by Ibn Ruḥūd al-Dīzzī (d. 431/1039) and Ibn Zarb (d. 381/991) pronounced a judgement in favour of the inclusion of the female line of descent for beneficiaries of a specific hubus. The jurist Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Ayman (d. 330/942) instituted a hubus in favour of an unborn child. No-one really thought it was licit, but nevertheless the kāfīl Muhammad b. Ṭāhāk (already mentioned) and Ibn Zarb pronounced a judgement in favour of mandating of the property concerned to the heirs of the hubus. These were clauses which the heirs might consider unfavourable, such as for example if the sons of the daughters were included among the beneficiaries (for a lawsuit which is particularly interesting on this point, see Ibn 'Iyād, Maghānīh, 192-6).

From the time when the founder drew up the deed before witnesses he renounced ownership of the property in question, which then had to be formally taken over by a third party. If the hubus was in favour of the children and these were minors, he could remain as administrator (providing this fact was sufficiently publicised) or designate someone else to be in charge of the administration of the property. He was, however, obliged to have a document drawn up in front of witnesses, stating that he undertook to hand over to them the revenue or profits which the property in question had produced since the time of the takhīs when they reached majority. If he instituted a wakf agreement on a house in which he was still living, he would have to leave it and go live in another.
The witnesses would have to attest that the house in question was empty of tenants and furniture, and closed like for example the lepers’ quarter on the other side of the river in Cordova, the maintenance of a certain bridge, the payment of the salary of the imām and other servants of a mosque, or repairs to the mosque, or the purchase of matting or oil for the lamps in the sanctuary, etc. However, there probably had to be a certain number of foundations devoted to charity where the revenue did not have such a specific destination, since we know that these funds under the control of the kāḍī were used many times for a purpose which was considered useful to the community, such as combating the enemies of religion.

The various political systems in al-Andalus have always included a sāhib al-ahbās, a curator or administrator general of mortmain property, whose mission was to prevent the disappearance of real estate, or the alteration of its status, i.e. the purposes for which it had been intended, the beneficiaries designated and the actual location of the building (even if there was a proposal to exchange the property for another on a better site). This official was responsible to the treasury (māl al-ahbās), made up of the revenue of the charitable bequests detailed for the mosques and other public institutions or good causes. In his Ta’tîkh ‘Umāmah al-Andalus, Ibn al-Faradî (d. 403/1013 [q.v.]) gave him the title of nāẓîr fi l-ahbās (or fi l-ahbās), which appears to indicate that the term sāhib came into general use after the 4th/10th century. This would leave the title nāẓîr fi l-ahbās to designate the representative of the kāḍī in each location, whose task it was to supervise the mainmort property, and to engage and pay the servants of the mosque. The title nāẓîr was also given to the administrator of a specified waqf. Ibn al-Faradî also reports that the nāẓîr fi l-ahbās could sometimes carry out his tasks jointly with another office-bearer. This fact was established in his Ta’tîkh concerning two characters whose biography he was writing. Given that controlling the ahbās was one of the tasks of the kāḍī (or according to the expression of Ibn Sahl, the disa in al-kūlūb), this term denoted the person who was entrusted with attending to it on behalf. This was one of the most important tasks of the administration (the names of dozens of people who have held it figure in the Ta’tîkh), and it gave rise to the appearance of the name of Ibn Sahlī al-Aḥbās. The testimony of such a personality was worthy of trust and was a determining factor in the litigations surrounding such property. Certain lawsuits were conducted against those who were accused of embezzlement while carrying out their job (see e.g. Ibn al-Faradî, no. 1360).

The treasury of the ahbās was of great economic importance as early as the time of ‘Abd al-Raḥmān I [q.v.]; it was reported that this treasury was the source of the 200,000 dinārs necessary for the construction of the first great mosque in Cordova in 786. This treasury at Cordova was kept in the makṣūra of the great mosque, in the bayt māl al-muslimīn, and would have formed the most significant part of the revenues held there. The expression bayt māl al-māl [q.v.] is often interpreted as “the treasure of the charitable foundations”, thus implying that all its income came from the waqfī. The value of dinārs arising from the ahbās kept in the great mosque of Cordova and placed in the hands of the kāḍī was always very important, and it gave rise to clashes with the religious and political authorities, because at certain points in time the latter wished to use these funds for purposes which their guardians did not always consider appropriate.

The situation where it was impossible to transfer the hubus from its original location to another property was maintained by the fukahā’ of al-Andalus, except for when it was necessary to proceed with the extension of a mosque. This initially prevented the caliph al-Nāṣir from enlarging his palace at the expense of some real estate (māgāṣīb) which was a charitable foundation for lepers. Later, however, he produced a very advantageous exchange for the hubus, thanks to a very timely jāhwā from Muhammad b. Ṭahā b. Ṭahābī, who authorized the exchange, basing his opinion (he disagreed with Malik) on that of the ‘Irākīs, who were obliged to respect the original location of the hubus except when a mosque was concerned.

The tāṣlīmā consideration of what to do if the property about which the hubus had been instituted could not be found. One case which frequently came up in al-Andalus was that of property allocated to an institution situated in an area in which the interim had been seized by the enemy. In this hypothesis, the judgement was always that the property should go to a worthy public cause. Sometimes the Andalusī ‘ulamā considered that some of the causes for which specific ahbās had been detailed were illicit. Numerous consultations recorded in the Mūṣār of al-Wangārī (q.v.), all dating from the Naṣrīd period, have as their subject the legality of the ahbās institutions in favour of the “Night of the Birth of the Prophet”. The revenue from these was paid to the imām, so that he would organise a public prayer on the said night. An equivalent amount was also distributed to the fukārā, who enlivened the celebrations with their singing and dancing. The fukahā’ were unanimous in disapproving of the innovation of these festivities, and they stipulated that these legacies should be used for some other charitable purpose. The hubus which benefited them was called a fukārā’i waqfī, The latter wished to use these funds for purposes which their guardians did not always consider appropriate.

The dāl al-ahbāsī [q.v.] of al-Andalus also instituted ahbās in favour of their successors, probably because they wanted to obtain the same advantages as the Muslims were looking for from that institution. In order to do this they had to respect the norm, according to which the ultimate goal of the foundation had to comply with the precepts of Islam; an example of this was a hubus set up by a Jew in Lorca with the intention of benefiting the poor of the Muslim community of that city. There was also the case of another Jew who had set up a hubus in favour of the mosque of Cordova.

The transfer of the property rights of Christian churches constituted a very important problem in the period between the 4th/10th and the 6th/12th centuries, judging by the numerous legal opinions which have been preserved concerning such problems. The discussion by the Andalusī fukahā’ about the ahbās of the Christians focused on two questions. Were their churches (and the properties attached to them) to be regarded as real ahbās? Were the foundations instituted
by the *dżimmis* in their lifetime irreversible? Ibn ‘Atṭāb (d. 462/1070), a Cordovan *mufti*, affirmed in a *fatwa* received by Ibn Sahi that these *ahbās* did not prevent their founder from cancelling them and disposing of the property by sale. Then again Ibn ‘Atṭāb maintained that the land where the churches were built could equally well be sold, despite the fact that it was recognised that they were the *ahbas* of the Christians. However, Ibn Sahi adds his contribution by citing this opinion, which is contrary to that of Ibn al-Kāsim, who forbade the sale of churches.

Now it is known that in al-Andalus the Christians sold their churches throughout the entire 2nd/8th century. But despite all that, and applying the doctrine of Ibn al-Kāsim, the *fūkāḥ* denied al-Mansūr the chance of buying the property attached to churches. Many other *fūkāḥ*, however, defended the idea that according to the legislation of the *ahl al-djimma*, these properties were not non-transferable, and the Christian *mahabbi* had the chance to retrace. Indeed, they maintained that in any case, Muslim legal authority should not be involved in the internal problems of that community, nor consequently protect in a coercive way such property from any further changes by sale or exchange. Besides, it was considered that since this property was not dedicated to Allāh, Muslims did not have to defend the principle that it was inalienable; the *huquq* which protected the *ahbā* drew their validity from the fact that they were dedicated to Allāh, whereas those of the Christians were dedicated to their idols. However, the question was resolved in a specially expeditious way. When the Almoravids expelled the Christians from al-Andalus, their churches were converted into mosques, and the property attached to Christian sanctuaries was then either turned into *ahbis* for the new mosque, or even incorporated directly into the *bāgl al-māl*.

Mediaeval Castilian legislation also recognised (perhaps in imitation of that of the institution of the *wakf ahl*) the right to decide that certain property could not be transferred by the heir, who is obliged to pass them on in their entirety to his successor, with the same conditions of non-transferability. This right, called the *mayoro*, was introduced by Alphonso X to his subjects in the 13th century. The expression “the non-transferability of property” (*sinculatio de biens*), which was used to describe this institution, is reminiscent of the technical term *tahbīs*. The Castilian institution, like the Islamic one, was very strict, since even the work and improvements brought about in a property which fell into this category were considered non-transferable.

After the Christian conquest, some of the Andalusī *ahbās* were returned to the church, as was the case in Seville in the 13th century, or at Granada in 1501. For after the conversion or expulsion of the Muslims, the churches were considered the legitimate heirs to the possessions of the mosques and religious retreat houses. Others remained attached to mosques and were administered by the Mudējar [*q.v.*] authority as designated by the Christian monarchs; this is well established, e.g. for Elche in 1281. Eventually some were divided up between the new conquerors, as happened in Murcia in 1272 after the Mudējar rebellion.


(A. CARMONA)

5. In the modern Middle East and North Africa.

i. The impetus for reform.

In the 20th century, public criticism of the *wakf*’s ill-effects on economy and society increased due to the following reasons:

1. The severance of the judicial link between the *wakf* and the founder’s heirs reduced their interest in the property.

2. The tying-up of the *wakf* by freezing its ownership withdrew it from both private and national economic cycles. In some countries (like Egypt) this encouraged the undermining of the agrarian system, with manifold economic, social and political implications.

3. The exclusive concentration of the *wakf* administration in the hands of the *muftii*, without effective supervision by the *Shari’a* court and the beneficiaries, especially with respect to *wakf* *khāyriyya*, could encourage deviations from proper management.

4. The original purpose of the *wakf* could cease to exist in the course of time, or its functions could be taken over by state agencies.

The objectives of reform are economic, social and political: restoration of the *wakf* property to the economic cycle; accommodation of *wakf* law to the inheritance rules so as to prevent the deprivation of females and cognates of their inheritance rights; redivision of *wakf* land into use by the agrarian system, with manifold economic, social and political implications.

Juristic basis for the reforms has been provided mostly by the “eclectic” method (takhayyur, *talīف* [*q.v.*]), *ṣiyāsah sharī‘iyah* [*q.v.*], and the technical distinction between family (*dīhar* or *ahl*) *wakf* and that for charitable purposes (*khāyriyya*).

Relevant legislation: Algeria—Law No. 91-10 (*wakf*), 1991; Egypt—Law No. 48 (*wakf* rules), 1946 and its amendment by law No. 87 of 1947; Law No. 180 (abolition of non-charitable *wakf*), 1952, and a decree of September 14, 1952; Law No. 247 (supervision of *wakf* *khāyriyya*), 1953 (amended by Law No. 30, 1957); Law No. 549 (abolition of *dīhar*), 1953; Law No. 525 (requisition of *wakf* ahl administered by the Waqf Ministry), 1954; Law No. 152 (exchange of agrarian lands endowed for charitable purposes), 1957 (amended by Law No. 51, 1958); Law No. 29 (Wakf of Southern Province), 1960; Israel—The Absentees’ Property (Amendment No. 3) (release and use of *wakf*), 1975; Jordan—*Wakf* Law No. 25, 1946, replaced successively by Law of Awkāf and Muslim Affairs, No. 45, 1962 and No. 26, 1966, and amended by Law No. 36, 1982; Kuwait—Decree concerning Application of *Wakf* Rules in Shari’a Courts of April 5, 1951; Decree No. 257 (establishment of Secretariat General for Awkāf), 1992; Lebanon—Law of Fam-
ily Wakf, 1947; Libya—Law No. 10 (establishment of General Board for Awkaf), 1971; Law No. 74 (principles of awkaf), 1972; Law No. 16 (abolition of non-charitable awkaf), 1973; Pakistan—Order of the Supreme Muslim Council, 1921; Saudi Arabia—The Administrative Regulations of the Sharia’s Courts, No. 109, 1962; Syria—Decree No. 75, 1921; Decree No. 76 (abolition of family awkaf) amended by decree No. 97, both of 1949; Decree No. 128 concerning awkaf khabrati, 1949; Law No. 204, 1961; Turkey—Act No. 6219, 1954; United Arab Emirates—Wakf Decree, 1980; Yemen—The Aden Mohammadan Wakf Ordinance, 1939; Law No. 78, 1976 amended by Law No. 15, 1978 and replaced by Wakf Law no. 23, 1992.

ii. Egypt, Lebanon and Syria

Until the military coups, reforms were confined to supervision of the awkaf administration by means of governmental agencies, and moderate substantive amendments in the awkaf itself.

In Egypt (1946) and Lebanon (1947), the validity of the family awkaf was limited in time; a awkaf khabrati could be either temporary or perpetual; the founder could revoke his awkaf and recover it for himself; and after him, for the beneficiaries; the exclusion of legal heirs from their rights to entitlement was prohibited; and the founder’s stipulations designed to restrict the freedom of the beneficiaries with respect to marriage, place of residence, or the raising of credit were deemed null and void.

The circumvention of the shar‘i inheritance rules were frustrated through “obligatory entitlement” to close relatives with respect to two-thirds of the estate; the founder could grant his or her orphaned grandchild an entitlement equal to what would have been due to their parent had he or she been alive at the time of the founder’s death.

Wakf property was to be managed, wherever possible, by the beneficiaries; the administration of a awkaf khabrati, in default of an administrator, was vested in the Ministry of Awkaf; the consideration of sold awkaf property (amwdl al-badal) was to be invested in constructive projects, and awkaf irretrievably neglected were to be abolished.

The actual effect of these reforms was slight because most of them were related to future, rather than existing, awkaf, and royal ones were excluded from most of these reforms.

In Syria, under the French Mandate the Contrul Général des Wakfs was established in 1921, but no reforms beyond awkaf registration were introduced.

The military régimes in Syria and Egypt introduced radical reforms in the awkaf to the point of its complete abolition. Syria, in 1949, abolished both the family awkaf and the muftaharak (partly dhawri or ahih and partly khabrati) awkaf, and prohibited the foundation of such awkaf in future. The family awkaf was to be registered, in full ownership, in the name of the founder, and if not alive, in that of the beneficiaries. The administration of the public awkaf was transferred to a special Ministry. In case of djara‘iyin (prolonged lease), the awkaf was to be sold and its consideration distributed among the beneficiaries. A founder’s stipulations intended to exclude legal heirs from the estate were invalidated.

The function of mutawallil (administrator) of both family and public awkaf was abolished, and the management was vested in the Ministry of Awkaf which could allocate entitlement to charitable purposes regardless of the founder’s stipulations.

Under the 1961 Law, the Ministry of Awkaf was authorised to administer the awkaf khabrati, including those that had been abolished, family awkaf of which there were no longer any beneficiaries, awkaf ghayr salih (of the minor category), awkaf with no specification of beneficiaries, and awkaf al-Haramayn (see Al-Haramayn).

The Egyptian Law No. 180 of 1952 prohibited the creation of family awkaf in future, and abolished awkaf existing property, which was to revert to the founder, and if not alive, to the existing beneficiaries according to their shares in entitlement or amwdl al-badal.

Under Law No. 525 of 1954, the Ministry of Awkaf was authorised to expropriate family awkaf under their direct administration, and to compensate beneficiaries out of the amwdl al-badal of awkaf khabrati.

Under Law No. 247 of 1953, the Ministry of Awkaf was to administer all awkaf khabrati (except those whose nazaris were their founders) and allocate their proceeds to whatever public purpose it deemed appropriate, regardless of the founder’s stipulations.

Between 1952-4, hikr [q.v. in Suppl.] (long-term lease of dilapidated awkaf) on awkaf al-ahliyya and khabrati was abolished. In 1960 the lessee was given the option to buy the property from the awkaf, failing which it would be sold by auction.

Under Law No. 152 of 1957, the full ownership of all agricultural lands pertaining to awkaf khabrati was nationalised to be distributed within the framework of the agrarian reform. Their former nazaris were to receive bonds, and on their redemption after 30 years the capital was to be invested in development projects.

Under Law No. 29 of 1960, the founder may dedicate property to charitable purposes and allocate entitlement to himself. In the presence of close relatives, the awkaf is valid only with respect to one-third of the estate.

iii. Palestine, Jordan and Israel

In Palestine under the Mandate, the British established the Supreme Muslim Council (1921) with a view to replacing the Ottoman Ministry of Awkaf. In 1937, the Council’s Wakf committee was relieved of its functions, and the awkaf properties were transferred to a government-appointed commission. The attempts during the Mandate to convert Muslim awkaf into secular trusts failed.

After the incorporation of the West Bank into the Hashemite Kingdom in 1951 [see Al-Urdunn, 2(c)], the government’s policy was aimed at strengthening the state control in the management of the awkaf. In 1951, the 1921 Order establishing the Supreme Muslim Council was abrogated and the 1946 Wakf Law was extended to the West Bank and Jerusalem. A Wakf Council, presided over by the Kadi l-Kudsi, was established under that law, to be replaced, with minor changes, by the 1962 and 1966 Wakf laws and amended by that of 1982; it controls the management of the awkaf and its budget. No reform, however, has been introduced in the actual institution of the awkaf.

In Israel, the vast majority of the Muslim awkaf became absentee property after their administrators had left Israel for the Arab states. The management and entitlement of the absentee beneficiaries were vested in a Custodian. Holy places were administered by the Ministry of Religious Affairs, on behalf of the Custodian, by means of Muslim advisory boards. The income was allocated to Muslim religious services and social welfare. The consideration of properties that had been transferred to a governmental development authority were invested in the establishment of educational and social institutions and projects for the benefit of the Muslim community.
Under 1965 law, the Custodian may transfer the family wakf to the beneficiaries' full ownership; wakf khayn is in a state of dilapidation, has taken place, but wakf kharij involves the founder's heirs, (ihd) or—or if dead—to the beneficiaries.

In 1992 Law provides for the establishment of a General Secretariat for the Awkaf and a Board of Awkaf, the chairman of which is the Minister of Awkaf.

In the United Arab Emirates, the 1980 decree abolished the existing family wakf and prohibited its creation in the future.

v. Turkey

In 1926, Turkey abolished the family wakf and nationalised the public ones. Agricultural properties (exchanged for urban properties) were distributed within the framework of agrarian reform. In 1955, ljftirate and mukata'a (= hok [q.v. in Suppl]) were abolished and the establishment of new ones was prohibited. Lessees were made owners of the properties in return for monetary compensation. Wakf institutions were replaced by charity associations. Public awkdf were transferred to public ownership (known as "foundations") to be administered either directly by the foundations (mawlid), or by müfellefs under the control of the foundations (muwalak). The Türkiye Vakıflar Bankası was established under a 1954 Act in order economically to utilise the capital of these foundations. The Bank may lend against securities and immovable assets, establish or participate in partnerships and insurance, buy and sell real estate, and perform all kinds of banking transactions and services.

vi. Libya and Algeria

During Italian rule over Libya, some reforms were introduced in the administration of the wakf (decree of 1939), but the institution itself remained intact. No substantial changes occurred during the British rule and under King Idris al-Sanusi. Prior to the military coup, the bulk of khayri endowments belonged to the Sanusi order [see SANUSIYYA] and served its lodges (ziyana). Colonel Ghadda/Kadhāḥ al would outlaw the order and confiscated its awkdf.

The 1972 law provides for the establishment of a General Board for Awkaf to administer awkdf in favour of charitable purposes or those whose beneficiaries are not known. The Board supervises the awkdf in favour of the ziyanas and tombs and the administration of family ones. The 1972 law, drafted along the pattern of the Egyptian 1946 law, introduced moderate reforms regarding the wakf. The 1973 law abolished the wakf ahli. The founder may revoke his wakf and resume the ownership himself provided he has retained the right to do so, failing which the wakf reverts to the beneficiaries. Amwāl al-badāl following expropriation for public purposes or sale due to dilapidation are to revert to the beneficiaries.

Under the Algerian 1991 law, the founder may revoke his own stipulations. The khāṣ may do so on grounds of damage to the wakf and its beneficiaries. No renunciation of entitlement is permissible in respect of charitable purposes.
to public 

awkf except in favour of a charitable pur-
pose. A family 

awkf for a specified period is deemed
null and void. On the extinction of the descendants, a
waqf is to revert to the Wakf Authority. This applies
also to landed and movable property endowed in
favour of associations and institutions when the
endow-
ment becomes extinct. 

Wakf properties nationalised by

virtue of 1971 law with a view to being distributed
within the framework of the agrarian reform, are to
be
revised in favour of the original purposes, failing
which they are to revert to the Wakf Authority.

viii. The decline of the 

waqf in modern
times:

Some of the main factors for the flourishing of the

waqf in Muslim society over the past centuries have
caeed to exist in modern
times:

(1) The extension of freedom of testation in

modern legislation has diminished the incentive for using
the family 

waqf for circumventing Islamic law of inher-
tance with a view to preventing the fragmentation of
the agnatic patrimony.

(2) The concern for social welfare, economic and
development enterprises, and investments in infra-
structure, which was partly the function of the 

waqf 

kharij in pre-modern times, have become the respon-
sibility of the state and other agencies in modern
times.

(3) The religious motive which also played an

important role in traditional society as an incentive to found

waqf especially in favour of pious institutions and
charity, seems to have diminished in modern society.

(4) Practical considerations, such as the desire
to secure property from expropriation and exemption
from taxes, and to prevent encumbrance and loss of
property as a result of indebtedness, which often tra-
ditionally prompted the foundation of 

waqf, can be
satisfied nowadays by legal devices that do not entail
the negative repercussions.

(5) The reforms introduced in the 

waqf to the point
of complete abolition also diminish the incentive to
endorw.

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(A. Layish)

III. IN PERSIA

Precise details of the extent of 

waqf in Persia and their value at different periods and in different places
are not available and the effect of the spread of 

waqf
on the economy of the country has yet to be worked
out. Moreover, what was typical of one district at one
point in time cannot be taken as typical of others at
all times. Government offices no doubt contain records
of 

waqf but these are not generally available. Shrines
also presumably have records of 

waqf constituted in
their favour. Many surviving 

awqaf are held in pri-
vate hands and some have been published. Some also
survive in the form of inscriptions in mosques and
other charitable buildings; historical and local studies,
biographical works and collections of state
documents also contain information on 

waqf.

Much of what follows is based on state documents and

awqaf and does not necessarily reflect practice
as opposed to theory. The available information on

waqf for some districts, notably Yazd, Kûm, Kirmân
and, for the 

Ṣafavid period, Isfahân, is richer than elsewhere.

As stated in I. above, there are differences in the
legal regulations governing 

waqf between Sunnî and Shi'i theory and minor differences between the dif-
frent rites. Under both Sunnî and Shi'i governments
in Persia, the constitution of 

waqf by rulers and their
officials was common, and also by private individu-
als, both rich and poor, but it is the foundations by
rulers and prominent persons of which the sources
for the most part speak. The classical legal theory,

whether Sunnî until the 10th/16th century or Shi'i
from the 10th/16th century onwards, remained norm-
ative, but in practice there were often modifications
or deviations, especially in respect of the type of land
which could be made into 

waqf. The stipulation

that property to be made into 

waqf must be in the full
legal possession of the founder was in theory observed,
and sometimes it is specifically mentioned in the doc-
uments that the property had been legally bought by
the founder. It is, however, doubtful whether all the

waqf constituted by rulers were in fact made out of
crown property [see Kašf] or had been legally
bought and not usurped; similarly some of the prop-
erty of powerful individuals made into 

waqf may, at
some stage, have been usurped.

In practice, there does not appear to have been any
restriction on the type of land made into 

waqf. As
well as landed estates, water rights, water mills, real
estate, bazaars, shops and houses were also constituted
into 

waqf, and, more rarely, rights of usufruct (A.K.S.
Lambton, Continuity and change in medieval Persia,
New York 1968, 148-9); Jean Aubin noted that Oldjeytû
[x.x] authorised Inâl Khaṭûn in a decree (nâzîrûn) dated
to the equivalent of 31 July 1305 to constitute over
half of the village of Kalkhûrân, which Ghâzan Khân
[x.x] had given her for her upkeep (dâhâdâl), into 

waqf for Shâykh Šâfi and his descendants. Ten years
later, Oldjeytû constituted the remainder of the vil-
lage into 

waqf for the Shâykh, who later nevertheless
managed to sell it to the descendants of the shâb
dâwûn Shâms al-Dîn Djuwayyînî, to whom it had orig-
inally belonged (La propriété foncière en Azerbaycan sous
les Mongols, in Le Monde islamî et l'Islam, iv [1976-7],
99-101). Books, carpets and other objects were fre-
cently made into 

waqf for mosques and madrasas.

The great majority of charitable 

waqf were con-
stituted for the benefit of mosques, 

madrasas and

khânâkâhs, and their revenue devoted to purposes such as
the support of the 'ulamâ', feasts and the feeding of
the poor on religious festivals, the holding of reli-
gious assemblies, rawâdh and others and so on. Many
were also made for the upkeep of charitable buildings
such as hospitals, caravansarais, water storage tanks
and drinking-fountains. The first call on the funds of a

waqf was the development and upkeep of the prop-
erty itself, and then, unless exemption had been granted
by a special farman, the payment of government taxes,
after which came the payment of the wages of the
servants of the foundation for which the 

waqf had
been constituted and the mutawalli, who was usually
entitled to one-tenth of the revenue, though in some cases it was stipulated in the *wakf-nāma* that he should be paid more or less than this. Landed property held as *wakf* was often leased; some *wakfyya* laid down that the term of the lease should not exceed three years (see also Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, repr. London 1969, 234-5. For expenditure of the revenue from Ghazan Khan’s foundations, see Rashid al-Din, *Tarikh-i mumābk-i ghażān*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 316-18, and for Rashid al-Din’s foundations, see *Wakf-nāma-i Rashīd al-Dīn*, ed. M. Minovi and Iraj Afshar, Tehran 1977, 42-4; and see Lambton, *Awqaf in Persia*, 6th-8th/12th-14th centuries, in *ILS*, iv/3, [1997], 316-18).

With the fragmentation of the caliphate and the rise of semi-independent dynasties, the conquered territories, whether belonging to Muslims or non-Muslims, fell to the conquerors and their military auxiliaries. The extent to which existing *awkāf* continued to function varied and is not well documented. Many were probably usurped; and others decayed over time and fell out of operation.

From the early years of the semi-independent dynasties, the importance of *awkāf* is attested by the existence of a *diwān-i awkāf* or a special office in charge of *awkāf* (see nīwān, iv, at Vol. II, 333b). For political and financial reasons, control over *awkāf* was important for rulers. First, *wakf* land, unless specially exempted, was liable to taxation and its prosperity therefore contributed to state revenue. Secondly, the constitution of *awkāf* gave prestige and opportunities of patronage to its founders and wealth to the administrators and beneficiaries.

For the Tahirids, Būyids, Šāfiʿīs, Sāmānids and Ghaznavid periods, information on *awkāf* is sparse, and such *awkāf* as were constituted were probably of a modest nature. Under the Sāmānids there was a separate *diwān* for *awkāf* (Narshakhlī, *Tarikh-i Buhārīn*, ed. M. Rāwī, Tehran AHS 1317/1938-9, 31; Barthold, *Tartaristan*, 229). Narshakhlī mentions a number of *awkāf* made by Amir Ṣamʿī b. Aḥmad (279/959/9-892/970) and 167-74, 33-4, all apparently of a modest nature. Much *wakf* land was seemingly held by the *ulamā* as *mutawallīs* (see *sāmānids*, 1, at Vol. VIII, 1029a).

Under the Saljuqs (see material placed in charge of the *awkāf* by *mutawallīs* appointed by the state and, even if named in the *wakfyya*, was given a document of appointment. If not a *kādī*, he was usually a member of the religious classes (Lambton, *The internal structure of the Safaqs*, 276).

The extent of the control exercised by the *diwān-i awkāf al-mamālik* over *awkāf*, especially with regard to provincial *awkāf*, is not entirely clear. Practice varied. In general, it seems that the provincial *kādī al-kulūd* was appointed by the *kādī al-mamālik* and had charge of provincial *awkāf*, but the general supervision of provincial *awkāf*, like most other aspects of the administration, was delegated to the provincial governor or *māhk*. For example, the document issued by Sanjar’s *diwān* appointing Tādż al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Makarīm ra‘īs of Māznārdān (although he is called ra‘īs, his office was clearly that of governor), instructs him to investigate the condition of *awkāf* and to see that their proceeds were expended on the objects for which they had been constituted (ibid., 24, 28, 29; see also Lambton, *The administration of Sanjar’s empire as illustrated in the ‘Atabat al-kuttaba*, in *BSOAS*, xx, [1957], also in eadem, *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*, 383-4).

However, in some cases the *awkāf* of a particular district were expressly placed outside the control of the *diwān-i awkāf al-mamālik*. In a document appointing Abū Saʿd Muḥammad b. Ṣamʿī al-māhk of Nawkan and the villages of Tūs which belonged to it, the *diwān* is forbidden to interfere in the office of *mutawallī* of the *awkāf*, “which from ancient times had been in the name of his (Abū Saʿd’s) forebears” (ibid., 35). Such documents as have survived suggest that the main concern of the Saljuq government was to ensure that *wakf* revenue was paid as specified, to prevent encroachment on *awkāf* by unauthorised persons. A document issued by Sanjar’s *diwān* appointing Maḥdid al-Dīn (who already had the title if not the office of *kādī al-kulūd* as *kādī* of Nawkan and the weakening of the central administration towards the end of the Great Saljuq period, it is not unlikely that irregularities in the administration of *awkāf* occurred (see further Lambton, *Landlord and peasant in Persia*, 69-9).

It seems that in some cases the term *mutawallī* is used in the documents in the general sense of an official placed in charge of the *awkāf* of a district, each of which had its own *mutawallī*. Thus a document in the collection of *Mukhtarī al-mulūd al-rasīl* (ed. Iraj Afshar, Tehran AHS 1355/1976) issued by the *diwān* of Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad (511-25/1118-31) reappointing Muntadjab al-Dīn Abu ‘l-Kasīm Ṣamʿī b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz over the *awkāf* of Ḩisān and its dis-
WAKF

tricts (which had been constituted for the Friday mosques, other mosques, shrines, hospitals, nikāts, and other purposes), instructs him to carry out this office as guard of the treasure and to expend the produce of the awkāf as laid down by the founders and to restrain the hands of those who would encroach upon them. None was to interfere with him or his deputies; complete control over waqfī affairs was vested in him. The sipahsalar Ālp Toghril Bîgge Bîg Abû Sa'id Mawdūd b. Arūq was to listen if any of Muntājdāb al-Dîn b. al-Khayr, who had misappropriated a sum from the estates of the waqf for the Haramayn, was to be summoned. The sum was to be recovered and Muhammad b. Abû 'l-Khayr punished. Tādž al-Dîn Abu 'l-Tâbil al-Husayn b. Zayd al-Husayn was not to interfere in the awkāf of Isfâhān and its neighbourhood or their produce or revenue and if, before the arrival of this ārmanān, he had taken anything from the awkāf, it was to be immediately extracted from him to the last man (see Mâkâyîl and Mawzân for this unit of weight) and any waqfî in his possession was to be surrendered. The mutawallīs and peasants of the awkāf were placed under the orders of Muntâjdāb al-Dîn (270-9). A similar situation may have existed in other mosques and shrines, and certainly did so in the Šafawid period and later (see below) when there was a mutawallī appointed by the government over the shrine or mosque in charge of the administration of its awkāf made at different times, each, or some of which, may have had its own mutawallī.

Under the Khârazmshâhs, the situation with regard to awkāf was probably broadly similar to that which had prevailed under the Šâldjûks. A diploma (mawâkîr) for the kâdí al-tâdāl Khalâl al-Mâkki renewed his charge of awkâf properties which had been in the possession of his trusted agents (mutâtanâdîn) and of the taawîyât of the awkâf of the mosques and madrasâs which had been in the care of former kâdîs, and at his request the accountant of the dîwân, who had been in charge of the waqfî accounts, was recalled and all affairs connected with the administration of the awkâf were to be paid in winter and one-third in summer (ibid., 104-6). The rulers of other Šâldjûk succession states, notably the Kutfâb Khâmand (Kutlugh Khatûyân) of Kirman, would make many charitable foundations and constituted awkâf for them (see further ibid., 151, and eadem, Awqâf in Persia, 310-13). Terken Khatûn, who ruled Kirmân after the death of her husband Kuğ al-Dîn Muhammad in 655/1257 until her death in 681/1282, made numerous villages and estates into awkâf for mosques, shrines, hospitals and lesser charitable purposes. These are recorded in the Târîkh-i Šâhî-yi Kând Khâtûyân (ed. Muhammad Ibrâhîm Bâstân Pârfîzkî, Tehran AHS 1355/1976-7), the anonymous author of which states that records of the awkâf of Kirmân had been kept in the provincial dîwân (93). Piety may have been her primary motive, but it may be that she needed the public support which such foundations gave. She is stated to have claimed her dowry (sâdâq) on her husband's death and to have disposed of them, whether it amounted to have bought land which she made into awkâf for the madrasa and tomb complex which she built in Bârdasîr (ibid., 100). It seems likely that many, if not all, of her awkâf were made out of her personal property. She had a private dîwân (dîwân-i khâs) separate from the state or public dîwân and owned considerable resources (ibid., 232). Her sons, Sultan Hâdîjâdî and Soûrâqûğârmîshî, also made many charitable foundations out of their inherited estates and private property (Naṣîr al-Dîn Munsîfî, Simt al-`ulûm, ed. 'Abbas Ikbal, Tehran AHS 1342/1949-50, 40-49, 58). Terken Khatûn designated herself as mutawallî of some of the foundations she constituted, including the numerous properties she made into waqf for the Friday mosque outside Bârdasîr (Târîkh-i Šâhî-yi Kând Khâtûyân, 244-5). In some of her smaller foundations, especially those made for slaves and slave-girls, her children were designated to act as mudârsî of the waqf. This was also the case of the mill (in Bahârâm-djîr) which she had bought and repaired and made into waqf for the shrine in the village of Ardashîr in Dhuwayn (ibid., 225-6). The office of mutawallî of the awkâf of the Friday mosque which she built at the New Gate of Bârdasîr in 675/1274-5 was entrusted to "the ruler who was on the throne of Kirmân and (thereafter) to his/her children" (ibid., 233-4). Some of Terken Khatûn's waqfîs were for administrative affairs and public welfare. In 673/1275 she made the village of Şûfîyân in Rûdān into waqf, stipulating that thirty men should reside in it to protect the road and escort caravans. The leader of the troop was to receive 5,000 mans of grain annually by way of wages and each of the thirty soldiers 2,000 mans, two-thirds to be paid in winter and one-third in summer (ibid., 235). Whether Şûfîyân belonged to Terken Khatûn or to the dîwân is not stated (see further, Lambton, Awqâf in Persia, 310-13).

During the Mongol invasions, much waqfî land which lay in the path of the invading hordes must have suffered devastation, but so far as it escaped its status appears to have been little changed. From an early date there was a department of awkâf in the Ilkhanate. When Hulegu [p.r.] charged Naṣîr al-Dîn Tûsî [p.r.] with the establishment of an observatory at Marâfî,
In spite of the fact that many akāf may have been devastated during the Mongol invasions and others usurped during the period, there appears to have been a proliferation of akāf during the period. One reason for this was probably the prevailing insecurity of tenure which led men to seek to safeguard their property from confiscation and to secure its continued enjoyment, or at least part of it, by themselves and their descendants by constituting it into waqf. Both Ghazan Khan and Oldījeytī founded many akāf. Their motives were various; some of Ghazan’s benefactions were clearly prompted by religious motives (see Lambton, Awqaf in Persia, 315 ff.), and some by a desire to secure the possession of property to his descendants, as when he laid down that his inād lands should be constituted into waqf for the sons of his chief wife Bulushan Khātun, or, if she had no sons, for the sons of his other wives and their male descendants (Rashīd al-Dīn, Tārīkh-i mubārak-i ghadānī, 331). Al-Kāshānī mentions that Ghazan gave orders for a dār al-ṣā'īdā to be built in every province in Persia and for estates and villages to be made into waqf for them, so that the annual income of each would be 10,000 dinārs (Tārīkh-i Ulajdītu, ed. Mahin Hambly, Tehran AHS 1348/1969, 93-4). Rashīd al-Dīn confirms that Ghazan made such buildings in Isfahān, Shirāz, Baghdād and various other towns (ibid., 215). However, most of Ghazan’s akāf and also Oldījeytī’s, were for the benefit of foundations in their respective capitals, Tabrīz and Sulṭānīyā.

In spite of, or perhaps because of, the dislocation of traditional life under Mongol rule, many officials and private individuals acquired enormous wealth, some of which came from trade and possibly from money-lending. Much of it appears to have consisted of, or been invested in, land and real estate and to have been constituted into waqf. The most outstanding case is that of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī [see Rashīd al-Dīn Tabrīz]. Most of his waqf were for the benefit of the Rabī‘i Rashīdī, the quarter which he built in Tabrīz; but he also constituted waqf for foundations in Yazd, Hamadān, Shirāz and Kirmān. Lists of the properties which he made into waqf for these foundations, which included mosques, madrāsās, khānakāhs, and hospitals, and also for the children and various holy men, are set out in the Wafā-nīma-i Rabī‘ Rashīdī, dated 709/1309-10, and include property in Yazd, Hamadān, Shirāz, Tabrīz, Shirāz, Isfahān and Mawṣil. Property in the first four places had also apparently been made into waqf by Rashīd al-Dīn at an earlier date, for which special waqfīyān had been drawn up (Lambton, Awqaf in Persia, 317-18). As a convert to Islam, the support of the ‘ulamā‘ was important for him and this might have expected to gain as a result of his charitable foundations.

Among private individuals who constituted their property into akāf, the example of Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn Muhammad and his son Shams al-Dīn Muhammad of Yazd is notable. Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn disposed of a great deal of property—shares in kāns [q.v.], land and real estate in Yazd—and he also apparently had considerable capital available with which he purchased new property with a view to making it into akāf. His foundations and those of his son and their akāf are set out in the Dīwān al-ṣā‘īdā, dated 748/1347-8 (ed. Muhammad Tākī Dānīghazālī and ‘Iraq Aḥṣārī, in H2, ix [AHS 1345/1966-7], and a revised edition in Aḥṣārī, Tadhkīrā-yi Yazd, ii, Tehran AHS 1354/1973-5, 391-537; see also vazo). An interesting feature of Shams al-Dīn Muhammad’s akāf is the inclusion of pensions [udštār] which he held on vari-
ous funds among the property which he made into wakf (Ibn al-Khayrāt, 174, 203, 213, 214, 216). Rukn al-Dīn Muhammad, Shams al-Dīn's father, had left a pension drawn on the revenue of Yazd, part of which he had inherited from his forefathers and part from the sayyids and imāms of Yazd. After his death, it passed to Shams al-Dīn (ibid., 140; see also Lambton, Akūfīn in Persia, 213-15). Al-Umārī states that iḥārāt, which consisted of money or villages, were the property of their holders, who could dispose of the like landed estates, sell them, give them away, or constitute them into ḥawāf (Das mongolische Weltreich, Arabic text, 95-6. See also Naslr al-Dīn Tusf, Awdūf in Advāt, ed. M. Ridawī, Tehran AHS 1336/1957, 31).

Many of the ḥawāfī constituted during the Ilkhanate disappeared over time. On Raṣḥīd al-Dīn's fall, the revenue of the ḥawāfī which he had made for the Rahib Raṣḥīdī was withheld from expenditure on its proper purposes and his estates taken for the dīwān (Halīz Abūrī, Diya'ī-i ẓāhirī-i tasvīrīk-i raṣḥīdī, ed. Kāhīn Bābā Bāyānī, Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 129). The Ghiyāthīya āwāfī or some of them, made by his son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muhammad, appear to have still been in existence in 1073/1662 (Lambton, Landlord and peasant, 13-14). There is also mention of Ghiyānī āwāfī in the 16th/16th century (Iqsanī n. 1), and Ahmad ibn Aḥmad-i ‘Abbād, Tehran AHS 1334/1956, i, 148).

The Tīmrīds in Buḫārā, Ḥirāt and elsewhere, and the Safawīs in Ḩūsfān, followed the practice of Ghażan and Oldjeytī in founding magnificent buildings in their capitals and constituting valuable āwāfī for them. Perhaps partly as a result of the increasing number of royal foundations, the sādār was expanded and separated from the ważīrat and the office of sādār [q.v.] regularized (see documents in the Sharaf-nāma of ‘Abd Allāh Ṭawwābūr, in H.R. Roemer, Staatsanschriften der Timuridenzeit, Wiesbaden 1952). Maria El Hebuterne has drawn attention to the proliferation of āwāfī in Kūhūrsān under the Tīmrīds, especially Husayn Mirzā Baykara (A Tīmrīd educational and charitable foundation: the Ḥālalqāy complex of Allāt Shir Nāvūzī in 15th century Herat and its documentary, in Jadīd, ix [1991], 38-61). Khayīndārī notes that in the reign of Husayn Mirzā Baykara [see Ḥusayn (Mirzā b. Maḥmūd b. Baykara)] the spread of āwāfī in Kūhūrsān was such that two or three persons were needed to carry out the office of sādār (Habīb al-siyās, Tehran AHS 1333/1954-5, iv, 321). Tīmrūr apparently constituted a number of properties into ḥawāfī for the Ṣafawī family (Lambton, Landlord and peasant, 112 n. 1), and the early Ṣafawī shāhs, notably Tāmānspā I (930-84/1524-76 [q.v.]), made property into ḥawāfī for the Ṣafawī shrines in Kūm [q.v.] and elsewhere. A document for the appointment of the mutawalī of the shrine of Sittī Fāṭima in Kūm issued by the Aḵ Kōyunlu Yaḥyā Būk in 884/1479 mentions earlier appointments by Tīmrūr and Shāhrukhī (see H. Busse, Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleirecht, Cairo 1959, 56-7). Some of the āwāfī for the Ṣafawī shrine at Ardabīl [q.v.] also predated the assumption of royal power by the Ṣafawīs.

Although the Tīmrūr and Ṣafawī periods were characterised by royal foundations, there was also much constitutions of āwāfī by provincial governors, officials and private individuals. The motive for many of these foundations was probably local patriotism, but their founders were probably also influenced in many cases by the hope of securing local support as public benefactors. In Yazd, important āwāfī were founded by the Tīmrūrī governor Amīr Čānmak and his wife Bībī Fāṭima and later by Muḥammad Taḵī b. Kāhīn, who as governor of Yazd, Zands and Kāḏārīs, exercised a considerable degree of independence [see YAZD]. Under the Ṣafawīs, there was probably an increase in family āwāfī, made in the hope of ensuring the enjoyment of their revenues by the founder and his family and of preventing, or at least lessening, the interference of the government in the administration of the property so constituted. A typical example is that of the āwāfī-nūmā of Ghiyāth al-Dīn ’Allī al-Ghiyāthī dated Rāmnūn 951/1739-40 (Mūṣaffāt al-Qawāf al-Dīn Allī al-Ghiyāthī, ed. Karāmāt Ra’ān Usaynī, in Majalla-yi Dini-hukmā-yi Aḩdāyīyat va ‘Ullām-i Ṣadīrā (Tehran), xvi/4 [Farvardīn 1348/March 1969], 465-76). The founder relinquished ownership of the endowed properties and took them over again as mutawallīn (ibid., 471).

Īsmīl Ṣafawī [q.v.], the first Ṣafawī shāh, among his early acts appointed Shams al-Dīn Gīlahnī sadār and put him in charge of the āwāfī of the empire (Khāndārī, iv, 468). In the reign of Shāh Safī (1076-1105/1666-94 [see Safavīn shāhīn], the office of sadār was divided; the sadār-i khāsī administered and generally supervised āwāfī in the kūshās provinces and the sadār-i māmālīk those in the provinces under governors. The sadār-i khāsī had additional functions in connection with those of the āwāfī of which the āwāfī were mutawallīl, including the appointment of administrators (mubāhārān) over them, deputy mutawallīl (mutawallīl-i āwāfī) and overseers (nāṣīrān). In the case of ḡarī āwāfī (i.e. those constituted by private individuals), neither the sadār nor ḡarī judges were to interfere with whomsoever the founder had designated as mutawallī (Mirzā Rāzī, Daftar al-mawād, ed. Muḥammad Taḵī Dā’ishāzāhī, in MDAVI, xvi/2 [Aḏhar 1317/November 1968], 86). The āwāfī in Ḩūsfān, Yazd, Aḥarkūh, Kāshān, Kūm, Sīwāw, Māzāndārān, Astarābād, Girāvvī, Hadjīdjāl, Kabūbdijāmā, Nāṭanz, Ardīsīn, Nā‘ūn, Kūmīshī, Kamārā, Mahbālī, Farāhān, Gulpāyāvān, Dīhādīn, Khānsar, Ḩālpalak, Barwarūd (?), Fīraydān, Rārā, Mīzdājjānd Kūyān were under the sadār-i khāsī (Mirzā Rāzī, loc. cit.), who presumably appointed officials to take charge of the āwāfī in the respective districts (cf. the document appointing Muḥammad Mufīd mustawīf of the āwāfī of Yazd dated 1077/1667, in Muḥammad Mufīd, Ẓāhirī-nī maqāfī, ed. A’hūrā, Tehran AHS 1340/1961-2, iii, 752-4). The precise relation of the sadār-i khāsī to the ważīr of the Fāyd Aḏhār department, also called the ważīr-i mustawīf, who was in charge of the agriculture of the Mahāll (the districts round Ḩūsfān) and the repair of buildings in the Mahāll and of gardens which were ḡarī (from certain named gardens which were under the nāṣīrī, is not clear (Mirzā Rāzī, in MDAVI, xvi/3, 321).

The Ṣafawī shāhs made extensive āwāfī for various shrines [see MĀMĀDAVA] and appointed mutawallīlīs for them. Shāh Īsmā‘īl I allegedly took possession of estates in Maymand which had been made into wakf for the Shāh Girāh mosque in Shīrāz, and vested the office of mutawallī in his children (Fāsīr, Fāsīr-nāma-i nāṣīrī, lith., Tehran 1315/1895, ii, 305). During the disorders after the fall of the Ṣafawīs, they were usurped by Mirzā Abū Tālib, the kālantār of Shīrāz. Nāḏīr Shāh [q.v.] restored them to the shrine in 1142/1729-30 (ibid., i, 104). Misappropriation of āwāfī was not uncommon. The ważīr Kāfī Dā’hān was alleged to have converted certain wakf villages into his private property. After he had retired to Kāzvīn, this came to the ears of Shāh Tāmānspā, who ordered him to be deprived of their possession and the equivalent of
the revenue due from them to be recovered. However, because of Kadi Djahan's age and weakness, the shah forgave him and granted him a sum of money as a waqf (Hasan Rumi, Aban al-tawliya, ed. C.N. Seddon, Baroda 1931, i, 375-6).

Tahmasp I constituted aqiqāf for the shrine of Shâh 'Abd al-'Azm in Ray according to a fāmān dated 960/1153 (Shâhâbî, Wafq dar Istatus, Tehran AHS 1343/1964, 72). His sister Shâhzâda Sultanun consti- tuated aqiqâf for the Čâhârdâh Ma'âm (ib. the twelfth imâm, the prophet Muhammad and Fatima, the wife of 'Ali b. Ṭâlib and appointed as mutawalli Tahmasp and whichever of his sons should become shâh after him. Tahmasp appointed Mir Kamâl al-Dîn Astârâbâdî his deputy (nâ'tb al-tawliya) (Iskandar Munshi, i, 111-12). The latter, during Tahmasp's reign, was also, with Mir Abu l-Kâsim Ishâhânî, joint mutawalli of the shrine of the Imâm Rîdâ at Maşhâd; he undertook the tawliya-i sumanî and Mir Abu l-Kâsim the tawliya-i waqfâbî. The first concerned the admin- istration of waqfâbî and what was given from the khâlsa administration for the expenses of the shrine on public feasts (şâhât) and for allowances for the ser- vants of the shrine, şâdât, and others, while the waqfâbî tawliya was concerned with the revenue of the aqiqâf of the shrine and from fowls (ibid., i, 149). The most numerous aqiqâf constituted by a ruling shâh belong to the reign of Shâh 'Abbâs I (p.z.). R.D. McChesney has examined the aqiqâf of Shâh 'Abbâs in detail and attempted an assessment of their political and econ- omic aspects (Waqf and public policy: the waqfs of Shâh 'Abbâs, 1011-1023/1602-1614, in Asian and African Studies, xv [1981], 165-90). The best known of these foundations is that made, according to Iskandar Beg Munshi, in 1015/1606-7 or 1016-1607 when he constituted all his private estates (ajâmâb-i amâlkh wa nashrâbâb-i miyâsab-i kudâsî-i khâbah) "the just value of which was 100,000 tumânas" and the pro- duce of which after the deduction of what was needed for their cultivation was, using a medium conversion rate, nearly 7,000 tumâns", together with various buildings in IsfâHan and the neighbourhood into waqf for the Čâhârdâh Ma'âm. He vested the office of mutawalli in himself and thereafter in the reigning monarch. According to the terms of the wâqf-nâmâ drawn up by the shâh, the mutawalli was to be appointed by the shâh and the revenues of the waqf after the deduction of the dues of the mutawalli (hakk al- tawliya) was to be expended at the discretion of the mutawalli and according to the exigencies of the time (Iskandar Beg Munshi, i, 536). Mirzâ Ra'dî, the sa'dî, was appointed the shâh's deputy in charge of the administration of the waqf (ibid., 64). According to Shâhâbî, most of the founders of aqiqâf for the shrine of the Imâm Rîdâ at Maşhâd after this designated the reigning shâh as the mutawalli. The shâh's deputy in the management of the aqiqâf of the shrine was called the mutawalli-bâbî and later the nâ'tb al-tawliya (Wafq dar Istatus, 60). On Shâh 'Abbâs's foundations, see also 'Abd al-Husâyn Sîpîntâ, Tâhrîrâh-yi aqiqâb dar IsfâHan, IsfâHan AHS 1346/1967-8, 41 ff., 331 ff.); Shâh Sultan Husâyn, the last of the Safawids, constituted property into waqf for the Madrasa-i Sultânî (Madrasa-i Mîdad Shâh, now known as the Madrasa-i Čâhâr Bâgh) in IsfâHan in 1122/1711-12 and designated himself as mutawalli and thereafter the reigning shâh (Sîpîntâ, 120-32). He made the taxes and dues of the property so constituted into a per- manent waqfâbî for the administration of the madrasa (ibid., 131).

The office of mutawalli of the shrines which had aqiqâf-i tawliya (i.e. aqiqâf) constituted by the reigning shâh) was influential and profitable. Mirzâ Ra'dî describes the duties of the mutawallis of the shrine of the Imâm Rîdâ in Maşhâd, the shrine of Fatima, the sister of the Imâm Rîdâ, in Kum, the shrine of 'Abd al-'Azm in Rayy, the Safawid shrine in IsfâHan and the Safawid shrine in Ardashîb and the respect in which the mutawallis were held at the royal court (MDA'UI, vi, 1-2, 66-9). Shâhâbî gives a list of the properties made into waqf for the shrine of Shâh 'Abd al-'Azm (Wafq dar Istatus, 72-3). He states that Mirzâ Ḥâbhî Allah, the grandson of Shaykh 'Ali Karâki, was appointed mutawalli of the shrine of Fatima at Kum by Tahmasp, while the tawliyat of the shrine at Mâhân was given to another grandson, Mir Sayyid Murtadâ. Another of Shaykh 'Ali's descendants, Mirzâ Ibrâhîm, sheikh al-islâm of Ray, became mutawalli of the shrine of 'Abd al-'Azm; his descendants still held that office in the 19th century. Yet another of Shaykh 'Ali's sons, Sayyid Aḥmad, and his descendants after him, held the office of mutawalli of the shrine of Sa'bî al-Dîn at Ardashîb (ibid., 74). Shâh 'Abbas II (1052-77/1642-67 [p.z.]) redistributed the offices of mutawalli of the major shrines in an attempt to break up the large fortunes which their holders accumulated (Chardin, Voyages, ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, vi, 63-5), reorganised the administration of the aqiqâf-i tawliya (Muhammad Tâhir Kanzâlî, ʻAbbâs-nâmâ, ed. Ibrâhîm Dîghân, Arâk AHS 1329/1950-1, 223-4) and appointed Mirzâ Mir-Ḥâbî Dîjbâr mutawalli aqiqâf, J.B. Frasier was informed by the muṣâma Mirzâ 'Abd al-Djâwâd that the revenues of the shrine of the Imâm Rîdâ from property and land in every province of Persia amounted in the reign of Shâh Sultan Husâyn to 15,000 kharâsân tumâns. In later years, his informant told him, there had been usurpation and the rents were ill-paid so that the rev- enue was probably not more than 2,000 or 2,500 kharâsân tumâns (Narrative of a journey into Khorasan in the years 1821 and 1822, London 1825, 455).

Although the richest and most extensive aqiqâf in the Safawid period were those made by the shâhs, there were also numerous aqiqâf constituted by individuals, some aulent (for example Muhammad Beg Begdîlî (d. 1021/1612-13), a man of wealth and substance who made his landed estates into waqf (Iskandar Munshi, ii, 608), but many less so, who were influenced not only by personal gain but by religious feeling and piety (cf. the case of a certain Háḏâq ilî b. Tâmar, a Tanner of IsfâHan, Lutf Allâh Hunâfarî, Gandgînî-i ʻâkhir-i tâhirî-i ʻâkhirî-i IsfâHan, IsfâHan AHS 1348/1961-2, 541-3).

When the Afghans took IsfâHan on the fall of the Safawids, they usurped much waqf property and made it into ḥâbaa (p.z.) and many records were destroyed (Shaykh Dîjbâr Ānîsârî, Tâhrîrâh-i IsfâHan wa Ray, IsfâHan AHS 1322/1943, 35). Under Nâdir Shâh, many waqf properties were resumed in IsfâHan, if not elsewhere, and included in the Nâdir registers (ibid., 37-8; see also Mirzâ Muhammad Kalântâr-i Fârî, Rûznâmâ, ed. ʻAbbâs Ibtâl, Tehran 1946, 13). ʻAdîl Shâh revoked Nâdir's regulations and ordered the aqiqâf to be returned to their mutawallis. However, a good deal of confusion prevailed and it is not clear to what extent this took place (ibid.). Karîm Khân, according to Sîpîntâ, made an abortive attempt to rectify affairs (343). Further decay and confusion occurred in the famine years of 1871-2 (Shaykh Dîjbâr Ānîsârî, 51-2).

The Kâdîr period was not notable for the constitu- tion of aqiqâf. One of the most important was that made for the Sipâshsîlî Madrasa in Tehran. The building was begun in 1819 by Amin al-Dawla Háþîq Muhammad Husâyn Khân Şâdî-i IsfâHan, who designated himself first as mutawalli and thereafter the ruling shâh
In 1854 a Ministry of Pensions and 
Awkdf was founded. It was finally finished by the shah's 
Ministry in Damascus) and by other organisations. 
Furthermore, Ottoman wakf foundation deeds themselves (wakf- 
and associated documents are grad-
ually being published under the auspices of the General 
Directorate of Wakfs in Ankara (i.e. the foundation 
document of the Ottoman sultan, Mehemmed 
the Conqueror, published in 1938 and the deeds 
published in the Wakf- 
and archive internet sites), represents no less than a 
ongoing publication of archival catalogues in Turkish, 
and other languages (i.e. Mercier), overwhelmingly 
changed methodological approaches to the study of 
Ottoman wakf (which, heretofore, had almost exclusively 
relied upon Islamic legal compendia (akhkb al-
awkdf, fatwad collections and legal studies) or Western 
interpretations of it (i.e. Mercier), overwhelmingly 
giving a normative or interpretative view (Heffening). 
Barkan and Ayverdi's research, based on the data of 
a mid-10th/16th-century tahrit (p.5), was the first to 
have systematically and quantitatively studied Ottoman 
awkaf at a given time and place. Since then, quanti-
tative statistical analyses on predetermined aspects of 
a corpus of documents related to Ottoman wakf, 
combined with qualitative evaluations drawn not only from 
awakf endowment deeds (the above-mentioned kitab ah-
awkaf and the wakfyya) but also from the hududat ah-
awkaf, have been published (Raymond; Saidouni; Bahrz, 
Henia; Roded; Shuval), revealing trends related to the 
identities and status of endowment founders and the 
administrators of the foundations, properties owned 
by wakf, tenants of this property, beneficiaries of the 
revenues, etc. Some publications on Ottoman wakf 
have also analysed archival data juxtaposed with in-
formation from the legal domain, such as the akhkb al-
awkaf or fatwa collections (Rafeq; Reilly; Cuno; 
Deguilihem, 1980).
An overall picture of Ottoman foundations which comes closer to reality is made possible by understanding wakf as a dynamic and very diversified institution which partially developed on-the-ground in reaction to altering circumstances but which responded, at least to a certain extent, to predefined structures. Both the changing as well as the continuous practices of wakf were reflected in the juridico-administrative Ottoman tribunal and bureaucratic records (which, though seemingly of formulaic language, expressed nonetheless changing circumstances), but also within the corresponding legal normative framework articulated in fikr [g.v.] (Hüsnü) and kânûn [g.v.] (A. Çetin, 221-7). In other words, the primary sources have indisputably shown that, far from being static or in “mortmain”, foundation properties were not, in fact, inalienable and often changed hands not only through the legal mechanism of tadbîr, i̇râd (Deguilhem, 1988) and other legalised means, but also simply as an integral part of the economy, in line with market demands. The economics and politics of Ottoman wakf were based upon a flexible but stable system that had long since produced an institution capable of interacting and responding to individual, family, community and state needs.

Wakf was omnipresent in all levels of Ottoman society, urban and rural, both in the form of individually functioning units and as separate parts of a basic single institutional system. Studying the institution in situ from the vantage point of the data found in endowment deeds, in the budâgîât al-wakf and in documents inscribed in wakf and other registers (i.e. the tâbîrî, the daftar mufassal, etc.) reveals the extreme multiplicity of functions that were initiated, established and activated by wakf networks in the Ottoman world (for an overview and state-of-the-art survey of wakf research up until the end of the 1990s, see Hoexter, Wakf studies, and Bilici, 1997), over which the imperial authority attempted to exercise supervision with varying degrees of success over the centuries.

To grasp the ubiquitous character of the Ottoman foundations, one may say that the three most striking traits of the Ottoman wakf were its widespread vertical and horizontal use throughout all socio-economic strata of society; its capacity to adapt to individual, group and state needs within Islamic as well as within Ottoman Christian (Abou Nohra; Ghazzal; Davie; Slim; Saliba—see for these references, Bibl., below) and Jewish communities (Yazbak, 55-6, 60, 214-15, 217-18; Shaham; Gerber, The Jews; and, finally, its longevity—not only of the institution itself but also of the abundant individual wakfs (although, of course, many also disappeared), whether endowed in the Ottoman period or founded during Ayyûbîd or Mamlûk times but which continued to operate during the centuries of Ottoman rule (their longevity perceived, for example, via a comparative study of 10th/16th-century tapu tadbîr registers which surveyed the existing milk [g.v.] and wakf properties in relation to 20th-century wakf liquidation documents).

From the early years of the empire, even while taking into account the regional differences across its vast Asian, African and European territories, the institution of wakf continued to assume its traditional dual and complementary role within both urban and rural Ottoman contexts by simultaneously creating and financing religious, political, social, charitable, cultural and spiritual networks through the establishment of a continuous “permanent” economic linkage between wakf beneficiaries and their corresponding revenue-producing assets, in addition to the personnel work-
centrated and institutionalised, on one level, within the hands of local mosque officials (imams and mu'tadhin) and, on another level, permanently associated with such positions as—to cite just a few among myriad examples—the offices of the Grand Vizier, the abū al-islām [q.v.], the inspector of the Haramayn biyt, ddr, beneficiaries. Such properties included the rent in order to create funds for the foundation assets consisted of all types of commercial and residential properties that were usually rented in order to create funds for the foundation beneficiaries. Such properties included the bayt, ddr, mağzen, dukkān, kūfa, hamāmt, kāydrayy, khan, bedestān, parts of or an entire sūk, etc. Wākīf assets also consisted of agricultural real estate which equally yielded revenues for the foundations through rent contracts or by payment in kind from different types of gardens (djanayna, bākāra) and orchards (bustān [q.v.]) located within or close to urban centres in addition to parts of or entire villages and tracts of rural agricultural land such as the hānā, maqṣa [q.v.], ciftlik [q.v.], rīža aẖbāṣiya in Ottoman Egypt, etc. Furthermore, as in previous periods, endowment wealth in the Ottoman realm also included moveable properties (manṭālib) amongst assets belonging to a wākīf, such as books. Kurān holders, etc. as well as animals, in particular, those used for pious purposes such as for the Pilgrimage (horses, camels). Nomadic communities living in the Ottoman empire used this type of foundation, putting a part of their animals into a wākīf, as a means of keeping a portion of their properties within the family.

It is now a well-documented fact that sums of cash were also widely possessed by Ottoman wākīfs. By the mid-10th/16th century, cash holdings in fact already represented a substantial part of Ottoman wākīf assets (Barkan and Ayverdi) which, in the 18th and 19th centuries, represented, in some ways, the precursors of the Ottoman banking system. Foundation administrators lent out the cash at interest, often via specifically named money changers or merchant profiteers, so indicated in the foundation document, with the purpose of creating liquid assets for the endowment. Ebu l-Su'ūd (1545-74) [see awu l-su'utn], abī al-islām under Süleyman the Magnificent, was one of the Ottoman religious authorities to have pronounced fatwas on the legality of monetary wākīf, whereas his contemporary, Mehenmed Birgawi (1520-73), opposed the practice. Since the cash wākīf (wakf al-nukud) produced money for the endowments through interest, it was the object of controversy even before Ottoman times (Mandaville; Yediyildiz, 116-20, 144-9; Bihi, Les wakfs monétaires; Gizačka). Towards the end of the Ottoman era, during the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, some wākīf administrators placed money with the Ottoman Bank as a means of fructifying capital both on their own behalf as well as in the name of a wākīf, including endowments founded for Şüft orders such as the Mewlewiyey (Edlem, 288-9).

Many public leaders—sultans but also local governors and bureaucrats as well as all types of notables at all hierarchical levels—marked their political power, often transforming and modifying the character and topography of cities and towns in the process, thanks to proceeds coming from wākīf assets, by establishing and subsidising religio-educational structures (ijtimā', madrasa [q.v.], dar al-Kur'ān, dar al-hadith); Şüft lodges and places of assembly (zāwiyā, khanīkhāh, ribāt, tekke [q.v.]); poor relief sites such as soup kitchens or places giving other sorts of assistance (imāret and the takiyya madrasa frequently used for giving poor relief in the Arab provinces); mausolea which often served as social gathering places (turba [q.v.]), medical dispensaries (bimāristān [q.v.]); and public infrastructural services in the form of bridges, irrigation systems, fortresses, lighthouses, water conduits, aqueducts, water fountains, etc., in urban and rural areas alike.

During the expansionist periods of the empire, especially in the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries, wākīf was an important political instrument for the Islamisation of newly-conquered localities and frontier areas. To this end, the endowments funded convent-type structures (riḍāt) situated in areas near or bordering on the dār al-harb [q.v.], notably in the European Ottoman provinces where Şüfs and other Muslims lived, worked the land, engaged in commerce and eventually colonised regions as a concrete means of increasing the expanse of lands belonging to the realm. As part of the Islamisation programme, which was closely tied to the legitimisation efforts of the sultanate, income from sultanic wākīf and associated endowments within all the Ottoman provinces also funded the construction and maintenance of buildings intended for Islamic ritual and teaching (as mentioned above) and, during the early days of the empire, was sometimes involved in the transformation of churches, cathedrals and other already existing edifices into places for use by the Islamic community (Barkan, 1942; Ínlıç, 1980, 1990).

Wākīf networks in Ottoman lands were the essential infrastructural link in the transmission of knowledge, since the construction and patronage of places for ritual observances and institutionalised learning, i.e. the mosques and religious schools mentioned above, were almost exclusively subsidised by wākīf; this was equally true for many libraries, both public (associated with mosques, Şüft lodges or schools) and private. By way of a famous example, Mehemmed the Conqueror, immediately upon annexing Konya to his empire in the middle of the 9th century, intended for Islamic ritual and teaching (as mentioned above) and, during the early days of the empire, was sometimes involved in the transformation of churches, cathedrals and other already existing edifices into places for use by the Islamic community (Barkan, 1942; Ínlıç, 1980, 1990).

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during his or her life, by \textit{wa\'af} networks which criss-crossed local, regional and international as well as confessional boundaries.

That endowments were often used as a political instrument by the sultans, by members of the harem and the imperial family, by persons who occupied bureaucratic, religious, military and other official positions at all levels, in addition to individuals in their private capacity, should not overshadow the fact that many \textit{wa\'af}s were also founded for pious, religious and charitable purposes and that, in fact, one purpose did not always exclude the other. After the death of the founder, the endowment passed to the community, the Ottoman sultans and members of their extended households, as well as the average Muslim, undertook poor relief, via the agency of \textit{wa\'af}s, as one of their responsibilities. Thus, for example, in 1570, Mustafa Celebi Efendi, a son of the defterdars, established a large \textit{wa\'af} in Istanbul which, according to his 	extit{wa\'af}nama, was for the salvation of his soul (an invocation often referred to in the foundation documents). This \textit{wa\'af}, similar to so many others, distributed, among other things, water “obtained from pure snow” to the poor and passers-by in Istanbul during the three hottest months of the year (Sauvan, 242). The fact that this water was of such high quality lent an even greater importance to the charity-giving.

The existence of the huge sultanic \textit{wa\'af}s should not overshadow the fact that modest endowments, sometimes constituted from extremely limited assets, such as a very small plot of cultivated land or a tiny room in a datr, khan or other building, or even a portion of the above, were also very frequently established as \textit{wa\'af}s. These modest or middle-sized endowments made by small property owners in the Ottoman empire were often of the mukaddes type and thus represented the method of simultaneously enacting a good deed through conferring largesse (even though of a limited amount) on a public or needy beneficiary while, at the same time, ensuring the transmission of family wealth from generation to generation according to specific inheritance strategies which did not necessarily exclude females. Certain \textit{wa\'af}/ strategies sometimes even favoured females both as beneficiaries and administrators of endowments (Garcin; Doan). Primary research has also dismantled the misconception of \textit{wa\'af}s as a secure tax shelter. Ottoman administrative records reveal that both buildings and agricultural properties belonging to the foundations were indeed subject to taxes. Work by Barkan clearly demonstrates that \textit{wa\'af}s and freehold lands (calculated together as a unit) contributed rather more than 15% in the form of taxes to the overall revenue budget for the Ottoman empire in 1527-28 (Barkan, 1955-4, 277; figures given by Inalcik, 1997, 82-3); in a like manner, Hütteroth and Abdulfattah (98) have shown that endowment properties were subject to the ‘\textit{udr ma\'āl al-wa\'af}’ tax in late 10th/16th century Palestine. But, since the information on taxes levied upon foundations in the Ottoman empire has not yet been sufficiently researched so as to establish substantial quantitative data, it is difficult to evaluate the differences between the types and frequency of taxes imposed on endowment assets in relation to other types of property. Yet, in view of the fact that so many private individuals chose to establish \textit{wa\'af}s as a means to pass on their properties to future generations instead of simply allowing their assets to be inherited according to \textit{Ku\'ar\‘}anic inheritance precepts [see \textit{FAR\‘A\‘}D], presumably indicates that \textit{wa\'af} property taxes were less onerous than those imposed on non-\textit{wa\'af} assets. Archival work has also been done on the \textit{wa\'af}s owned by the guilds [see 
\textit{\textit{snv}}. 3] in the Ottoman empire. Often used as a type of solidarity fund for guild members but also for other individuals or for the benefit of the guild, this type of endowment was frequently bestowed with cash assets which were lent out at interest. Aside from the endowments founded by individual craftsmen for the benefit of their guild, research has shown that, contrary to normative \textit{wa\'af} law where only an individual person may create a foundation, entire guilds also established \textit{wa\'af}s for their common use (Akkol; Faroqhi, 1995, esp. 97, 102-8, who has studied \textit{wa\'af} registers, now held in the manuscript division of Milli Kütüphane in Ankara, from late 18th-century Bursa).

Another collective use of \textit{wa\'af}s in the empire was regarding those that were founded for the benefit of an urban quarter (\textit{mahalla} [q.v.]). The assets of the neighbourhood \textit{wa\'af}, similar to those of the guild endowments, were mostly but not exclusively held in the form of currency, which was bestowed in \textit{wa\'af} by the quarter’s inhabitants or by other individuals; revenue also accrued to this type of foundation by renting the real estate owned by that \textit{wa\'af}. The foundation’s properties were therefore collectively owned by the quarter, and this \textit{wa\'af} acted as a safety net in times of need by the residents of that quarter. In particular, the neighbourhood \textit{wa\'af} often helped defray taxes imposed upon a quarter’s population as an ensemble as well as assisting neighbourhood inhabitants for their material needs. Although further primary research needs to be conducted on this type of endowment, it seems that the neighbourhood \textit{wa\'af} was usually managed by the \textit{sheyk} of the \textit{mahalla} or by another notable of the quarter.

As the Ottoman centuries went by, huge amounts of buildings and agricultural lands increasingly belonged to the endowments but, for the time being, it is impossible to assess, with any real certainty, the extent of \textit{wa\'af} holdings in the Ottoman lands. Nonetheless, 19th and 20th-century studies generally estimate \textit{wa\'af}s properties to comprise approximately three-quarters of buildings and arable land in the empire. Without being quantitatively specific, it is abundantly clear that \textit{wa\'af}s represented enormous assets in the Ottoman empire and were an integral part of the economy and the real estate market. Apart from the sultanic and associated \textit{wa\'af}s, over which the Ottoman state exercised some centralised control from at least the mid-9th/15th century (although local \textit{mu\‘asawith} and \textit{ndzims} of the sultanic endowments usually held considerable decision-making powers), periodic attempts were made by the state to extend its administration over the other foundations. But, it was only in the late 18th century under sultan Selim III’s reform programme, the Nişâm-i Djedid [q.v.], and especially after the crushing of the Janissaries in the summer of 1826, that the imperial power succeeded in incorporating important endowments under its control. As a first measure, just a few months after the destruction of the Janissaries, the central government created the Ministry of \textit{Waf} in October 1826 which, in the next few years, increasingly took over the administration of the influential and wealthy endowments attached to the offices of the Grand Vizier, the \textit{şeyk} al-islâm, the \textit{ve\'t\‘} al-kâtâb [q.v.], the inspector of the Haramayn foundations, the Chief Admiral, the Chief Black Eunuch and others. The subsequent \textit{Tanzmât} [q.v.] reorganisations widened and, to some extent, enforced regulatory legislation over the management of \textit{wa\'af} and its assets. Ascertaining the real extent of state interven-
tory powers regarding the control over waqf is somewhat problematical; yet it is indisputable that the 19th-century Ottoman empire and the Young Turks regime progressively created the infrastructural apparatus to incorporate management of the endowments within its centralised administration (Barnes, 87-153; Yerasimos).

The end date for this section, 1914, does not in any way reflect a chronological rupture in the history of Ottoman waqf, the hostilities of World War I did not specifically affect the endowments in the empire. A much more significant date was 1924 when, along with the abolition of the caliphate and the Ministry of Şerifât, waqf administration and its properties were incorporated within the secular state apparatus of Mustafa Kemal’s Turkish Republic.

One of the earliest, if not the earliest, known wakf foundations was established by the Sâmâdî Isâmî’il b. A’hmad (d. 295/907) at Bukhâra. The date of the original deed was 254/868, but it was redrafted in 676/1277 and the surviving version written during the reign of the Manghîth Amir Hâydar (1215-42/1800-26); accordingly, this foundation supported both the family mausoleum and the descendants of Isâmî’il.

The Kârâkânî, or Ilek-Kânî, Tomâgh-e Bughra Khân founded wakfâ for a hospital (bîbâristânâ) in Radjâb 458/May-June 1066 and for a college (madrasa) at some unknown date in Samarkand. In the course of listing the properties abutting the Kârâkânî endow-
ments, other wakf-supported institutions are mentioned: the Masjîd-i Dâwíd; the Congregational Mosque; the tomb (maqâbâh) of “al-Târkhan” and his daughter “al-Khûtûrîn”; and a student scholarship fund (mîrzâ) at some unknown date.


(b) The Mongol period

A family endowment (wakf-i awldî) from 698/1299 by Abd al-Râhîm b. Muhammad b. Abd Allâh Istîtîglî (Istîtîglî) for his son Kûbî al-Dîn Yûsûf and then his male descendants in Bûkhârâ and for the upkeep of the mosque and shrine of a local saint, Kâh-’âda Khâmâna, is the first known wakf from Transoxania in the Mongol period (see A.K. Arends, A.B. Kîhîlîv and O.D. Çâkhrî, *Bûkharîsî wakf XIII v.*, Moscow 1979, 8). The wakfyya exists in its Arabic original with an accompanying contemporary Persian translation. The endowment included the village of Khâmâna in the district (qarâm) of Sâmân; in Bûkhârâ, including its own canal (nâhî-i lîblkî). One unusual feature of this wakf was the assignment of the income of specific amounts of land (rather than a percentage of the endowment income or fixed amounts of money) to pay the salaries of the mosque officials and for the specific requirements of the wakf.

(c) The post-Mongol era: the Bûkharî wakf foundation

The 726/1326 wakf founded by Shâykh Yâhîyâ in memory of his grandfather, the Suli- ghyâsh Sayf al-Dîn Bûkharî, established a pattern of large wakf complexes associated with the shrine of a religious figure, a pattern which is a characteristic feature of the urban landscape of the region. Major architectural complexes, usually with a shrine as the focal point, were administered by extensive wakf endowments that were in turn administered by family dynasties, and a recurrent feature of the socio-economic history of the cities of Central Asia.

The Bûkharî wakf is also an example of how wakf was used as a source of development capital in Bûkharâ as it was in Isfâhân (R.D. McChesney, *Wakf and public policy. The wakfs of Shah Abbas 1011-1023, in Asian and African Studies, xv [1981], 165-90) and Istanbul [p.e., at Vol. IV, 226-9] in order to revive local economies. The foundation document, a scroll of nearly 1,000 lines, detailed a vast agricultural expanse, including an area outside the Karshf Gate of Bûkharâ estimated at more than 100 km² (O.D. Çâkhrî, *Bûkharîskie dokumenty XIV v.*, Tashkent 1963, 14). These lands, which were intended to support a mosque and khânâkah complex as well as the tomb of Sayf al-Dîn Bûkharî, were situated amidst extensive ruins. At the same time, on its own lands the document speaks of newly-planted vineyards, orchards and vegetable gardens. When Ibn Bâjûtî recalled his stay at the khânâkah in 1333, only seven years after the foundation was established, he mentions vast agricultural wakfîs belonging to it and its ability to feed “all comers” (*Rihlâ*, tr. Gibb, ii, 27-8, tr. ii, 554).

Like many of the large foundations of the time, the Bûkharî foundation was very long-lived. The surviving documents pertaining to the foundation include
a grant in 1745 of two parcels of irrigated land totaling four hectares, and a record of the restoration (tahdid) of the wakfyya itself by the khâlid of Fatḩalâd, the location of the tomb, al-Hâdîj Mir Mašûd Dahrî.

(d) Timûrîd wakf

The advent of the Timûrîd era in Central Asia brought an efflorescence of large wakf foundations. Those published or described include:


2. Timûr's wakf for the shrine of Şahyk Ahmad-i Yasawî. The document, purporting to be Timûr's original wakfiyya for the shrine in Turkistan, has been called a "crude forgery" (Çekhojîvi, Sobranie, 309), but it is more than likely that Timûr did endow the shrine when it was built, or at least encouraged others to do so. In 1866, Mir Sâlih Begûrîn described the wakf of the shrine complex (which at the time included a mosque, a madrasa, and a staff of eight, not including the madrasa teachers) as comprising two inns and a caravanserai, this last, donated in 1820, with 80 shops producing 100 tâlas of income used for upkeep of the shrine (Çepkeçen not Acreya, in Voennii sbornik, viii [1866], 209-17).


4. The wakfs for Ulûgh Beg's madrasa and khâna-khâ in Samarkan (both built in 823/1420, according to Hàdr Abûrî, Zohba, Tehran 1372/1993, 743-4) and his madrasa in Bukhârâ (1417-20). Although modern scholars have not yet studied in any detail the endowments for the two great madrasas founded by Timûr's grandson, there is considerable amount of archival material on them in the Uzbek State Archives, including a series of 17th century endowments of books for the madrasa library.


7. The wakf foundation of Khâjdî 'Ubâyd Allâh Ahrâr [see Ahrâr, in Suppl.] in Samarkan for the complex called Muhawwata-i Mawâlî in the city district of Khâjdî Kaftî (Kaftî), present-day Ulûgh Beg. It held properties throughout Central Asia right up to the Soviet period, and was established principally as a family trust (see Çekhojîvi, Samarkanidkisik dokumenty XP-XVII ci, Moscow 1974, and McChesney, Central Asia. Foundations of change, Princeton 1997, 98-109, for the development of the foundation during the 17th century).

(c) The Shâhânid and Tukdây-Timûrîd periods, 10th-11th/16th-17th centuries

When the revivers of the Čingisid khanate, the Abu 'l-Khavîrî Shâhânîs [q.v.], ousted the last of the Timûrîds from Central Asia and northern Afghanistân, and their 11th/17th-century successors, the Tukdây-Timûrîdîs (Djânîdîs, Aqtabarkhânîdîs) similarly used the financial instrument of wakf to establish and fund their own public works.

8. One of the earliest is the extensive endowment for a pair of madrasas in Samarkan dedicated in the name of Şihbânî Khân (d. 916/1510) and established by his daughter-in-law Mihr Sultân Khânûm, probably before 926/1520 (see R.G. Mukanînova, K istorii agrarnîh otneisenii v Uzbekistane XVI v. Po materialam "Vafq-name" Tashkent 1974).

9. In Đumâdî II 947/October 1540, an amîr named Kamâl al-Dîn Kanîk (Kišîk, Kunêk) set up a large wakf to support an educational-culic complex of congregational mosque, madrasa, ablation stations and ribât inside Bâlkh in the Küçük Mûsâ Şahyk quarter (see G.A. Dzhuraeva, Vakfînî dokument 1540 g., in Vostochnoe istoriceskoe ischislenie: i spetsial'nye istoricheskiye disipliny, Moscow 1995, 190-8). Like many wakfs both before and after, this large public wakf was in fact a "mixed" one, as it made provisions for both the founder's descendants and public institutions. In this case, the future generations were to receive 10% of the income (after expenditure on building maintenance) in accordance with the Kur'ânic rules on the fard'id [q.v.]. The document also refers to four other mosques which Kamâl al-Dîn had already endowed and three mosques which his brother had likewise built and endowed.

The pattern of large wakfs jointly supporting public institutions and the private interests of future generations of the founder's family continued through the 16th and 17th centuries. In Bâkhârâ, one of the more notable wakf-holding families was the Djûhârîs. From their origins as keepers of the Câhâr Bâkîr shrine in the western Bokhârâan suburbs and beneficiaries of its endowments, the family emerged as one of the wealthiest and most influential families in Central Asia, and preserved both its wealth and influence for several centuries, in large part through the purchase of real estate, conversion of those purchases into wakf and designating as beneficiaries not only the madrasa-mosque complexes that they built but also succeeding generations of the family. There are many unpublished endowment deeds of the family in the Uzbek State Archives, which taken together establish the long-term economic influence of the family in Central Asia. On the family's origins, see F. Schwarz, From scholars to saints. The Bukharan Shaykhs of Guybdr (Bukhara), Tashkent 1966). On the building and endowment activities of the family, see McChesney, Economic and social aspects of the public architecture of Bukhara in the 1650's and 1750's, in Islamic art, ii [1987], 217-42, and idem, Central Asia. Foundations of change, 109-14.

10. In the 11th/17th century, besides additions made to the large endowments of the preceding centuries (e.g. Nadr Diwân-Begî Aftât's dramatic expansion and endowment of Khâjdî Ahrâr's tomb area on the southern side of Samarkan with a large madrasa, and several large wakfs of books for the Ulûgh Beg madrasa in Bâkhârâ), there were new projects in Samarkan (the Shîr Dâr and Tâllâkî madrasas on the Rigistân built by another leading amîr, Yâlangirâ Bîzih), in Bokhârâ (Nadr Diwân Begî's madrasa and khâna-khâ and 'Abd al-Azîz Khân II's two madrasas); and in Bâlkh (the two madrasas of father and son, Nadhr Muhammâd and Subhân Kuli [for the latter, see A.D. Davidov, 1nmenâ name 1mshaghâk-khâna v Balkhe (vious va funkciiyam xeimnii XVII ci), in Trudûy Soobshchêniya Instituta Fostokotekologii, xxviii [1969], 82-128), all of which generated major new endowments.
Throughout the century, the issue of wakf also touches on the relations between the Tukay-Timurids in Bukhara and the Timurid rulers of India. A tradition about the endowment of the Gūr Amīr complex in Samarkand had persisted through the centuries. Muhammad Sulṭān (d. 805/1403), grandson of Timūr, was believed to have founded a wakf for his madrasa, one of the buildings of the complex, the terms of which local residents believed they knew as late as 1101/1690. Because of the importance of the tombs there to such Timurid epigoni as the Mughals ruling in India, efforts, ultimately unsuccessful, were made by the latter late in 1102/1690-1 to re-capitalise the wakf with cash sent from Kābul and to revive the terms of what was believed to be the original endowment.

(1) The Manghist and Russian periods (mid-18th to early 20th centuries)

The great bulk of surviving wakf documents date to the late 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries. This is in part due to the usual effects of time on paper documents and in part to the project of the Manghist amīr, ʿShāh Murād b. Dāniyal (“ʿAmīr-i Maṣūm”), 1199-1215/1785-1800, either as an act of piety or perhaps to ensure the government had a record of wakfs in Bukhara, to have many wakfiyyas re-copied. As a consequence, many foundations are only known through these late copies. Another factor was the arrival of the Russians, who were interested in the tax potential of the regions that they had conquered. In 1886, the Governor-General ordered that all wakf deeds should be presented for inspection, with the threat of their nullification if these documents were not brought forward. At that time, the authorities tallied 7,509 wakfs in the territories under Russian direct administration based on the documents presented, with a slightly different count in an earlier publication: 2,909 wakfs in Turkestan, 1,177 in Khojent, 382 in Fergana, 507 in Zarafshan, 1,177 in Khajent, 382 in Namangan, 297 in Samarkand and 282 in Margelen for a total of 7,956 separate foundations. To these numbers should then be added the thousands of wakfs in the khanates of Bukhara and Khiva. See N. Emel’yanov, Cislennoe wakfiyogo Turkestanskogo kraia, in Turkestanskii Vedomosti, 1887, no. 1.

But the practice of document preservation and duplication is well attested long before the time of ʿShāh Murād. On the reverse of the 947/1540 wakfiyya is a note specifying how many copies were to be made of the document and where they were to be kept—two in Bukhara, one at a private house in Samarkand and a fourth in ʿShāh-i Sabz. In Balkh, there were to be three copies, one kept by the settlor himself, the other two to be kept by two named kāfs. Inside the body of the document is a further stipulation that, every ten years, the mutawalli was to make a fresh copy of the wakfiyya.

After the Soviet Revolution of 1917, wakf property was officially abolished. The extent to which it persisted as social practice even under official prohibition has yet to be studied. While the institution was being swept away, its records were being preserved. The establishment of the Central State Historical Archives in Tashkent and the accumulation of manuscript works (both books and single documents) by the Academies of Sciences in the new Soviet Republics meant the history of wakf in Central Asia, if not the institution itself, would be preserved.

The extensive documentary record for wakf has great potential for historians of Central Asia. The wakfiyyas are rich in topographic, toponomic and architectural information. The Karākhānīd ones, for example, specify the structural elements of ḍāms (caravanserais) in 5th/11th-century Samarkand. These may then be compared with later deeds in which caravanserais or comparable commercial structures, complemented by property sales records, whole streets of Bukhara may be reconstructed as they existed in the 10th/16th century.

The documents are also a major source for economic history. Already one study has used wakf documents to establish wage and price trends in Bukhara in the 10th/16th century (E.A. Davidovič, Istoriiâ denezhnego obsujazhdeniâ međudoobrazovatelnogo srednevekovoi Srednei Azii, Moscow 1983, 281-91). Currency and units of account in use (niyâd â-wakf), types of land tenure, institutional budgets, wages and prices in historical context, all may be studied through these materials. The cash wakf, controversial in the 10th/16th century but apparently routine by the 19th century, also emerges from the documentary records. See A. Dzhiallov, Dokumenti ob obsujazhdenii â-dov v vakf â Khamtiskom khansate (XIV-nachalo XX veka), in Obshchestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane, i (1989), 45-9.

Social history, too, finds a wealth of data in wakf records. The owners and tenants of property which bounded wakf property, or tenants on wakf property itself are often identified by name thereby indicating property ownership and tenancy by gender, occupation and ethnicity.

The “Haramayn wakf”, that is, endowments made to help support institutions in Mecca and Medina or related to the Pilgrimage, has a venerable history in Central Asia. Timūr’s spiritual guide, ʿAmīr Sayyid Baraka, who was buried alongside him in the Gūr-i Amīr, was reportedly an official of the Haramayn wakf. According to Khâqān, writing more than 100 years later, Sayyid Baraka had been sent from Mecca to Balkh in 771/1369-70 to inspect Haramayn wakf lands in the Balkh region when he first came to Timūr’s attention (Habīb al-sayr, Tehran 1353/1954, pt. 3, vol. iii, 415-16). In the late 15th century, an official (wakil) of the Haramayn came to Harāt from Mecca to complain that revenue from the wakf lands in Andkhūd in Khorāsān was not reaching the holy cities. Sulṭān-Hasan Bāyqara was reportedly investigated and a fāsiq was issued stating that Haramayn wakf revenues were being spent on ʿaybūd from Mecca visiting Khorāsān rather than being sent west (Nizām al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Wāsī Nizāmī, Maḥṣul al-insiqâl, Tehran 1357/1978, 83). There are archival records of numerous endowments, many of them from the early 20th century, that continued the tradition of founding wakfs to benefit the Holy Cities. One of the more unusual properties donated to the Haramayn wakf by the Manghist Amīr ‘Abd al-Abād (1886-1910) is a room in the Muhammad Nāzar Parwānāt madrasa, suggesting that madrasa rooms, originally the object of an endowment, had then been transformed into an income-generating piece of property that could then be made into wakf.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Information on Central Asian wakf may be found in several kinds of records: in gurūf literature (e.g. the wakf for a hospital founded by the Karākhānīd Ibrāhīm b. Naqr ‘Amgahī Būghrā Khān; given by M. Khadr and Cl. Cohen,
Deux actes de waqf d’un Qarahanide d’Asie Centrale, in JA, cclv/2 (1967), 305-34, found in the Ghurar ... mere real estate. Also, many cities and towns served as the capitals of states. Rulers, even within the same dynasty, in dation charters and/or later updated recensions of documentary tradition which includes original foun-
dwa-durar al-sumut of al-Righdamunf); in a dynamic no.

In their operation as institutions, aekf in India resembled similar organisations in Muslim West Asia. At the same time, a number of forces original found-
dwelling, the crops that come down to us (W. Begley and Z. Desai, The Delhi Sultanate, Cambridge 1998). When we look at the great dynastic histories dealing with the Mughals in India, mention of aekf virtually ceases. Climate and vermin have meant that few, if any
dwelling, the crops that come down to us (W. Begley and Z. Desai, The Delhi Sultanate, Cambridge 1998). When we look at the great dynastic histories dealing with the Mughals in India, mention of aekf virtually ceases. Climate and vermin have meant that few, if any
tended to shift from place to place, taking their courtiers with them. Thus the farms and houses that usually provided the income of akāfī had a somewhat fluid place in the lives of those notables who were in the position to establish an endowment (G. Kozlowski, Muslim endowments and society in British India, Cambridge 1985).

The reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar coincided roughly with the influx of silver brought by Europeans to purchase Indian goods (J. Richards, The imperial monetary system of Mughal India, Delhi 1987; idem, The Mughal empire, Cambridge 1993). Irfan Habib has reckoned that by 1600, 85% of the Mughal revenue demand was collected in coin. While cash akāfī were known in the Ottoman empire (see IV. above), they do not seem to have been extensively used in Mughal India. Rather, the Mughals made use of a number of other chancery terms for what were grants of revenue or the right to collect revenue, e.g. waqf-i mišk, waqf-i ma'ād, and in'am. Prebends known as madad-i mu'ād grants over several generations later claimed to British officials that their prebendary holdings were actually akāfī and should therefore be exempt from most kinds of sale, as well as immune from seizure for debt (Kozlowski, op. cit., 39-40).

For their part, the Mughal rulers' reliance on stipends may have arisen from their need to bring within their own imperial orbit the religious figures and institutions which had been patronised by the lines of sultans who had preceded them (Kozlowski, Imperial authority, benefactions and endowments (awqāf) in Mughal India, in JESHO, xxviii [1995], 355-70). Religious scholars, the tomb-shrines of saints (P. Currie, The shrine and cult of Mu'in al-Din Chishti of Ajmer, Delhi 1989), and madrasas were scattered all over India. The sultanates not only of Dihlī, but also of Bengal, Gudjārāt, Dājnāpūr and the Deccan, offered support for places of prayer, schools and mausoleums as well as for the various functionaries attached to them. The task of the Mughals was somehow to reconcile these important places and people to their authority. The most flexible way of accomplishing that feat was through the distribution of rights to cash generated by produce and manufactured goods. In such an environment, the permanence associated with a waqf, though usually more theoretical than realistic, may have made them seem unsuitable to the dynamic process of forming Mughal legitimacy. Unlike the experience in the Ottoman empire, imperial notables and local leaders do not seem to have turned to endowments as ways of anchoring their material assets as well as their status. In Mughal politics, assertions of independence almost invariably took the form of armed rebellion. Rather, the nobility, including the women of the imperial household, built many of the mosques that later generations were to associate with Mughal grandeur. Nobles or imperial sisters, cousins, aunts and wives provided the financial wherewithal for edifices such as the Maḥabbat Khān mosque of Peshawar, the somewhat misnamed Bāb al-Hārīrī of Lahore and some of the greater mosques of Old Dihlī (S. Blake, Shahjahanabad, Cambridge 1991, 53 ff., and Kozlowski, Private lives and public piety, in G. Hambly (ed.), Women in the medieval Islamic world, New York 1998, 469 ff.).

In theory, the ‘ulumā‘ should have had an important role in the administration of endowments. In certain places and periods (M. Hoexter, Endowments, rulers and community, Leiden 1998), the learned classes did have considerable authority over akāfī. In 18th-century Egypt, the ‘ulumā‘ were themselves prodigious founders of endowed establishments (see II.1. above), but in India, the role of religious functionaries was residual. They seem to have held power over endowments only in the last resort. Though celebrated for the compilation of Ḥanafi fiqh known as the Fatawa-yi ʿĀlamgīrī, when it came to akāfī, the scholars of Mughal India simply repeated what had come down to them. Unlike the work of Ottoman scholars such as Ebu l-Su‘ūd, they do not seem to have made any original contributions to the legal theory of endowments.

With the growing influence of British law, the configuration of economic, political and social forces in Mughal India changed in a number of formal as well as informal ways. In part through ignorance and in part through design, British notions of land ownership gradually became the crucial economic fact of India. The cash that the mortgaging of land could produce greatly increased seizures for unpaid loans. Likewise, the British-sponsored law courts enforced highly-textual notions of inheritance. For Muslims, that meant literal enforcement of Kur'ānic injunctions regarding inheritance, which made a division of property among a number of heirs almost inevitable. The subdivision of landed property also led inexorably to the fragmentation of material assets and the loss of family prestige. This was countered to some extent by creating a waqf which allowed donors to stipulate how the income of dedicated property was to be disbursed. The donors themselves as well as their children could receive the income of an undivided estate apportioned as seemed best according to the notions of honour in leading families. An estate owner who left only wives and daughters would know that, if the usual Kur'ānic inheritance rules applied, the share of his property that would have gone to sons would be distributed among male first cousins, and daughters and wives would not get any markedly bigger portion. An endowment, by contrast, allowed for the transmission of the income of an intact inheritance.

When faced with legal suits regarding akāfī—often lodged by individuals who claimed that the endowment violated their Kur'ānic rights—British judges of the 1870s and 1880s consistently ruled in favour of the British, which allowed donors to stipulate how the income of dedicated property was to be disbursed. The donors themselves as well as their children could receive the income of an undivided estate apportioned as seemed best according to the notions of honour in leading families. An estate owner who left only wives and daughters would know that, if the usual Kur'ānic inheritance rules applied, the share of his property that would have gone to sons would be distributed among male first cousins, and daughters and wives would not get any markedly bigger portion. An endowment, by contrast, allowed for the transmission of the income of an intact inheritance.

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including both Muslims and non-Muslims. Perhaps the most significant effect that the involvement of British administrators had was to implant the message that efficient scholars, together with an organised and energetic administration, lined up to their say on the issue of endowments. In particular, the opinion of Lord Hobhouse in Abdul Fatah Mohamed Ishak, etc., became a focal point for controversy. With the exception of a few who argued that Hobhouse was right about Muslim law, most criticised the view as an erroneous interpretation of Fikhl. Moreover, critics argued that the inability to secure continuity in their undivided estates by means of wakf placed the Muslim gentry of India in peril. That side of the debate over Muslim endowments gradually disappeared from the press and other venues for public discussion, but the larger and more public Muslim endowments, however, have remained matters of great interest and debate to the present day (cf. J. Malik, The colonialisation of Islam, New Delhi 1996). Bibliography: Given in the article. (G.C. Kozlowski)

VII. IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

The institution of wakf (various local spellings, inc. wakf, wakaf, wakap, wagf, etc.) has undergone considerable change here as a result of reformulations by English and Dutch colonial laws. There are only minimal references in the historical texts (Malay and Javanese) and little evidence as to how the wakf operated in pre-European Southeast Asia except for the odd mention in accounts of Arab trading practice. However, in the 19th and 20th centuries the institution has a prominent part in the Sharia (Syar'iah) as administered in the European possessions. Each has to be considered separately.

(i) British Burma. The religion of Burma is Buddhism. Islam is the religion of minority Muslim immigrants, and of border peoples incorporated within the boundaries of the state of Burma (e.g. the Arakanese, Rakhinga). The main immigration dates from the 1880s, and the Indian Muslims made up about 1% of the total population or about 20% of the Indian migrant population by World War II. Islamic law was allowed to Muslims for succession, inheritance, marriage and any “religious usage or institution” (Burma Laws Act, 1898. § 13). This included wakf, and the latter was further defined in the Mussalman Wakf Validating Act of 1913, and Act of British India. There were no particularly Burmese features [see Zerbas and section VI. Muslim India, above].

(ii) The Straits Settlements and the Malay State. Ca. 1880-1952 to 1957, legal policy in respect of wakf was uneven in these territories. In the Straits Settlements (then comprising Singapore, Penang and Malacca) a wakf was always defined in terms of the English law on charities. Many wakfs, perfectly good in Shari‘a terms, were refused for breaches of the technical rules on charitable trusts. The only exception in the long and complex preceding was that gifts for the relief of poverty were always allowed. On the other hand, gifts for “religious purposes”, such as the construction of mosques, schools, the provision of books and food for students were often disallowed, and generally restricted. The courts were not applying the Shari‘a at all. There was no legislation except for the Muslim and Hindu Endowments Ordinance (1905) which was solely concerned with administrative matters. In the Malay States, the position was rather more complicated. The main issue was that the dates for the reception of English law were uncertain and always a matter of later legal dispute. In addition, the Malay States were classed as “Federated” and “Unfederated” and this had important consequences for the Shari‘a. Broadly speaking, in the Unfederated States the Shari‘a was rather sheltered from British influence and administration. The main issue, so far as wakf was concerned, was the consistent attempt by Malay sultans to control the use of wakf for private or family benefit. A wakf would only be allowed if it were for a clear religious or public benefit. In addition, however, in both the Federated and Unfederated Malay States were, from about 1900, increasingly required to implement principles of English law, including laws on charitable trusts. The result was a partial assimilation of wakf to the English trust and a large scale importation of Anglo-Indian laws on the subject into the Malay States. Family wakifs were almost unknown from the 1920s onwards, and even the incidence of public wakf was much reduced. The assimilation of the wakf to the English trust had the effect of much reducing the confidence of Muslim donors in the institution.

(iii) Singapore, 1950-present, and Malaysia, 1950-1988. In preparation for independence (Malaysia in 1957, Singapore in 1965), the constituent states all passed legislation promoting the Shari‘a. These are the Administration of Islamic (or Muslim) Law Enactments. While there are variations amongst them, they all provide for the establishments of a “Muslim Fund” (Bait-ul-Mal). The main purpose of which is to administer wakf property through an Islamic religious Council (Majlis Ulama Islam). The following description, which is typical of all the legislation, is taken from the Singapore Act of 1966. The Majlis administers all wakf ‘am, wakf, wakf khas, nazr ‘am and all trusts of any description for the benefit of Muslims “to the extent of any property affected thereby and situated in the state”. The Majlis has the power to appoint a mutawali (manager) to manage any wakf or nazr ‘am and it may remove any existing trustee where there has been mismanagement, or where it would otherwise be to the advantage of the wakf or nazr ‘am.

The Act provides for restrictions on the creation of Muslim charitable trusts. No wakf or nazr may involve more than one-third of the property of the person making the same by will. All wakf khas and nazr must be validated or ratified by the President of the Majlis or, if it was made during a fatal illness, it must be in writing and witnessed by two adult Muslims, of whom one has to be a Kathi or Naib (Assistant) Kathi. In any case, the Act cannot render valid any gift, death-bed gifts, wakf or nazr which are invalid under Muslim law. The income of any wakf or nazr is to be applied in accordance with the provisions of the instrument or declaration which creates the wakf or nazr. Where there is no specific provision for expenditure, the income forms part of the Fund. Subject to an impossibility of performance or changed circumstances, the property and assets effected by a lawful wakf or nazr ‘am does not form part of the fund but is held as a segregated fund and applied in pursuance of the wakf or nazr ‘am. Where there has been a lapse of time or changed circumstances so that the provisions of a wakf or nazr ‘am cannot be carried out, the Majlis may prepare an alternative
scheme, as analogous as possible to that in the original. It may also direct that the property and assets be added to and form part of the Fund. All questions as to validity or as to the meaning and construc-
tion of documents or declarations affecting a Muslim charitable trust are to be decided according to Muslim law. However, where in the opinion of the Majlis, the meaning of any instrument or decla-
ration is obscure, the Majlis may request the Court to construe it and must act in accordance with the con-
struction. In its construction the Court must apply Muslim law.

The Majlis is obliged to comply with stringent requirements in respect of its financial dealings. It must produce an annual report, together with a balance sheet for the Fund, an income and expenditure account, and a list of properties and investments. These documents are all subject to audit by the Director of Audit or a Public Officer authorised by him. In addition, the Majlis must also publish an annual list of all the properties subject to any trust, \textit{wakf} or \textit{nazr} which do not form part of the Fund. This list is also subject to audit. The Majlis must also prepare and submit to the Minister estimates for each ensuing year in respect of all income or property receivable and disposable. These estimates may be approved by the Minister or they may be amended by him.

One point may be emphasised, sc. the reference to “Muslim” (or “Islamic”) law. In Singapore still and in pre-1988 Malaysia, this reference is (a) to Anglo-
MUHAMMADAN precedents from India or the Straits, and (b) to the standard textbooks of the Şafi‘i school. At the lower levels of the Şarti courts, it is the latter which prevails, but in the higher levels and in the secular courts, it is the Anglicised precedent. In addi-
tion, the Şarti courts are also developing their own precedent, so that in the official law reports for both Malaysia and Singapore classical \textit{fikih} now appears in an English form and the doctrine of precedent, unknown as such in Şarti, has come to apply in \textit{wakf} as in other matters.

(iv) Malaysia [q.v.]: 1988-present. In June 1988 the Malaysian Constitution was amended (Art. 121 (1A)) so as to reserve matters of Şarti for the religious courts. The intention was to oust the jurisdiction of the secular courts on any matter of Islam within the jurisdiction of the Şarti courts. This includes \textit{wakf}. At about the same time, most states in Malaysia intro-
duced additional detailed legislation on Islamic family law and also on the administration of Islamic law. The effect of this legislation is to elaborate and re-
force the administration of the classical \textit{wakf}, but at the same time, the statutes have also increasingly intro-
duced English law technical classifications. \textit{Wakf}, for example, is equated with a “charitable trust”, other terms used include “domicile”, “conveyance”, “vest-
ing”, “cypres”, and so on. In addition, the reported cases (jurisprudence) interpreting the legislation refer to the complex Indian or Anglo-Indian precedent. The main features are that the motive must be religious, that the dedication must be permanent and that the usufruct must be utilised for the good of mankind. However, there are also several points of contrast with the English trust as well as similarities. Thus the motive in \textit{wakf} is always religious, but this need not be the case in trust. In \textit{wakf}, the property belongs to God and the dedication is thus perma-
nent. In trusts, on the other hand, the perpetuity rules are crucial. In a trust, a settlor may take an inter-
est, but this is not the case in \textit{wakf} except for \textit{Hana’at}.

On the other hand, both \textit{wakf} and trust laws agree that the subject-matter is any property capable of being owned. Perhaps the major distinction is that the \textit{mutawali} is not appointed to manage and con-
stitute an intermediate vesting as in the case of a trustee. But, on the other hand, the duties laid on the \textit{mut-
avali} do come close to those laid on trustees, particu-
larly in financial matters.

While all the Malaysian legislation refers to the “Islamic law” as to determining the validity of an individual \textit{wakf}, it is difficult to see how this refer-
ce can be sustained given the complex reconfig-
uration of \textit{wakf} as a “charitable trust”. This trend, of course, was present in the Straits Settlements in the 1920s and 1930s, and now seems to have come to fruition.

(v) Indonesia [q.v.]. In the former Netherlands East Indies, Islam was heavily controlled and the Şarti was allowed very little recognition as a law for Muslims. It was not until 1982 that a Muslim Court (\textit{Pusternad}) was established, but with a very limited jurisdiction, which included \textit{wakf}. The 1882 regulation and later amendment in 1937 was purely procedural, providing only for the administration of and accounting for \textit{wakf}, this remains the position today, “The Compilation of Islamic Law” (implemented by Presidential Instruction No. 1/1991), Book iii (§§ 215-228) defines \textit{wakf} as a “legal act . . . which institutionalises assets for religious purposes or other public needs in accordance with the teachings of Islam”. The eighteen sections of Book iii are, after this definition, wholly procedural. Assets must be durable and of value according to the standard Şafi‘i textbooks. Assets must also be free from claim by any other person and the assets are held and administered under the supervision of an officer appointed by the Minister of Religion. The \textit{madhim} (legal person administering) must be an Indonesian national, an adult, “emotionally and spiritually healthy”, and must be registered by the local office of the Ministry of Religion. Reports and accounts of administration must be provided. Alteration of the use of assets may be approved for the public benefit or if the original purpose has become impossible. Detailed data are as yet only slowly becoming available, but the future of \textit{wakf} forms assumed.

(vi) The Philippines [q.v.]. \textit{Wakf} undoubtedly existed in the Muslim South, but equally certainly was heav-
ily overlaid with customary rules. This is certainly the case in the 1977 Muslim Code of the Philippines (Presidential Decree No. 1083) where \textit{wakf} is men-
tioned twice. It is defined in Art. 173 as constituting “communal property” along with customary heirlooms and ancestral property. It is described as “charitable trust property” and must be administered or disposed of in accordance with “Muslim law, \textit{ada} (\textit{adat}) and special provisions of the law”. The administrator is a “trustee” (Art. 174 (2) (3)) who is appointed by the Şarti Circuit Court. The terms of the Code are quite clear; \textit{wakf} is a charitable trust (as in Malaysia) and the \textit{mutawali} is a trustee. Further, room is left for cus-
tomary forms of \textit{wakf}. The second mention of \textit{wakf} in the Code is in Art. 104 which allows for the cre-
ation of a \textit{wakf} (“\textit{wakf}-\textit{bil-aswaq}”) by will but amounting up to one-third of the estate only, unless allowed by the heirs (Art. 106). Detailed data are as yet lacking.

2. From 1980. (a) Malaysia: the primary source is the legislation. A good example is the Administra-
tion of Islamic Law (Federal Territory) Enactment, No. 509/1993, Part vi. For imported Anglo-Indian
VIII. IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Unlike the Middle East and North Africa, in most of sub-Saharan Africa before the 20th century the waqf institution was little used as an instrument for endowing mosques, colleges, and other religious establishments. The reasons for this are not entirely clear, but the lack in most parts of Africa of building stone of sub-Saharan Africa before the 20th century the madrasa [q.v.]

the Nile valley, the institution of the madrasa [q.v.] was itself lacking, even in such considerable centres of learning as Timbuktu, and no ruler saw fit to endow one. Learning was imparted on a purely individual, non-institutional basis.

Only in Zanzibar under the Bā Saʿīdī dynasty (1804-1964 [see B. Saʿīdī]) was land regularly set aside as waqf, and this was not for the construction of religious buildings but to create inalienable areas in the Ngamo, the non-elite quarter of the city. This was typically where ex-slaves were settled, and the plots of land were made into waqf by their elite owners for the benefit of the poor and needy, or in some cases for the benefit of sons or daughters. The institution was bureaucratised by the British in the 20th century, and a Wakf Department was created. Many waqf dedications were invalidated by the British, resulting in the loss of such land and the imposition of land rents and even house rents on the poorest segment of the population, despite protests from waqf dedicators and the poor of Ngamo.

Muslim rulers in West Africa, however, did establish endowments outside the region, notably in the Hidjaz and Egypt. During his pilgrimage of 903/1497 Askiya Al-haḍḍī Muhammad of Songhay [q.v.] purchased gardens in Medina for the use of West African pilgrims. In the late 10th/16th century Maʿīr Idris Alawwār of Bornou purchased a house and a date grove in Medina, and placed slaves in it as an act of piety. Much earlier, in the mid-7th/13th century, a madrasa had been established in Cairo for Kānemī students, and although this is not stated, it is likely that this was a waqf. In 1251/1837-8 a waqf was established by Muhammad Al-ʿAli Pasha to support the rīwāk of Sinnār at the request of a Sudanese ḍāya, and clearly for the benefit of Sudanese students.

There are two domains other than real estate for which there is literary or documentary evidence of the waqf institution in sub-Saharan Africa: slaves and books. In his questions to al-Maghīfī [q.v.], Askiya Al-haḍḍī Muhammad raised the matter of royal slaves who were inherited by succeeding rulers and never sold or given away, and wanted to know if this was lawful. Al-Maghīfī sanctioned the custom, invoking the būḥūs (the North African equivalent of waqf) institution to justify it (J.O. Hunwick, Sharīʿa in Songhay, Oxford 1985, 86, 88). In 19th-century Timbuktu, individuals made slaves into waqfīs for their descendants; documents preserved in the Centre Ahmed Bābā there show, for example, a woman making a slave woman into a waqfī for her male and female children (doc. 3851/ii), and another in which a woman makes a slave woman a waqfī exclusively for her daughter and the daughter’s female descendants (doc. 3851/ix). Again in Timbuktu, in the 18th/16th century Askiya Al-haḍḍī Muhammad made a waqfī of sixty ḍāya [two complete copies] of the Qur’ān for the Great Mosque of Timbuktu (al-Saʿīdī al-Islāmiwaqf, Provisory Instruction No. 1/1993), Book iii. See also Suhardi (Hj Imam), Hukum waqaf di Indonesia, Yogyakarta 1985, which gives examples of registered waqfs.

(M.B. Hooker)

IV. WAKHAN

The length of Wakhan along the Oxus is 67 miles and of the Wakhan Daryā, its southernmost course.

The length of Wakhan along the Oxus is 67 miles and of the Wakhan Daryā (from Langar-kūh to the Wakhi kūh pass) 113 miles. Afghan sources put the distance from Ḫākhāqūn to Sarbadd at 66 kūh (=22 farsakhs).
To the south of Wakhan rises the wall of the Hindu Kush, through which several passes lead to the lands of the upper Indus. The main pass (12,460 feet) of Baroghil leads into Chitral. The northern wall of Wakhan is the Wakhan range, the peaks of which reach a height of 23,000 feet. In the west, Wakhan stretches to the bend of the Oxus, where the river entering the boundaries of Shughnan [q.v.] turns northwards. In the east Wakhan (through the high valley of Wakhdjlr) is adjoined by Chinese possessions and Lake Çakmak Koll.

Wakhan has historically formed part of the mountain barrier separating Central Asia from northern India. By the 1895 Russo-Afghan Agreement (see below), the frontier was defined as running: (a) in the lower part of Wakhan, up the course of the Oxus as far as Langar-kish where the two sources of the Oxus meet: the river Wakhan from the south-east (from the Little Pamir) and the river Pamir from the northeast (from the Great Pamir); (b) from Langar-kish the frontier follows the course of the Pämir river to its source (Lake Zor-kul or Victoria); (c) more to the east again, the frontier runs by a zigzag line towards the south to China (near the Beyik pass). Afghan territory therefore comprises the left bank of the Oxus, all the valley of the Wakhan Darya, the land on the left bank of the Pamir river and a small part of the upper course of the Akgu (Lake Çakmak Koll).

The Afghan part of Wakhan contains seven districts, namely from west to east: Warg, Urgand, Khandud, Ka’al-yi Pandja, Bābā-Tang, Nirs-wa-Shalak and Sarhadd (this last-named village is at the foot of the Baroghil pass at a height of 11,350 feet), as well as the thinly-populated territory of the Little Pamir (watered by the Wakhan Darya).

On the Afghan side, there are in Wakhan 64 villages and on the Russian 27 ones. The indigenous population (Wakhls) belongs to the race of Iranian mountaineers (Qāšārī), very often with blue eyes, a feature which had struck the Chinese as early as the 6th century; there are also Kirghiz Turkish nomads. The Wakhī language is an Eastern Iranian one, with archaic features, spoken by some 10,000 persons (see J.R. Payne, Pāmir languages, in R. Schmitt (ed.), Compendium linguarum iranicarum, Linguistena X 1989, 417-44; IRAN, iii. Languages, in Suppl.).

From the 7th century, Wakhan is continually mentioned in the early Chinese sources under the named of Hu-mi, Po-ho, etc. (cf. Marquart, Enänisch, 243, and Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-kiou occidentaux, index). Huien-Tsang mentions the greenish eyes of the people of Ta-mo-si-t (a form not yet satisfactorily explained) and its capital Hun-tō-tō (= Khandud) with its great Buddhist vihdra. In 747 Wakhan was the capital of Wakhān. At Khūndād (Khandud) are the temples (but khdnd) of the Wakhls, and "to its left" was a fortress occupied by the Tibetans. Samarkandā was regarded as the remotest frontier of the dependencies of Transoxiana; it had Hindu, Tibetan and Wakhī inhabitants (probably the Sarhadd of the present day).

In the struggle for political and strategic positions in Central Asia, which Kipling calls in Kim "the Great Game", Wakhān played a significant role. After the October 1872 Anglo-Russian Agreement tacitly recognised the Amir of Kābūl's territories as extending up to the Oxus, the Russians in February 1873 conceded Afghan control of Badakhshan [q.v.] and Wakhān. But after 1891, Russia attempted to explore and annex the Wakhān area and thereby acquire a common frontier with British India, provoking a vigorous reaction from Britain. Hence the March 1895 Russo-Afghan Agreement conceded all lands north of the Oxus to Russia and all of them south, as far west as Khodja Sulāh, to Afghanistan; 'Abd al-Rāhmān Khān [q.v.] now somewhat reluctantly assumed control of the Wakhān corridor or "panhandle" of Afghanistan, which thus became a buffer against Russian designs on India.

The former British Indian frontier with the Wakhān corridor is now shared by Pakistan in the west and [Azād] Kashmir in the east; its extreme eastern tip is contiguous with the People's Republic of China. (Sinkiang or Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region; the boundary was not actually delimited by surveyors on the ground until 1964). When, after the Second World War, the Communists took over in Sinkiang, Kirghiz who lived on the Chinese side of the Russo-Turkish border fled for refuge in the eastern part of Wakhān and settled around Buzā Gumbad under their leader Rāhmān Gul; in the 1960s, they finally emigrated to Turkey. In contemporary Afghanistan, the corridor comes within the wūdīyat or province of Badakhshan. The parts of Wakhān north of the corridor formerly came within the Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast of the Soviet Tajikistan SSR, and are now in the independent Tajikistan Republic.

"Oghus came from Wakhsh, the tributary thus giving its name to the great river (see Markwart, *Wehrot und Arang*, 3 ff., 89; Barthold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol invasion*). Wakhsh was known for a somewhat excessive generosity, and this habit, as well as a failed transaction on horse-rearing was important; at that time (4th/10th century), the part of Wakhsh along the left bank of the river came within the province of Khutur (An) Surkhab), at present coming within the independent Turks, the Karluk being mentioned by Ibn Rusta, 92.

In early mediaeval times, the Wakhsh district must have had a population which included remnants of the Hephthalites, such as the Kumidjis [q.v.] and also Turks, the Karluk being mentioned by Ibn Rusta, 92. The geographers describe it as a prosperous region where horse-rearing was important; at that time (4th/10th century), the part of Wakhsh along the left bank of the river came within the province of Khutur (An) Surkhab), at present coming within the independent Turks, the Karluk being mentioned by Ibn Rusta, 92.

WAKT, MUHAMMAD b. Khalaf b. Hayyan Sadaka al-Dbbi (d. 24 Rabl I 306/4 September 918), his aim in the work is to provide "information about [kaddis] and their rulings; the way in which they were appointed; their genealogies and tribes; their methodology. The work was considered first regrettably—according to the ansari—then chronologically. His interest in the aim is to provide "information about [kaddis] and their rulings; the way in which they were appointed; their genealogies and tribes; their methodology. Those who transmitted reports from them and samples of those reports" (i, 5). Wakt’s extensive introductory section has reports from the Prophet concerning the generation of the scholars who transmitted from him, 125-6. His other works, [q.v.](ii, 25 Hiddya, Hanbal, i, 308, and Ibn Hadjar, Tadhkii, xi, 122-31; Ibn Hibban, Maghdhir, 173; Ibn al-Nadfm, Fihrist, 226; al-Khaft al-Baghdadi, xiii, 466-81; Kurashi, Qawadar, Haydarabadi 1332, ii, 208. 2. Studies. Kahhala, Mu'allifm, xiii, 166; Zirikli, A'tam, ix, 135; Sezgin, GAS, i, 96-7; R.G. Khoury, ‘Abd Allah Ibn Lahfa, juge et grand maître de l'école egyptienne, Wiesbaden 1956, 144-5. (R.G. KHOURY) al-WAKT [see al-KUR'AN].

WAKT B. AL-DJARRAH B. MALIK AL-RU'ASII, Abu Abd Allah b. Abd al-Kader, Tkrima b. Abd al-Majid [q.v.], famous 'Iraki traditionist, b. Kufa 129/747-8, d. 120/739, is said to have been the granddaughter of a Persian, and often-quoted authority on early Islamic history (sira, maghdzi, ridda, futuh), b. 130/747-8, d. 12 Dhul 1-Hijdaja 207/28 April 822. He is of paramount importance for early Arabic historiography on account of the quantity and quality of the information which he passed on in the literature, and for the nature of his methodology. The outlines of his biography are given by his pupil and secretary Ibn Sa'd (vi/2, 77 and v, 314-321). Al-Wakid was a client of the Sahm, a sub-tribe (batn) of Aslam. ‘Abd Allah b. Buayda al-Aslaml, kadi of Marw (d. 115/733), is mentioned as patron of a man who was probably Al-Wakid’s grandfather. His mother is said to have been the granddaughter of a Persian who was a merchant, and a singer at Medina (Aghnān), viii, 322). In 180/796-7 he settled at Baghdàd, were he was appointed at some later date kaddi of ‘Askar al-Mahdi, i.e. the Rusafa, at the eastern side of the city. According to Ibn Sa’d, the caliph Al-Ma’mun appointed him to this office when he came from Khurasan. Since Al-Ma’mun returned to Baghdàd only in 204/819, Al-Wakid’s appointment would have been three years before his death. Ibn al-Nadfm (Fihrist, ed. Tadjaddud, 111) and, depending on him, Yākūt (Irshād, vii, 56) mention that Hārūn al-Rashīd had already appointed him to the judgeship. The appointment by Al-Ma’mun may therefore have been a re-appointment after an interruption for a certain period of time. However, Al-Wakid (Aghbrā al-kaddī, iii, 270-1) mentions Al-Wakid as being only in Al-Ma’mun’s service.

Al-Wakid was known for a somewhat excessive generosity, and this habit, as well as a failed transaction
in the grain trade (see al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, iii, 4), seems to have had a lasting impact on his life, since he was henceforth encumbered by debts. He even left debts which he never paid, and these were settled by al-
Maʿmūn, who acted as his executor. A richly colourful and lively account allegedly told by al-Wākīḍī himself (Ibn Saʿd, v, 314-19) tells how he came to enjoy the patronage of Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī, to whom he owed the particular favour of the caliph Hārūn al-Rāshīd and, subsequently, of his son ʿAbd Allāh al-Maʿmūn. When Hārūn came, together with Yahyā b. Khālid, to Medina on one of his pilgrimages, al-Wākīḍī served them as a guide. Subsequently, he left for Baghdad, and thence to al-Rakkah, the residence of Hārūn at that time (and until 192/808). Here he succeeded after much difficulty in coming into contact with Yahyā, who honoured him and interceded with the caliph for him, showing al-Wākīḍī special attention and generous support.

In consequence of this patronage, we may conclude, al-Wākīḍī’s work at Baghdad exceeded that of an average muhaddith in respect to the range of facilities to which he had access. Ibn Saʿd points out his expertise of early Islamic history, his acquaintance with contradicting doctrines concerning hadith and fiqh (ahkām) and knowledge of opinions which were generally approved; “and he explained all this in books which he excerpted (istakhraja), composed (nadara) and transmitted formally (kadhaṣṣa bihā),” Both of these traits, the attempt to evaluate the information he received, and the extensive use and production of books, are characteristic of his work. The huge amount of written materials (“books”) which were in his possession was impressive. He is said to have left six hundred bookcases, each one weighing as much as two men (Fārist, 111, line 6; Taʾrīkhat Bagdādī, iii, 6). The importance and quantity of this material was renowned, and Ibn al-Nadīm mentions that he had two slave boys writing for him day and night. Equally famous were the number and variety of his own writings. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Ḥanbal, although he did not quote al-Wākīḍī because of his critical stance concerning al-Wākīḍī’s reliability, attached great importance to his books, read them and used to take notes from them (Taʾrīkhat Bagdādī, iii, 15).

Among the experts on hadith of the 3rd/9th century, censure of al-Wākīḍī’s untrustworthiness prevailed, unjustifiably in the view of al-Dhahabī (Siyyar al-ālām al-nubalāʾ, ix, 469). The most substantial—and influential—rebuke was advanced by Yahyā b. Maʿīn (d. 233/847), who discovered the use of false ascription in his material (Ibn Abī Ḥātim al-Rāzī, al-Dhāḥiq wa l-tadāḥiq, iv/1, 21). He was also blamed, mostly by ʿAbd al-Salām b. Ḥanbal, for applying the technique of combining several traditions into one tradition, which he introduced by a collective inna, instead of presenting each tradition separately together with its proper inna, although this usage was already established by older authorities. Nevertheless, the hadith experts denied al-Wākīḍī’s authority in this field, and although examples for the precision and extent of his memory are given, scepticism prevailed. This attitude is, however, characteristic only of the circle of muhaddithīn of the 3rd/9th century, whereas later, due to the indispensability of al-Wākīḍī as a historian, a general condemnation was no longer tolerated. Ibn Sayyid al-Nāṣr, for instance, saw the distrust as caused by the fact that al-Wākīḍī handled a huge amount of traditions, which would naturally encompass some strange materials (ʿUyun al-arbaʿa, Cairo 1406/1986, i, 29). The leaning towards a moderate Shīʿī viewpoint ascribed to al-Wākīḍī by Ibn al-Nadīm is not corroborated in his writings, although it is noticeable that he has quite a number of traditions that report that the Prophet lay on ‘Ali’s lap when he was dying (ed. M. Ḥamdallāh, Paris 1989, and Yahyā al-Dājbūtī, Beirut 1990), and in many quotations throughout historical literature. The manuscript which serves as basis for the edition of the Maghazi is a copy of a recension made by Muhammad b. al-Nadhīf Ibn Hayyawayh (d. 382/992), as Brockelmann already noted (S I, 207). In this text, al-Wākīḍī is repeatedly quoted (kāla), and in some instances (e.g. 74/690) Ibn Hayyawayh refers to “ʿAbd al-Wahhāb b. Abī Hayya, the librarian (warrāk) of al-Dājbūtī (d. 319/931; Taʾrīkh al-Maghāzī, xi, 28-9), from whom he had received authorisation for the transmission of this text. The Maghazi represents some of the particularities of al-Wākīḍī’s work as an historian. As already observed by Caetani, al-Wākīḍī’s accounts reflect, in comparison with others, coherent, straightforward and historically reasonable reports (Annālī, ii, 1545, vi (Indices), 198-9). More than any other authority in this field before him, he attempted to establish the chronology of the military campaigns (cf. Ella Landau-Tasseron, Processes of redaction: the case of the Tamīmī delegation to the Prophet Muhammad, in BSOAS, xix [1966], 253-70, at 269). In pursuit of this goal, he sometimes became entangled in contradictions (Marsden Jones, Intro. (Arabic) to the Maghazi, 32-3). After presenting the details of an event, he generally adds short remarks explaining his preference of a certain version which he has chosen from different accounts, such as “and this is the most certain” etc. (ibid., 34). His technique of personal inquiry is also referred to in various accounts. He states that he used to ask the descendants of the participants at the military campaigns of the time of the Prophet for their knowledge of events and places. It is also said that he used to go out to the locations themselves in order to gain a personal impression of the topography (Taʾrīkhat Bagdādī, iii, 6). It may be in this context that we have to understand al-Wākīḍī’s remark that he retained more in his memory than in his books, possibly referring here not only to the power of his memory but also hinting at the information he had brought to light through personal inquiry and inspection.

Another typical trait of his work is the use of combined reports. It has been argued that al-Wākīḍī presents new texts in so far as they did not exist in this form in any earlier source, but that they actually follow earlier sources which can be reconstructed (M. Lecker, Wākīḍī’s account of the status of the Jews in Mecca, in JNES, liv [1995], 27-8). On the other hand, the fusion of various accounts into one may have a direct impact on the contents of reports in that it results in combining different events into one (cf. Landau-Tasseron, op. cit., 262-3). This may even be discovered when al-Wākīḍī does not indicate a combined report (G. Schoeler, Charakter und Authentizität der muslimischen Überlieferung über das Leben Mahommed’s, Berlin-New York 1996, 137-40). Al-Wākīḍī also presents materials that betray their origin from Ibn Isḥāq, whom he does not quote. Against the allegation that he plagiarises Ibn Isḥāq it has been argued that both authors drew on a common corpus of material (Marsden Jones, Maghāzī literature, in Camb. hist. of Ar. lit. To the end of the Umayyad period, 349; against this view, Schoeler, op. cit., 141). Evidence gained from
the comparison of historical texts shows that al-Wakidi had a variety of sources at his disposal (see Lecker, The death of the Prophet Muhammad’s father: did Wakidi use a different text? in ZDMG, cxiv [1990], 9-27).

As Ibn al-Nadîm explains, Ibn Sa’d composed his books from al-Wakidi’s orderly arranged collections (tasnîfû), and we may suppose that for his Tabakât, Ibn Sa’d mainly used materials from a work of al-Wakidi carrying this same title. A K. al-Wakidi seems to have been used by Khalîfah b. Khayyat (Tabakât, ed. al-Umari, Introd., 282), and Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr refers to it as his source. Al-Wakidi’s K. al-Rudda is quoted by Ibn Hadjâr al-Ashkalânî in his Isbâha, but the K. al-Rudda, which is extant (see above), does not contain al-Wakidi’s material only but also quotes Ibn Ishaq. To the traces of his works noted by Jones and Sezgin, one may add the quotations from al-Wakidi’s al-Futakî, al-Kâmî, and al-Muhâydi in Ibn Hadjâr’s Isbâha. A Ta’rikh al-Wakidi, the contents of which are hard to establish with certainty, may also have been in the hands of Ibn Abî l-Hadîd, who quotes al-Wakidi’s several times (kâla, ðahâra, râceâ) on various matters and once mentions his Ta’rikh (xxvi, 279); his son Muhammad transmitted this work from his father, according to al-Sâmînî (Anisb, Beirut 1988, v, 567).


Bibliography: In addition to the literature given in the article, see A.A. Duri, The rise of historical writing among the Arabs, Princeton 1983, 37-40.

(S. LEDER)

AL-WÅKIDA or AL-WÅKIFIYYA, a Shî‘î sect (fikra) whose adherents maintained that the Seventh Imam Mûsâ al-Kâzîm (d. 183/799 [g.e.]) had not died but that God had carried him out of sight (râfûdha îlahiy), and awaited his return as the Mahdî [g.e.]. By their Twelver Shi‘î (Imâmî) opponents they were called al-wâkîfîyya (the ones who stand still) or those who stop, put an end to [the line of Imams], because they let the succession of imams end with him and contested the transfer of the imamate to his son ‘Ali al-Ridâ [g.e.].

The sect is mentioned by Twelver Shi‘î as well as Sunni heresiographers (al-Nawabî, Fârisk al-Sifra, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 68 = Sa’d b. ‘Abd Allah al-Kurramî, al-Kâshfû, ed. ‘Ismâ‘îl b. M.D. Mâshûqû, Tehran 1963, 90; pseudo-Nâšîh al-Abkâr, ed. J. van Ess, Beirut 1971, 47; al-Ashârî, Makâliyya, ed. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1963, 28; al-Shahrastânî, ed. Cureton, 127); the Imâmî authors of fikrûl books (al-Kâmî, al-Tûsî, al-Nâdirî) identify many men as Wâkîfîs in order to disqualify them as transmitters of traditions. Several Wâkîfîs, mainly Kûfîs, defended the occupation (ghâriba [g.e.]) of the Seventh Imam in special treatises of which only the titles are still extant (listed by Klemm, in WI, xv, 126-7); the youngest of these authors, al-Hasan b. Muhammad b. Samâ‘î al-Kûfî, died in 263/876-7. Towards the end of the 3rd/9th century the sect seems to have merged with the Twelver Shi‘î or to have fallen into desuetude.

AL-WAKIL [see wakala.]

AL-WÅKKASHI, ABU L-WÅLID HÅSHM b. ÅHMAD b. Håshim al-Makkahî al-Wåkkashî al-Tulaytulî (408/891-917), Andalusian scholar in both the traditional and speculative sciences from Wakkash, modern Huelva in the province of Toledo.

He was a pupil of al-Tâlamânkî [g.e.]. Nominated judge in Talavera by the Dhu ’l-Nânid rulers of Toledo, he later settled in Denia where he died. Abu 1-Sâlt Ummayya [g.e.], a pupil of Wâkkashî was praised for his vast knowledge extending to many fields: handasa, mathematics, logic, fikrû, wâlî, nîkhâr, grammar, lexicon, poetry, history (especially âyyâm and anâsîl al-‘arab). He wrote on al-kadâr wa l-Kûrân and tanbihût wa-rudud ‘alâ kibhûl al-‘asrânî fî al-ta’rikhû wa ’l-adabiyya, which is extant (see above), and Ibn al-Hadîdî, ed. al-Ridda, which is extant (see above).

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of them help to identify the place with certainty and there is no suitable equivalent toponym. European scholars have equated Wākwāk with nearly every island and peninsula in the Indian Ocean, and some with places in the Pacific. The general impression is that Wākwāk is a coastal country (and, hilād) or island (dzātra) on the shores of one of these oceans.

Ferrand's summary of the material in the 1st edition of the Encyclopedia of Islam was extremely full but Ferrand took his texts too literally. Reducing Wākwāk to a definite two locales, and equating these with Madagascar and Sumatra, is perhaps going a little too far. After all, both places were accurately provided with names by most geographers and both were well known to the Arabs. Moreover, they were certainly aware of the distinctions between the Zandj and their neighbours and would consequently not have mistaken the Zandj for Malagasy or Bushmen populations (Ferrand in El., IV, 1108).

Nevertheless, the texts do require careful examination, with note taken of their chronology. Thus al-Masʿūdī deserves particular credence for both his early date and also his being the only one of the Arab geographers actually to have visited Zanzibar and to have been well informed about the East African coastlands; and other early sources, as well as al-Masʿūdī, such as Ibn al-Fakih and Buzurg b. ʿShabriyar (see below) do refer to an African Wākwāk (however it is spelt).

The island of Wākwāk has been given many identifications by European scholars over the past two centuries. Habicht, in his edition of the Thousand and one nights in 1825 (i, 299), decided on Japan. Langlès (Voyage de Sindbad, 147) thought it was the islands of Southeast Asia. Reinard (Introduction à La Géographie d'Aboul-Feda, 1840, pp. ccv, ccccxv) favoured Africa, i.e. Madagascar. De Slane, in his translation of the Prolegomena of Ibn Khaldūn (i, 95 n. 3), believed it to be the Seychelles, but Rosenthal in the notes to his translation (i, 99 n. 29) thought that the context pointed rather to Madagascar or the East African coastlands; Ibn Khaldūn himself probably had as little idea of its position as any of the European scholars.

The appearance of Buzurg b. ʿShabriyar's ʿAgāʾib al-Hind in 1083 almost doubled the amount of information available to help scholars better identify Wākwāk. Devic himself (Buzurg, tr. 169) said that Wākwāk most probably belonged to the neighbourhood of the Malay Archipelago but that it was too vaguely defined to be able to identify precisely. Lane (Arabian Nights, 1247 n. 32) held similar views, and suggested that Wākwāk was "All the islands which they (sc. the Arab geographers) were acquainted with on the East and South-East of Bornéo". De Goede reverted to the Japanese theory on the basis of Ibn Khūrīnādīkhīn's text, stating that the connection with Africa was only the fault of Ptolemy, while Ferrand attempted (Madagascar et les îles Uāk Uāq, in JA [1904], 489-509) to prove that it was Madagascar and that the Far Eastern one was due to Ptolemy. Later (Les îles Rōmmy, Lamery, Wākwāk, Komor des géographes arabes et Madagascar, in JA [1907], 450-506) he discovered that the peninsula must be the Far East, probably Sumatra, and finally (Le Wākwāk, est-il le Japon?, in JA [1932], 193-245) he proved that there were definitely two Wākwāks, sc. Madagascar and Sumatra. Thus Ferrand intimated that the Wākwāks are the two areas of Malay culture on each side of the Indian Ocean and that the attack on Kanbalū, described by Buzurg (ʿAgāʾib al-Hind, ed. al-Ṣḥūrīnī, 142-3; Captain Buzurg, tr. Freeman-Grenville, 103; Tibbetts, Arabic texts on South-East Asia, 171 n. 14), was a description of a Sumatran expedition to the African coast.

Ferrand's views were validated in J. Fauble and M. Urbain-Faublée, Madagascar ou par les couteaux arabes avant le XIe siècle, in Studia, xi (1963), 445-62. Viré (see below) has argued for an Indian Ocean-wide identification (as has Miquel, Géographie humorale, ii, 511-13). More recently, Allibert has argued for an approach that incorporates information from imaginative literature (see below), and Toorawa (see Bibl.) for one that brings the Mascarene islands into Wākwāk's fabular geography. In actual fact, all the theories seem to be right, although the less definite they make their identifications, the better. The theories of Devic and Lane, who make Wākwāk some ill-defined place in Southeast Asia, and those of Viré and Allibert, who find evidence for Wākwāk in several places on the Indian Ocean littoral simultaneously, appear to be the most defensible.

(b) The waters around the Wākwāk islands

The usual names given to the waters around Wākwāk were Bahīr al-Hīnd and al-Bahīr al-Hindī (see the "Indian Sea", Bahīr al-Zandj (see the less common Bahīr al-Haḥāšī, the "Sea of the Blacks", and Bahīr Faṭrī (see the "Persian Sea"). The uncertainty about this sea's name is underscored by the very name of the waters further south into which the Bahīr al-Hind appears to melt: the Bahīr al-Zalma (or Zulāmāt) (see al-Bahr al-Munīf), the "Sea of Obscurity". Al-Idrīṣī writes that "In it are a number of islands, some of which are visited by merchants, others of which are not by virtue of the difficulty of access, the [terrifying] power of the [ir] waters [for navigation], the unpredictability of the winds, and the savagery of their peoples who maintain no contact with any of their known neighbouring populations" (Opus geographicum, ed. Cerrulli et al., i, 87). Mariners driven off course were said to be tossed forever in this sea, said to join al-Bahr al-Zūbī, the "Black Sea" or "Sea of Pitch" in Northern Asia, reminiscent of the "Gravelly Sea" described by Mandeville in his Travels (The tales of Sir John Mandeville, tr. Moseley, Harmondsworth 1983, 169). Indeed, one scholar has corresponded certain of Mandeville's descriptions with those of al-Idrīṣī (C. Delux, Le livre de Jehan de Mandeville. Une géographie du XIVe siècle, Louvain-la-Neuve 1988, 75-86).

(c) Two Wākwāks?

The first author to speak of two Wākwāks is Ibn al-Fakih (A.D. 902), referring to "Wākwāk al-Sīn", "the Wākwāk of China", and "Wākwāk al-Yaman", the Wākwāk of Yemen" (Ibn al-Fakih, at 55, page references here and elsewhere to G. Ferrand, Relation de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du VIIIe au XVIIIe siècles, 2 vols. with continuous pagination, Paris 1913-14, with actual translation of the text in question given in the book, repr. Frankfirt 1986). Little interpretative attention has been paid to Yemen as a possible location as other sources speak either of great sailing distances or of its being "south of Ḳurāk". Ferrand equated this Wākwāk of the South with al-Masʿūdī's Wākwāk near Solīla, which he claims as Madagascar (see El., IV, 1103); but there is no clue that Ibn al-Fakih's Wākwāk was in Africa. Judging from the number of texts placing Wākwāk in Southeast Asia (see Ferrand, Le Wākwāk, est-il le Japon?), there is no reason why this should not be the location of Wākwāk. It is possible that Ibn al-Fakih, confused by the conflicting statements that he had before him, came to the conclusion (as did Ferrand) that the only solution was that there was more than one Wākwāk. Until the time
when the Ptolemaic theory of the eastern extension of Africa came to confuse the topographical picture of South Africa and Southeast Asia, Ibn al-Fakhr is the only author who produces more than one Wākwāk. (R. Eubbe and Shawkat M. Toorawa)

(d) The African Wākwāk?

Mediaeval geographers and travellers mention Wākwāk in connection with East Africa in a confusing number of ways. Thus these sources state that the isles of Wākwāk are situated in the Larwi sea which washes the western coast of India and the isles of Wakwak of the south are situated in the extremity of the sea of the Zandj (M. al-Mas‘ūdī, at 184). The Wakwak of the south is different from that of China which washes the western coast of India and the isles of Wakwak are situated in the Larwi sea in number of ways. Thus these sources state that the isles of Sohāla and of Wākwāk are situated in the extremity of the sea of the Zandj (M. al-Mas‘ūdī, at 108). The land of Wākwāk is contiguous to that of Sohāla; there are two towns in it, D. d. w. (Dārū? Waru? [see Daunicht, 190-1]) and B.n. h. n.a (Nabhana), miserable and sparsely populated (M. al-Idrīsī, at 183). The town of D. g. d. gha (Daghdagha?), inhabited by a hideous and deformed dark-skinned population, is next to the land and island of Wākwāk (ibid., at 184). Wākwāk is situated in the land of the Zandj (Ibn al-Wardī, at 425), to the east (= south) of Sohāla on the same southern (= western) shore of the Indian Ocean which extends out of the Encompassing Sea (Ibn Khaldūn, at 460). The lands of Wākwāk are near the last islands of Ḍībāḏūt al-Dūm (= the Laccadives and Maldives [q.e.d.]) (Buzurg b. Shahrīyār, 586). The Wākwāk of the land of the Zandj is vast, fertile and prosperous (Ibn al-Wardī, at 425). The gold of Wākwāk of the south is of inferior quality compared with that of the Wākwāk of China (Ibn al-Fakhrī, at 55). There is much gold in the Wākwāk of the land of the Zandj (M. al-Mas‘ūdī, at 108); Ibn al-Wardī, at 425). The natives of the Wākwāk of the land of the Zandj have no ships, but the merchants of ‘Umān come to trade with them and get slaves in exchange for dates (Ibn al-Wardī, at 425; cf. also M. al-Idrīsī, at 183). They know neither cold nor rain (Ibn al-Wardī, at 425). Of all these authorities, only M. al-Mas‘ūdī actually visited the East African coastlands, as was noted above, section 1(a). What he writes stands out from other confused items of information (his account of the Zandj gives many examples of his accuracy, including Bantu words which are recognisable as such); he realised that Sohāla and the Wākwāk were below, i.e. south of, the Zandj country, in a region where one today finds speakers of click languages.

However, as Tolmacheva (The African Wākwāk: Some questions regarding the evidence, in Fontes historiae africanae, xi-xiii [1967-7], 9-15) has asserted, in spite of the great number of Arabic texts (and the often derivative Persian and Turkish ones) that speak of Wākwāk, very few speak of an African connection. In her important re-interpretation of M. al-Mas‘ūdī’s account (M. al-Mas‘ūdī, § 847), Tolmacheva sees no direct evidence for an (African) Wākwāk connected to Sohāla and the Zandj. She believes that although M. al-Mas‘ūdī’s words seem to place the Zandj capital in Wākwāk, the only explicit statement concerning Wākwāk in this passage is that it is located in the farthest reaches of the sea, possibly but not unambiguously the Sea of the Zandj. For Tolmacheva, the presumption of a link between Wākwāk and the Zandj accounts for al-Idrīsī’s erroneous link, and for all subsequent mediaeval and modern placement of Wākwāk in Africa.

This is corroborated by the fact that M. al-Mas‘ūdī travelled to both the East and to East Africa, and yet never mentions two Wākwāks, nor a “southern” one. He also at no point characterises Wākwāk or its inhabitants. Against her arguments, however, is the undeniable fact that M. al-Mas‘ūdī does mention an East African Wākwāk.

With regard to the references to the and al-Wākwāk in Arabic literature, Tolmacheva has source-critically divided these into three groups: (1) M. al-Mas‘ūdī (M. al-Mas‘ūdī, i, 233, iii, 6-7 = §§ 246, 847-8, see also Pellat’s indices, vii, 750); (2) M. al-Idrīsī, whose accounts are partly derivative from, but give greater precision to, M. al-Mas‘ūdī’s accounts, and who has the “true generator” of a specifically African Wākwāk—yet who, it must be admitted, entirely dependent on informants, unlike M. al-Mas‘ūdī (on M. al-Idrīsī, see now the translation by Vire); and (3) the weakest group, comprising the last, often redundant compilations of Ibn al-Wardī, al-Himyarī, Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maghīrī (in spite of the originality of some of his material), and even Ibn Khaldūn’s passing remarks, all of which are derivative from al-Idrīsī’s accounts.

According to M. al-Idrīsī, Wākwāk is the fourth and southernmost of the divisions of the eastern African coast. Like the name of his first division Bilād al-Barbārā or Baribara (perpetuated in the northern Somali town of Berbera [q.e.d.]), the word Wākwāk might be the onomatopoetic rendering of the name for click-speakers. Of the towns mentioned by M. al-Idrīsī, B.n. h. n.a could be the modern Inhambane in southern Mozambique, the present Portuguese spelling of which would be better represented in speech by Nyambana, or the Moluccan Ambonina. If it is true that identifications of Wākwāk with East African coastal toponyms, or indeed any toponyms, rely on linguistic and ethnonymic arguments rather than on textual ones and must always be treated with prudence, such linguistic and ethnonymic arguments cannot be disregarded.

(e) The Wākwāk attack on Kanbalu

A question to be resolved is the attack by Wākwāk ships on Kanbalu in A.D. 945 mentioned in the sources. Buzurg b. Shahrīyār’s description of the attack by a fleet of 1,000 ships may be regarded as literary hyperbole. It was quite possibly made from Sumatra or Java, but this does not preclude of course, that Sumatra was Wākwāk. To the inhabitants of Kanbalu the attackers came from an unknown island in the east beyond the range of their knowledge. Recent archaeological excavations now also support the argument that Kanbalu was Mekumbuu on the island of Pembaa, where, significantly, a 10th-century mosque has now been located. It would have held some 600 worshippers, suggesting that in its heyday it was by far the largest and most important trading centre yet discovered in eastern Africa. Ferrand was right in dismissing de Goeje’s suggestions that these ships were Japanese, but his proposal that they were Sumatran, based on philological arguments, is rivalled by Madagascar, where the language, Malagasy, is related to Indonesian ones, and where outrigger canoes, ngalawa, were used in numbers (and still are; but they are too small to have carried sufficient food and water for a voyage across the Indian Ocean). Very recently, Fātimid coins, as yet unpublished, have been recovered in Diego Suarez bay at the northern tip of Madagascar [see further Madagascar].

It thus seems that, on the whole, Wākwāk referred to a country just beyond one’s reach in the general direction of the east. Thus it appears as a well-populated land east of China, about which one heard
stories but which was never really reached in any numbers. Similarly, it is applied in Southeast Asia to some island a little off the usual path of Arab traders. Thus stories of islands lies off the route, as well as a few legendary tales, became attached to Wāk wāk. As new ground was explored, Wāk wāk retreated eastwards, always to be the last island in the east until Sīdī Celebi in the 10th/16th century was able to place it anywhere but south of the islands of Timor. Dauntich (Der Osten nach der Erdkarte al-Huwarizmis, Bonn 1970, ii, 172-274) has made a fascinating case for identification with the Moluccas, Jiran Joya, and northwestern Australia (where three Islamic coins from Kilwa have been found, in company with tamarisk trees, not native to Australia).

(G. Ferrand—[G.S.P. Freeman-Grenville and Shawkat M. Toorawa])

(f) Wāk wāk and the Far East

One group of stories relating to Wāk wāk is based on a passage from Ibn Khurraḍāḍbih (69-71) where he places Wāk wāk east of China and says it is a country producing much gold, mentioning golden dog chains (? leads) and monkey collars. This is one of the standard stories passed down from author to author. The ingenuity of the natives and the fact that it was a prosperous country east of China caused de Goeje to identify it with Japan (Le Japon connu des arabes, 295). De Goeje's identification was based partly on the description given by Ibn Khurraḍāḍbih and partly on his identification of the word Wāk wāk with an early Chinese name for Japan, Wo-kuo, in Cantonese Wu-ko, of which Wāk wāk is an acceptable rendering. The description of the people of Wāk wāk, given in one passage of Buzurg's 'Agā'ib al-Hind (ed. Shahrizād, 135), where the great size of the towns and islands is mentioned, is even more reminiscent of Japan. Although Ibn Khurraḍāḍbih's story is the only original one mentioning the prosperous country, there are several texts which state that Wāk wāk is east of China. Some are merely quoting from Ibn Khurraḍāḍbih but others add a little.

In his 4th/10th-century encyclopaedia, the Majūṣīth al-ilm, al-Khwārizmī (ed. Van Vloten, 217), writes that Kandiz is the most easterly town in the world and that Wakwak beyond it. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (d. 257/871) describes the world as a bird, with China as its head and Wāk wāk beyond it. Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam (d. 257/871) describes the world as a bird in Futūḥ Misr wa-l-Maghrib, ed. C.C. Torrey, New Haven 1922, stating that the right wing is 'Irāk, beyond which is a people called Wāk, and beyond whom another called Wāk Wāk, and beyond them people known only to God (19), disassociating Wāk wāk from China. The story of the world as a bird is a very common one in Arabic literature and very early appears as a story from 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amr b. al-ʻĂṣ in Ibn al-Fakhīr and Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam. It is obvious that, at this very early stage, Wāk wāk was regarded as a land not simply in the extreme east but at the edge of the known.

(g) Southeast Asia

Another group of stories mentions a primitive people with whom the Arab sailors trade. Stories of this kind give locations for Wāk wāk in Southeast Asia, mentioning it in connection with Zābādān, Kumūr or Šanf. Such stories come mainly from Buzurg b. Shahrizād's 'Agā'ib al-Hind and from other writers who copied this work. They have the appearance of sailors' tales. The ship in the first story (Buzurg, 8) comes across al-Wāk wāk on the way to Zābādān or in the direction of Zābādān. In a similar tale found later in the same work (190), it is between Sibiuza and China.

In yet another case it is beyond the end of Dībādāt al-Dum (the Maldives) (Buzurg, 163). The Majūṣīth al-ʻĀdītibib of Ibn Waṣīf Šāhī (38) also prefers to put Wāk wāk in Southeast Asia in one place it makes the home of a Māhārājā and in another in the Sea of Sanf (Campa) (39). In the latter account, it has been mixed up with a story about a volcano which, according to other authors, is definitely about Southeast Asia. Al-Bīrūnī, from whom one would expect a clear account, says Wāk wāk belongs to Cambodia (Kumūr), and mixes earlier accounts of Wāk wāk and Kumūr so that, in spite of its unri-valed knowledge of India, it is certain that he had no clear idea himself of the location of Wāk wāk. These stories about primitive peoples could equally well refer to the coast of Africa where such peoples could be found.

(h) The Indian Ocean littoral

Viré, who believed the word Wāk wāk to be onomatopoetic, and who relied in part on Ibn al-Fakhīr (tr. Massé, 9) and his identification of three (pace Viré), not just two Wāk wāk, posits that Wāk wāk definitively refers in all instances to small-statured, dark-skinned populations that inhabit three distinct areas on the Indian Ocean littoral: the Akkas and Negritos in Africa, the Negritos in Malaya in Southeast Asia, and the Lapons, Samoyeds and Manchus in the Arctic and sub-Arctic regions of northern Asia (Viré, 35 n. 1). More recently, Allibert (Wāk wāk: végétal, minéral ou humain? Reconsideration du problème, in Etudes Ocean Indien, xii (1991), 171-89), whose research has focused on the Wāk wāk tree and its human-fruit (see below), has persuasively argued for a Southeast Asian location of both the tree and island(s).

Allibert, taking his lead from the observations of Miquel and Bremond (Mille et un comptes de la nuit, Paris 1901), has attempted to demonstrate that islands of women in geographical and imaginative literature and the islands of Wāk wāk are one and the same thing (l'Île des femmes dans les récits arabes, in Etudes Ocean Indien, xv, 261-7). This is consonant with Allibert's call for an integrated and coherent approach to the Wāk wāk issue. He shows, to his mind unequivocally, that the fruit of the Wāk wāk tree is the Southeast Asian coconut and that Wāk wāk is thus the vehicle of an ancient mythology inscribed in the story of the human-fruit and woman-island. The evidence for his argument is, like Ferrand before him, primarily linguistic, but has virtue. He reflects at length on the rāngi of al-Mas'ūdī, which he ties to various accounts in the geographies about palms and coconuts. He goes on to explain the mythological dimension by making the equation, "botanical reality + animal or human and/or geographical reality = mythical term", which for him translates into: "coconut palm + Austronesian population = Wāk wāk fruit".

2. Living organisms bearing the name of Wāk wāk

One early story usually connected with Wāk wāk mentions a tree named Wāk wāk with fruit having a human appearance (a coconut, divested of its coil, has "eyes"), and another early story a strange race who utter the cry "Wāk, Wāk".

(a) The "race"

In an early story which appears in its full form in Ibn Waṣīf Šāhī (26), a kind of animal is mentioned which from the description appears to be a baboon. The name waṣūlaq or waṭeṣaṣaṣ is given to a species of gibbon in Malay, for it is an onomatopoetic for its cry, just as it could be for the bark of a baboon. In his EP art., Ferrand showed that waṣūlaq or waṭeṣaṣ
is a name given by the Bantus to baboons and to Bushmen.

(b) The tree

The tree with the human-fruit first appears in Arabic in the K. al-Bad wa-ta'ārīk of al-Mujahhar al-Makdisī [q.v.] (89) at the end of the 4th/10th century. Here we have a short note saying that the tree was called Wākwāk and grew in India. A fuller account of this tree is given in Buzurg (65-6) (quoting Muhammad b. Bābīgūd), where the tree is not named but is stated to come from the land of Wākwāk. However, the story itself must have been common in the Near East, for it appears much earlier in a Chinese text, the T'ung-t'ien of Tu Huan, which was written between A.D. 766 and 801 and is of Middle Eastern provenance. According to this work, the story was told to Tu Huan’s father, who had been captured and taken to the Middle East, where he stayed between 751 and 762, as a story emanating from Arab sailors, who sailed toward the West. The story given by Tu Huan resembles that of Buzurg almost word-for-word, except that the tree in his account bears a crown of small children instead of fruit with human faces. Hence, in spite of the more factual representation of the story given by Buzurg in the ‘Aqīdāt al-Hind, the “little human” seems to be part of the original story. The story is given throughout by many writers, but is embellished in various ways. The “little humans” in landing on the ground are said to utter the cry “Wāk, Wāk”, which seems an alternative version borrowed from the second tale. A full version is given in the 6th/12th-century K. al-Daqrāfīyyāt written in Spain. The story is also given in one version of Friar Odoric’s travels (Sir Henry Yule and H. Cordier, Cathay and the way thither, London 1915, ii, 138-9). It differs in detail, but only in as much as the Arabic accounts differ from each other. In Ibn al-Wardī’s 9th/15th-century account, the women-fruit cry out praise to the Creator (al-Ḥajālāt). This is reminiscent of an account about Ā‘īnḥa who, on her deathbed, is reported to have wished she were a leaf or a tree uttering the praises of God (Ibn Sa’d, viii, 51).

There is a very early attestation of a tree the fruits of which are corporeal in Arabic. In Kurʾān, XXXVII, 64/62, 62/64, mention is made of the tree of Zakkūm, with heads of demons where fruit should be. This motif would have been known to all the authors writing about the Wākwāk tree. The possibility that this description informed the many later accounts of the Wākwāk tree cannot be excluded. Al-Dājāzī had mentioned that the Wākwāk are the product of a cross between plants and animals and is cited by al-Dammīrī, Hayāt al-hayawān al-ḥubrā (Cairo 1336, ii, 123) to that effect.

In his account, Marwazī (Sharaf al-Ẓāmān Tāhir Marwazi on China, the Turks and India [= Tabāt’ī’s al-bayānān], ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1942, 60, cf. 160, writes: “I have read in the Kitāb al-Bahr ("Book of the sea") that in the island of Wāq-Wāq, where ebony grows, there is a tribe whose nature is like that of men in all their limbs, instead of the hands, instead of which they have something like wings, which are webbed like the wings of a bat. They, both males and females, eat and drink while kneeling. They follow the ships asking for food. When a man makes for them, they open these wings and their flight becomes like that of birds, and no one can overtake them." This account is noteworthy both for its conflation of human and bird, and for its evocation of the bat, waṭrūs in Arabic.

Eva Baer, Sphinges and harpies in medieval Islamic art, Jerusalem 1965, has catalogued examples of Wākwāk tree motifs in mediaeval Islamic art, and writes that the earliest depiction is to be found on a panel attributed to one of the Ghurzawid palaces but probably datable to a little later (66-8, figs. 82-6). She observes also that the decorative designs reflect the talking or Wākwāk tree of the Alexander Romance. It is widely found in manuscripts of the “Wonders of the World” genre, especially the works of al-Kazzwīnī. This talking tree is the transformed oracular Tree of the Sun and Moon which is reputed to have told Alexander of his approaching death (see Phyllis Ackerman, The talking tree, in Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology, iv/2 [1935], 67-72). In an Old French poem on the legend of Alexander, young women are born with and wilt with the flowers of a tree: they cannot leave the shade of these trees without dying (see King Alisaunder, ed. Smithers, Early English Texts Society, Old Series, cxcxvii [1952] and cccxvii [1957], and the unpublished Anglo-Norman Roman de toute chevalerie on which it is based).

The Wākwāk tree is described, and depicted, in the introductory passages to the first Ottoman work describing the New World, the anonymous 10th/16th-century Tarīḥ-i Hind-i gharbī (T.D. Goodrich, The Ottoman Turks and the New World: A study of Tarih-i Hind-i Garbī and sixteenth-century Ottoman America, New York 1970, 30-4), and Ferrand claimed that this tree could not be the Pandanus ushār, which is a tree of the Philosophy, and suggested the Pandanus tree on philological grounds, for it is called vava in Madagascar, thus using it to strengthen his own argument. Further that another possible source is the final act in the story of Esther and Haman in the Old Testament (554-5). A comment made by Eswīyyā Celebi in his Savāhāt-nāme (The intimate life of an Ottoman statesman, Meklel Ahmēd Pasha (1588-1662), tr. R. Dankoff, Albany 1991, 74-5) points out, it appears rather to be inspired by the execution by hanging, from a particular tree (Platanus orientalis), of Janissaries in 1826, in a re-enactment of an earlier such execution (1066/1655-6). The latter became known as “the vakvak incident” (Seydhat-ndme (The intimate life of an Ottoman statesman, Melek Ahmad Pasha (1588-1662), tr. R. Dankoff, Albany 1991, 74-5) is contemporary, but apparently unrelated. He notes that dead cilmis lying beneath the trees of a meadow “adorn[2] the plain like the Tree of Wākwāk”.

The tree was long ago identified as the ‘sugar (Calotropis procera) by de Goeje, when he connected Wākwāk with Japan. The story does appear in Japanese literature, but almost certainly comes from the Chinese of Tu Huan, which again comes from the Arabs, so it cannot be used to strengthen de Goeje’s theory. The description given by Buzurg’s ‘Aqīdāt al-Hind resembles that of the ‘sugar, which is a tree of the Middle East and Africa. Ferrand claimed that this tree could not be the ‘sugar and suggested the Pandanus tree on philological grounds, for it is called vava in Madagascar, thus using it to strengthen his own Madagascar theory. The fruit of the Pandanus may bear little resemblance to the fruit of the story but is attested in a Filipino story of related interest.

An argument might, in fact, be made for identifying Wākwāk with the Philippines. In addition to its numerous islands, “dark”-skinned population, and
distinct language (actually several dozen), there are in Philippine mythology creatures reported to be in the heart of the jungle while they sleep out the day, their long hair thrown over their faces (M.D. Ramos, Creatures of Philippine lower mythology, Quezon City 1990, 127). They are called aswang in Tagalog, Bikol and several other languages, and wakwak in Surigao. In one account, the aswang/wakwak is depicted as tying a skirt round her when flying, and “beating her buttocks with a magical pandanus streamer” (Ramos, 128, citing B. Malinowski, Argonauts of the Western Pacific, New York 1961, 242). The wakwak are said to live in trees, and to call out “Kakak! Kakak!” (Ramos, Creatures, 135, citing F.X. Lynch, An mga Aswang. A Bikol belief, in Philippine Soc. Sc. and Hum. Rev., xiv (Dec. 1949), 420) or other similar sounds. (G.R. Tibbets and Shawkat M. Toorawa)

There is a convincing piece of evidence that Wākwāk is simply the name given to the conceptual limit of the world in the statement made by Hasan al-Baṣrī’s eventual guide, the Ṣhaykh ‘Abd al-Kuḍūs, in the Thousand and One Nights—Hasan is trying to reach Wākwāk in order to get back his wife who has fled to her home with their two sons (Lane, The Arabian nights’ entertainment, 796): “My son, relinquish this most vexatious affair; you could not gain access to the Islands of Waqwaq even if the Flying Jinn and the wandering stars assisted you, since between you and those islands are seven valleys, seven seas and seven mountains of vast magnitude.”

There is a similar quest for a spouse in the 8th/14th-century Siyf b. Dhi Yazzīn, when King Siyaf is urged by his wronged and distraught wife to pursue her and her son: “You seized me first, then afflicted me with grief and deserted me to take other women. But what has been has been. If you have any valor and resolve, and if you truly love me, then pursue me to the City of Maidens in the islands of Waq al-Waq. With that she clasped her son beneath her garment and vanished through the air…” (The adventures of Siyaf Ben Dhi Yazin, an Arab folk epic, tr. L. Jayyusi, Bloomington 1996, 241). Lane noted the similarities between the Thousand and one nights’ story of Hasan and the Bird-Maiden and the romance of Siyaf b. Dhi Yazzin, in particular the beautiful women with wings of feather who fly like birds (Lane, 1246 n. 16).

In one Persian tale, the fruits of a tree ripen, fall to the ground, mature into men’s heads, and then one of the fruits greets the king respectfully (see The Palace of the Nine Pavilions [Bodl. ms Caps. Or. A. 4], in The three derwives and other Persian tales and legends, tr. R. Levy, Oxford 1947, 160).

Ibn Ṭūfayl’s [q.v.] description in his philosophical-allegorical tale, Rāsidat Ḥayy b. Yaqūẓ (ed. Sa’d, Beirut, 117), famously speaks of an island below the equator where people are born without mother or father, and where there grows a tree which bears women as fruit. This is analysed by F. Malti-Douglas, Woman’s body, woman’s word. Gender and discourse in Arabo-Islamic writing, Princeton 1991, 85-96.

Yākūt, a systematic recorder of geographical information, observes that Wākwāk is only to be found in fables and superstitions (ṣahrāfīt) (Mā’qām al-buldān, ed. Wustenfeld, vi, 936). This appearance in fables and superstitions has extended, seven centuries later, even further than Yākūt could ever have imagined; thus the Islands of Wākwāk now appear as a “card” in the Arabian Nights “expansion" of a fantasy game called “Magic”.

Just as it provided material for Ibn Tufayl and for “Magic”, so too has Wākwāk been used in modern Arabic literature. In what might at first appear to be a more traditional appropriation/appearance, it figures in a 1975 short story by the Moroccan writer, Mustafa al-Masammawi, Abdallah Sassou in Waqwaq Island (in M. Shahben, The modern Arabic short story. Shahrazad returns, London 1989, 14-18). This post-modern, Bosphorian-Kafkasque tale, divided into ten numbered sections of unequal length, and accompanied by five appendices, evokes Wākwāk in a number of ways. In section three, a description is quoted from The great Phaneretic encyclopaedia, and section seven consists of “An extract from a radio broadcast from the Island of Waqwaq”. In 1997 the Palestinian poet I. al-Manṣūra published a volume titled Lā ʿāqib bi-fāʾir ʿa-ʾl-waṣṣāf, Jerusalem 1999 (title poem, 20-32).

Finally, one may invoke the contemporary Egyptian colloquial expression il hāgī-dī ma-tbīkh-dī waṣṣa ḫī bilād ʿawd il-ʿawd “these things don’t happen, not even in Wonderland”, which makes of Wākwāk a place of wonderment somewhere beyond the horizon (M. Hinds and El-Sayyid Badawi, A dictionary of Egyptian Arabic, Arabic-English, Beirut 1986, 921).

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4. As a zoological term. Here, wākwāk, wakwāk, and wakwak are onomatopoeic masc. nouns denoting a member of the Cuculidae family of birds and imitating their cries (Fr. “coucou”, Eng. "cuckoo", Ger. "Kuckuck"); the pl. ought to be wakwātik, but this is never found in the texts. With this generic name, members of the Cuculidae (wakwāk-kiyyat) also have numerous local names, according to region: hamām kawnān, tātār, takūk, kawkal, hakur, hakum, hakur, and ḥuḥ₃. The Arabic-speaking lands distinguish
five species of cuckoo: (a) the Common cuckoo (Cuculus canorus), with two sub-species C. c. canorus and C. c. serratus; (b) the Great spotted cuckoo (C. claudialis); (c) the Collared cuckoo (C. torquatus); and (d) the Large-heeded cuckoo (C. mongolus). (E.)


(WALÁD [see saghir].

WALÁTA, conventionally Oualata, an important Saharan caravan town in medieval Islamic times, now a small town in the southeastern part of modern Mauritania, the Šawí or Hodh (lat. 17° 15' N., long. 6° 55' W.).

For its history, see MORÁNIA, at Vol. VII, 625a-b.

WALÁYA, (A.). For the use of this term in Shi'ism, see wálaya. 2.

WALBA, a district of the kára of Niebla in the southwestern part of al-Andalus, the modern Huelva. The name occurs in various forms in the Arabic sources, such as Wánuy in al-Údrbí (5th/11th century) and Wánbá (Yákút), both going back to Latin Onuba.

Its political history is closely linked with that of Niebla [see labla], even though it was for a while, in the time of the Taifas, separated from Niebla. This was, in fact, a period of prosperity and security for the people there. This was due to the actions of 'Abd al-'Azíz al-Bakrí, who, in 403/1012, in the midst of the civil wars of that time, made himself the ruler of a little principality embracing Wallba and the island of Saltes. Soon afterwards, in 414/1023-4, Abu 'l-'Abbáš Ahmad al-Yabúrí arose in Niebla to form a second 'tíd'á in similar fashion within the ancient kára. The 'Abbádíd al-Mu'arjadí, ruler of the neighbouring 'tíd'á of Seville, altered this state of affairs in his greed to acquire new territories, which he achieved in 443/1051-2. Out of prudence, 'Abd al-'Azíz decided to cede Huelva and shut himself up in Saltes, but he could only maintain this for a short while under pressure from the Sevillian ruler, and had in the end to abandon it. Out of all the versions in the chronicles of the period, the most probable seems to be that of Ibn Sa'id, who says that al-Bakrí marched on Cordóva and definitively established himself there. It was in this capital that his son, the famous historian and geographer Abú 'Ubayd, received his education along the traditional lines of the age.

The island of Saltes considered itself as naturally linked with Huelva. It was not a separate district, and was in fact—as al-Ídríší said in the 6th/12th century—less than a mile from Huelva and separated from it by a narrow neck of the sea only a stone's throw wide. Numerous historians stress its commercial importance, iron-working and falconry being amongst its main activities. Al-Himyárí (9th/15th century) mentioned the traces of Antiquity there and attributed to it the advantages of both a maritime and a continental town.


WALÍ (A., pl. w-l-y), indicates a friend of God or a saint, often also a mystic in general.

1. General survey
2. In North Africa
3. In the Arab lands of the Fertile Crescent [see Suppl.]
4. In Turkey, the Balkans, the Caucasus and Adharbájdán
5. In Central Asia
6. In Muslim India
7. In Southeast Asia and Indonesia
8. In Chinese Islam
9. In West Africa
10. In Chad and the Niloct Sudan

In contemporary North Africa and the Middle East as far east as Afghanistan, various terms are employed for the administrative divisions of the province, including wáliyá, mubáhás, imára, liwá and usán in Arabic and Persian usage, and il in modern Turkey, with corresponding titles for their governors like wáli, mubáhás, amír, etc. (Ed.)

WALI, (A., pl. w-l-y), indicates a friend of God or a saint, but by the 2nd/8th century it seems to have been accepted (van Es, Theologie, ii, 89-90; Radtke-O’Kane, The concept of sainthood, 109-10; Radtke, Dreie Schriften, ii, 68-9). In many aspects, its origin is obscure; ancient Christian and Jewish elements can be recognised (Mach, Der Zadik, 134-46). Stories about the wonderful deeds of God’s friends also seem to have been collected and transmitted at an early stage, among others by Ibn Abí ‘l-Dunyá (d. 281/894 [q.v.]). He wrote the Kitáb al-ašrá'íjá', the earliest compilation on the theme of God’s friends; Abú Nu’aym al-Ísfahání (d. 948/1038 [q.v.]) made use of it in his Hilyát al-ašrá'íjá. Ibn Abí ‘l-Dunyá’s work does not show any method or explanation, but some writings dating from the second half of the 3rd/9th century had already passed the stage
of pure compiling. The Baghdadi Sufi Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz (d. probably 286/899 [see AL-KHARRAZ]) wrote a short treatise Kitāb al-Kashf wa 'l-baydāʾ. Dealing with a number of questions concerning the theme of awliyāʾ/awliya, he discusses (1) the relation between the friends of God and the Prophet, and opposes the opinion of mystics, whose names he does not mention, according to whom the friend of God is higher in rank than the Prophet; (2) the question whether the friend of God receives inspiration (iḥāma); and (3) the distinction between the miracles of the prophets (ṣayāt) and those of God's friends (karamāt).

Further writings, which not only deal in much greater detail with the themes treated by al-Kharrāz but already develop the entire concept of the friend of God and friendship with God, came from al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. between 295/907 and 300/912 [p.e.]). Later authors, such as Ibn al-Arabi (see below), would in principle only develop further the questions first raised by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī. Basically, they are dealt with in his famous treatise Sirat al-awliya, also known as Khatam al-awliyā or Khatam al-walīyā. Next to this main work there exist two other writings by al-Tirmidhī on the theme of the friend of God. One is called al-Fark bayn al-ʿayāt wa 'l-karamāt, the first monograph on the possibility of miracles worked by God's friends and their relation with the miracles of the prophets. After an introduction, which is based on proofs taken from Holy Scripture and on psychological observations, but does not show any knowledge of scholastic-rational proofs, al-Tirmidhī adduces more than sixty stories on friends of God from early times. The greater part is also found in the works of Ibn Abī ʿ-Diryā and of Abu Nuʿaym al-Isfahānī. The other work by al-Tirmidhī on the theme is his autobiography Badʿ shāb al-ʿAbī ʿAkhī Ṣāliḥ. It is the first autobiographical work by a Muslim mystic before al-Chazāzī's Mushkūl min al-dalāl.

The Strāt al-awliyā begins with the fundamental distinction between two classes of friends of God, the wāli ḫāk Allāh and the wāli Allāh. If the wāli ḫāk Allāh wants to come near to God on the mystical path, he can only achieve this by observing the obligations of the divine legal order (ḥakīm) with all his inner powers, while the wāli Allāh can use his path through divine grace. The former is obliged on the path encumbered with all sorts of hardships: he is a ṣāliḥ, while the latter is exempted from this toil; he is attracted to God by God and is a maṣṭafīb [p.e.]. In later Sūfism, this opposition, represented here for the first time in a systematic way, was to play an important role. Other terms used by al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī for the two classes of mystics are muḥāḍī, (rightly guided) and muḥṭābāʾ (elected).

For al-Tirmidhī, the path, i.e. the journey to God, means a delving into the inner self on the one hand and the ascent to God through the macrocosmos on the other, it is a journey to heaven (miḥāfī [p.e.]). The ascent of the wāli ḫāk Allāh must stop at the end of the created cosmos, God's throne. He can attain God's proximity, but not God Himself; he is only admitted to God's province (kharṣ). It is the wāli Allāh who reaches God. Ascent beyond God's throne means to traverse consciously the realms of light of the divine names which, in gnostic tradition, are grouped hierarchically around God's unknowable essence. When the wāli Allāh has traversed all the realms of the divine names, i.e. has come to know God in His names as completely as possible, he is then extinguished in God's essence. His soul, his ego, is eliminated and he is in God's hands. When he acts, it is God Who acts through him. And so the state of extinction means at the same time the highest degree of activity.

The friend of God, therefore, is recognisable in the world because of a number of external characteristics: (1) when people see him, they are automatically reminded of God; (2) anyone who advances towards him in a hostile way is destroyed; (3) he possesses the gift of chiaroscuro (fīrāzā); (4) he receives divine inspiration (iḥāma); (5) he can work miracles (karamāt [q.e.]) like walking on water (al-mudākīyā al-ʾimān) and shortening space and time (jāyī al-ʿarḍ); and (6) he associates with al-Khādīr [q.e.] (for this list, see Radtke, Drei Schriften, iī, 82, § 80; Radtke-O’Kane, The concept of sainthood, 124-5; for further miracles, see Radtke, Miracles, where an analysis of al-Tirmidhī’s Fark is given). This list of themes from now on forms a constant element of the discussion on God's friends and friendship with God.

In this way the friend of God not only knows that he is indeed God's friend—this question is raised at the very beginning of the Strāt al-awliyā—but he can also be sure of eternal bliss. This is communicated to him through good tidings from God (ḥūṣrā), for, though he is not sinless (maṣṭān) like the Prophet, he is preserved from sin (maṣṭūf). The good tidings can be transmitted to him in dreams or by divine inspiration (iḥāma). In his autobiography, al-Tirmidhī imparts a number of such deeds.

Divine inspiration of a friend of God is never in contradiction to the Prophet's revelation (waḥdāt) or law, for notwithstanding the high blessing he has received, his spiritual rank is lower than that of the Prophet. His life and its stages come about in the external and internal imitation of the Prophet, he is the latter's real heir, for God's friends, contrary to a ṣāliḥ of the Prophet, are the true heirs of the prophets (al-awliyā ʿawāqif al-anbiyāʾ).

Just as in the case with Muhammad, who is the seal of prophecy or of the prophets (khatam al-muḥāṣṣel al-anbiyāʾ), and as such the last and most complete of them, there exists a hierarchy among God's friends. Indications for this idea are already found in the 2nd/8th century, but here, too, al-Tirmidhī is the first of whom it can be said that he grasps the broad outlines of a systematic presentation. Forty elected awliyā—other names are siddīkīn, ṣāliḥīn, umand naṣṣāḥī—after the Prophet's death took over control of the world, each one of them exercising it in temporal succession. The fact that they exist is a guarantee for the continuing existence of the world. Among them is a group of seven who are especially blessed. As runners-up of creation, the forty friends of God form, after the prophets, the second spiritual hierarchy of the cosmos. In the same way as in the prophets' hierarchy, there is within the friendship with God or among the friends of God a highest, perfect one, the seal (khatam al-walīyā: khatam/khatam al-walīyā/al-awliyā); as is clear from his autobiography, al-Tirmidhī considered himself as this highest friend of God.

Al-Tirmidhī's new creation of khatam al-walīyā, in particular, had a wide effect. The concept was taken up and further developed by Ibn al-ʿArabi, and through him it entered later Sūfism. But for almost three centuries, al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī’s systematic position vis-à-vis wāli and walīyā remained without successor in Sūf mystical writings. The concept khatam al-walīyā was avoided, the comparison with the Prophet being shunned. With the exception of the Kashf al-muḥāḍāb of the Persian Ḥuǧwīrī (d. ca. 465/1072 [p.e.]), which is based on al-Tirmidhī, the authors of the basic hand-
books speak only briefly of the theme of the friend of God. Among them, mention should be made of al-
Kughyd (d. 380/990 a.v.), of Abi Naṣr al-Sarradj (d. 378/988 a.v.), of Ibn al-Makhtd (d. 380/996 a.v.), of Abi Nuʿaym al-Iṣfahd and of al-
Kughyd (d. 465/1072 a.v.) (for details, see Chodkiewicz, Seau, 41-64). It is discussed whether the friend of God can work miracles, can be recognised while of God, they were collected in biographies, from which arose Islamic hagiography [see MANAKIB]. The first of these lives of saints are written in Arabic, but have only been preserved in Persian translation, as in the case of Ibn Khalf (d. 371/982 a.v.) and of Abū Iṣḥāḳ Kāzarānī (d. 426/1033 a.v.). These lives often have little historical value. The authors, mostly members of the saint’s family, of his school or of his order, are concerned with the glorification of the saint by proving that he possessed extraordinary blessings and powers.

Stories about the lives of outstanding friends of God lived on among their disciples, and especially in their families. Some time after the death of the friend of God, they were collected in biographies, from which arose Islamic hagiography [see MANAKIB]. The first of these lives of saints are written in Arabic, but have only been preserved in Persian translation, as in the case of Ibn Khalf (d. 371/982 a.v.) and of Abū Iṣḥāḳ Kāzarānī (d. 426/1033 a.v.). These lives often have little historical value. The authors, mostly members of the saint’s family, of his school or of his order, are concerned with the glorification of the saint by proving that he possessed extraordinary blessings and powers.

Abī, ed. Arberry, Cairo 1934, tr. idem, Schlaglichter ilber das Sufism, Stuttgart 1990, 449-68; Abū Ṭalāb al-
Slrat al-awliyyā', Cairo 1366/1947; idem, Ḥikātāt
2. Studies. H. Corbin, "The mamlûk tradition in the Maghrib; thus Ahmad Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shâdhilī [q.v.].

Hesperis, Le culte des saints dans l'islam maghrebin, Paris 1954, Rene Basset, Paris 1923, i, 30-68; C. Addas, Abu Madyan and Ibn 'Arabī, in Mahfūz Ibn 'Arabī, a commemorative volume, Shafārshah 1993. One of his disciples was the saint of the Rif 'Abd al-Salām Ibn al-Maghīb [see 'Abd al-Salām], who was rather sparsely noticed in his lifetime but had a posthumous fame through his being recognised as a master and a "pole" by Abu 'l-Hasan al-Shâdhilī [q.v.]. It is with this last disciples of the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries [see Ibn 'Ar'ī ALLĀH and Shâdhilīyya, with Bibli.] that the Stûfîm of the brotherhoods appeared and enjoyed a spectacular rise in the Maghrib.

Among the main saints of the ensuing period, one may note the heads of brotherhoods like the Fāsi Ahmad al-Zarrâk (d. 898/1494), educated in Egypt, but exercising his reformist influence first in Morocco and then Libya (see A.F. Khushaim, Zarrâk thâ Safi, Tripoli 1976). Also within the Shâdhilīyya was Abū 'Abd Allâh Muhammad al-Djażûlī [q.v.], who returned to Morocco after a long trip to the East and then began a life as a hermit. But his preaching, his reputation as a thaumaturge and his sharī'ī birth ensured him a prodigious success. He died ca. 869/1465 and his body, after several delays, was buried at Marrakesh, where he became one of the city's seven patron saints. The Stûfî tradition was periodically given fresh life by notable personalities such as Muhammad b. Naṣîr from southern Morocco, or the Shâdhilī Abî Hâmid al-'Arâbî al-Dârkāwî (d. 1823 [see Dârkâwî]), whose influence spread all over the western and central Maghrib. Aḥmad al-Tûmayîn (1737-1815 [q.v.]) was initiated into many orders before founding at 'Ayn Mâdî near Laghouat in what is now Algeria his own dârîyya, which spread especially into Morocco and then into Sudanic Africa (see J.M. Abu-Nasr, The Tîyanîya, a Sufi order in the modern world, London 1965). Another type of active, organising saint was al-Sanûsî [q.v.], and also K.S. Vikor, Sufi and scholar on the desert edge. Muhammad ben 'Abî Sanûsî, London 1995). More recently still, the charisma and the activity of Aḥmad b. 'Aliwa of Mustâqîmân (d. 1934) marked his age, although he was rather too late to become a wâli in the traditional sense (see Ibn 'Alîwa, and M. Lings, A Moslem saint of the twentieth century, Shaikh Ahmad al-Alawi, London 1961, Fr. tr. Un saint musulman du 20e siècle, le cheikh Ahmad al-Alawi, Paris 1984).

Historical development. The wâli's role over a millennium, coupled with the great geographical and social diversity (town vs. village, cultural traditions (Berber, Bedouin), produced a great diversity of images of saints. Hagiography nevertheless allows us to discern a certain number of dominant types found in one region or another or at one time or another. The most current profile is of the pure, ascetic Sunnah, refusing all ostentation. The quality and amount of his education matters little, and even when he is a scholar, it is not his doctrinal works or poetry which attach the hearts of his disciples to him. On the other hand, he is clearly charismatic, and his miracles (kânîmât) are innumerable but stereotypical: reading people's thoughts, cures, bilocations, visions, etc.

Abû Madyan (d. 594/1197) was a spiritual disciple of these preceding two saints, and was the first figure in Maghribī Stûfism to exercise an influence beyond his own region. This Āndalūsî went to the East where he may have met some of the great masters, e.g. Abû al-Kâdir al-Djâlînâ. On returning, he settled in Tārgot and founded a circle of disciples headed for the Almohad court of Ya'qûb al-Mansûr in Egypt, and then Libya (see A.F. Khushaim, Zarrâk thâ Safi, Tripoli 1976). Also within the Shâdhilīyya was Abû 'Abd Allâh Muhammad al-Djażûlī [q.v.], who returned to Morocco after a long trip to the East and then began a life as a hermit. But his preaching, his reputation as a thaumaturge and his sharî'ī birth ensured him a prodigious success. He died ca. 869/1465 and his body, after several delays, was buried at Marrakesh, where he became one of the city's seven patron saints. This Stûfî tradition was periodically given fresh life by notable personalities such as Muhammad b. Naṣîr from southern Morocco, or the Shâdhilī Abî Hâmid al-'Arâbî al-Dârkâwî (d. 1823 [see Dârkâwî]), whose influence spread all over the western and central Maghrib. Aḥmad al-Tûmayîn (1737-1815 [q.v.]) was initiated into many orders before founding at 'Ayn Mâdî near Laghouat in what is now Algeria his own dârîyya, which spread especially into Morocco and then into Sudanic Africa (see J.M. Abu-Nasr, The Tîyanîya, a Sufi order in the modern world, London 1965). Another type of active, organising saint was al-Sanûsî [q.v.], and also K.S. Vikor, Sufi and scholar on the desert edge. Muhammad ben 'Abî Sanûsî, London 1995). More recently still, the charisma and the activity of Aḥmad b. 'Aliwa of Mustâqîmân (d. 1934) marked his age, although he was rather too late to become a wâli in the traditional sense (see Ibn 'Alîwa, and M. Lings, A Moslem saint of the twentieth century, Shaikh Ahmad al-Alawi, London 1961, Fr. tr. Un saint musulman du 20e siècle, le cheikh Ahmad al-Alawi, Paris 1984).

Characteristics. This development of the wâli's role over a millennium, coupled with the great geographical and social diversity (town vs. village, cultural traditions (Berber, Bedouin), produced a great diversity of images of saints. Hagiography nevertheless allows us to discern a certain number of dominant types found in one region or another or at one time or another. The most current profile is of the pure, ascetic Sunnah, refusing all ostentation. The quality and amount of his education matters little, and even when he is a scholar, it is not his doctrinal works or poetry which attach the hearts of his disciples to him. On the other hand, he is clearly charismatic, and his miracles (kânîmât) are innumerable but stereotypical: reading people's thoughts, cures, bilocations, visions, etc. He is often the head of a brotherhood. But other profiles exist at the side of this one. Hence the popularity of the ecstatic and centrifugal saint (maghîbîsh); Shâdhilī and his pupil Ibn al-Mar'a (d. 611/1214; cf. Dermenghem, op. cit.) or 'Ali al-Sanûsî (10th/16th century) and his pupil 'Abd al-Râhîmân al-Maghîbî (d. 976/1569; see A.L. de Premare, Sûfî 'Ader-Râhîmân al-Maghîbî, Paris-Rabat 1985) remain till today popular figures. Moreover, the anthropinian saint, who hides his interior states with a veil of conduct which may be habitually shocking, illustrates the malâmât tradition in the Maghrib; thus Aḥmad Abu 'l-Abbâs al-Ārîs, one of the patron saints of Tunis (d.
868/1463; cf. Brunschvig, *Hafides*, ii) has remained famous for his provocative behaviour and his outrageous sayings. Sometimes saints have been warriors, martyrs of the brotherhood, sometimes. One should also note that Maghribi sainthood is by no means confined to men, and certain women have marked the memories of the faithful; some of the tombs of female saints are very frequently visited. Nor are saints exclusively Muslim; Jewish saints may be respected well beyond their own communities of origin and vice-versa. Popular sainthood, bursting out of a framework of the brotherhood, sometimes. Shows very old features probably stemming from a pre-Islamic "shamanism"; thus the 'Isawiyya claim to stem from the Shadhili-Djazul master Muhammad b. 'Isa al-Mukhtar (d. 931/1524; cf. R. Brunel, *Essai sur la confrérie religieuse des Aisounaous au Maroc*, Paris 1926), although this last would probably have been surprised to have been present at the therapeutic rituals, of animist inspiration, practised by certain branches of the brotherhood. An analogous remark can be made in regard to 'Ali b. Hamdani and the Moorish brotherhood of the Hamdahyya (see V. Crapanzano, *The Hamdahida, a study in Moroccan ethnomedicine*, Berkeley, etc. 1973).

This extreme veneration for saints stems from the basic, cosmic function attributed to *waliya*. These last are viewed as active members of the spiritual hierarchy of friends of God, and it often happens that great saints are seen attributing to themselves the function of *kad* [q.v.] (Ibn Mashhish, al-Shadhili et al.). The saint assures for his close retainers and adepts not only his spiritual guidance and strength but also material prosperity, and he is an intercessor with the supernatural world. His presence diffuses *baraqa* or spiritual blessing, which his entourage tries to acquire for aims often far removed from purely spiritual ones (health, social success, etc.) through practices common to magic: whence the recitation for secular aims of ejaculatory prayers (*hibb*) taught by the saints. Thus within the *Djaizul* current, the connection with the saint is lightened to the far limit of its strictly mystical dimension. The diffusing of *baraqa* is made possible by a fairly simple allegiance and devotional rites like recital of the litanies of the *Djaizul* (al-Shadhili et al.), without there being any question of a "spiritual journey." One should further note how the development of *Sharifism* has played a certain role in the tone of Maghribi sainthood, especially from Marinid times onward; *Idrissid* Sharifi origins are therefore attributed to Ibn Mashhish, al-Shadhili et al.-Djaizul. The spreading of *baraqa*, according to such masters as al-Djaizul, can be effected not only through the spiritual successors of Muhammad, which the saints are, but also by his genealogical descendants.

The *wali*’s role as protector of a place may be considerable. Certain patron saints are well known, such as Ibn 'Arif for Tunis, Abul Madyan for Tlemcen, Mawlay Idris for Fes, etc. But one should also take into account thousands of minor, local saints whose tombs remain visible in villages or the quarters of towns, little-known, anonymous, sometimes even legendary. Even though history can find hardly anything to say about them, their presence and their social efficacy can be immense. They remain, in effect, very much alive at their tomb, to the point that the person’s name most often serves to denote the place. The rituals can be purely private, but the patronal festivals (*maawsm, mawlid* [q.v.]) give rise to massed groups with *kur*‘an recitations, *dhikrs*, processions and fairs. Among the most important should be mentioned those of Mawlay Idris at Fes, of Muhammad b. 'Isa at Meknes and Ibn Mashhish in the Rif. But basically, it is not really necessary for the saint to have been really buried in the spot in question, as shown by the number of *marabout* saints who have died in the Maghrib, who in any case never went to the Maghrib. Protection and intercession are drawn and raised by the effect of the rites rather than by a sanctity attached to the place itself.


3. In the Arab lands of the Fertile Crescent [see Suppl.].

4. In Turkey, the Balkans, the Caucasus and *âdhar bayyân*.

Saints play an important role here, especially in connection with the cults which have grown up around their tombs (*ziyada*). Between the Turks of the Balkans and Anatolia, and those in Central Asia, despite the distance separating them, the concept of the saint and the organisation of pilgrimages displays no fundamental differences. This concept of sainthood derives its originality from the syncretic character of Turkish Islam, which has incorporated certain beliefs and practices from earlier cults, such as animism, shamanism,
Buddhism, Zoroastrianism and Christianity (in the study of the phenomenon of sainthood, it is not always easy to separate the various regions of the Turkish world, but for a detailed consideration of the situation in Central Asia, see 5 below).

These elements are particularly discernible in the saints of the 10th to the 14th centuries before being opposed by the 'ulumā', the representatives of orthodoxy. They nevertheless maintained themselves in certain out-of-the-way parts of Central Asia, especially in rural areas and amongst nomads of the whole Turkish world (e.g. amongst the Turks, 'Tağtağlı [q.v.] and 'Alewīs in Anatolia). One may note e.g. that the earliest Turkish saints, such as Ahmad Yasawī and Hāдждji Bektāşī Walī [q.v.], performed miracles reminiscent of those of Central Asian shamans (changing into birds and totemistic creatures like the crane or deer; raising a man to life from his bones; etc.). Such saints were generally to be found amongst the Bektāşī, Yasawī and Kalandārī holy men. On the other hand, the Turkish saint often corresponded to the usual image of the Muslim holy man, often the founder or an adept of Sūfī orders like the Nakhshbandiyya, Kādiriyya, Khwālatiyya, etc. One should bear in mind, too, that in the Turkish world sainthood is the product of two factors: the ideal of the holy war, dīkhād, marked by the spirit of ghaza, and Sūfīsm. This is underlined in the light that the Turkish world, over long centuries, was the object of campaigns of Islamisation conducted by Sūfīs, rather than by the 'ulumā', being at the origin of the conversion of some pagan rulers to Islam.

As well as the Arabic term walī, and the Persian گَدَح and پیت, saints in the Turkish world are denoted by Turkish terms like بابا in Anatolia, ata in Central Asia (both meaning “father”); as well as گُدرَک (or گَدرَک “to reach, attain”) or ژحی ("one who settles down") in Anatolia. Saints' tombs are denoted by terms of Arabic or Persian origin alluding to the idea of pilgrimage (مَازَر، ژیزَرَک), tomb (کَمَر, مَکَبَر) or domed mausoleum (گنبد, کعبہ). But such tombs are also denoted by terms usually used for dervish convents, or a particular part of it (لهکه in the Balkans, لنگُر “refectory” and نیا in Central Asia), or by a quality qualifying the saint (پیت “venerable, respectable”, "in Ağažbāvīdjan").

Saints of the Turkish world may be classified into three categories. The first includes the ghāzīs, heroes of the Islamisation process and martyrs for the faith; the second, saints from the Šūfī milieu; and the third, the great figures of Islam and certain rulers.

The most representative types of the first in the regions under consideration are Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (7th century [q.v.]), killed beneath the walls of Constantinople, Sayyid Baṭṭāl Ǧāḥz, who fought the Christians in Anatolia, and Kızıλ Deli Sūlān, who converted Western Thrace to Islam. Religious figures and warriors who fought the Tsarist and Soviet Russians from the 18th to the early 20th century have also been canonised (the İmām Manṣūr Üçhurna and Șāmīl [q.v.] in the Caucasus, Kurbān Murād in Turkmenistan, etc.) or against Kemālī Turkī in the 20th century (Şeykh Es’ad and ‘Abd al-Hākin Arwāsī in Istanbul). Others in this category added the qualities of the Şāhī to their work of Islamisation, such as Şar Şāluṭ in Turkey and the Balkans, Hāдждji Bektāşī, his disciple Hāджdjm Sūlān, and Abdül Mūsă, in Anatolia, ʻOthmān Baba in the Balkans, etc.

In the second, most important category, which includes the Şūfīs, one finds, in one group, those engaged in Islamisation and the fight against the infidels (a process which came to an end in Turkey in the 15th-16th centuries, but which continued in Central Asia up to the opening of the 20th century), and in the other group, those Şūfīs wholly occupied by their spiritual mission. These last include the founders of the great tarikās of the Turkish world plus their pupils and spiritual descendants: the Nakhshbandī Emīr Buğhārī at Istanbul; the Khaḷwātī Merkez Efendi and Қodжа Mustafa Paşā and the Kādirī İsmā‘īl Rūmü at Istanbul; Mawlawā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmü at Konya; Hāджdji Bektāşī Walī in Anatolia, etc.

In the third category to be found both bibliographic figures (Daniel’s tomb at Tarsus in southern Turkey), figures from the Kur’ān or Islamic history (tombs of Khiḍr in several places, etc.), and theologians. Amongst the rulers around whom a cult grew up, one might mention the Ottomans Bāyezdī II and ‘Abd al-Hamīd II [q.v. in Turkey].

In numerous cases, the spots chosen for a Muslim saint’s tomb could be either exceptional places already sacred from pagan times (hill tops, springs, groves, large rocks, etc.) or ruins of sanctuaries connected with pre-Islamic religious cults. Most of the mausolea in Eastern Turkestān were built on a spot where there had previously been Buddhist monasteries or funerary monuments (Kuṃarṭā Māzār and Kuṃ Rābāt Fāḍalāhīm at Khotān). Likewise, ancient Christian churches and monasteries were used in the Balkans and Anatolia (‘Arslan Şatuk at Babaeski in Thrace, Khiḍr at Sayımdār). A Nestorian saint who has become a Muslim one in Kirghizistan has even been identified.

As for saints’ tombs connected with the ghāzī tradition, these tend to be in strategically situated and protected places connected with the saint’s military functions: the summits of hills (Gözjii Baba in Istanbul and Muḥājī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Hamīd Er ‘Abd al-Dīn in Eastern Thrace) or defiles (derbend) (Kızıλ Deli Sūlān (Derbend) in Western Thrace).

However, there are also in the Turkish world a certain number of towns which have always attracted saints and where tombs are very numerous. There exist pilgrims’ guides for such towns, rich in historical details for the historical researcher: Istanbul (cf. Khaṭībāzāde Ahmed Hilmī, ژیزَرَک al-Ḥanāfī al-Bukhārī, Istanbul 1325/1907-8), Bursa (cf. Mehmed Shems al-Dīn, ژیزَرَک-i Şems, Bursa 1352/1934-5), Bukhārā (cf. Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Haṅafī al-Buğhārī, ژیزَرَک-i ژیزَرَک-i, Novo-Bukhārā 1910), Samarkand (cf. Muḥāammad ‘Abd al-Dīn al-Hanīfī Samarkandī, ژیزَرَک-i, ed. Iradj Afshar, in Dar al-tārīkh-i mazarāt wa ژیزَرَک-i Samarkand, Tehran 1987-88).

On the architectural plane, there are several features which distinguish tombs of Turkish saints from those of the rest of the Islamic world. One might cite e.g. the remarkable height (sometimes 20 m.) of the cenotaphs of certain Central Asian saints, the presence there of customs inherited from the steppe peoples like a tall mast with a horse’s tail at its top and the presence of arms (axes, halberds, etc.) near the tombs of dervish ghāzīs in Anatolia.

The main saints’ tombs with an active cult around them today are: in Turkey, those of Hāджdji Bektāşī (Hacibektas), Mawlawā Djalāl al-Dīn (Konya), Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī (Istanbul) and Hāджdji Bayram Walī (Ankara); and in the Balkans, that of Aywaz Dede (Bosnia). The faithful, and especially women, who make up the greater part of the visitors to these shrines, address themselves directly to the saints or else through the intermediacy of the custodians of the shrines, hoping for their intercession (ژیزَرَک [q.v.]) with God on their behalf. The reasons for such pleas are...
various: illness, sterility, social success, etc. The offerings (money, cereals or beasts) given to the saint were addressed in polemical contexts. For the saint to claim primacy over the ruler would publicly affirm his saintly status by exhibiting the external signs of deference and consultation; this was necessary, he explained to the ruler, because the public does not know the saints whom God creates, “but if you make me a shaykh, everyone will know” (Hazınlık, Cevahir-ı evvel min emâds-ı bûhûr, fac. ed. Cihan Okuyucu, Kayseri 1995, 171-2).

Perhaps the most fruitful venue for approaching the links between doctrinal systematisations and the actual experience of the awlîyâ, public or private, are hagiographical traditions intended to legitimise individual saints and the communities associated with them, especially accounts formulated before the principle of ndhr & sadaka, which became a basic work in Central Asian madrasa curricula down to the present century. The awlî is encountered only abstractly through doctrinal formulations, but is more directly through hagiographical narratives inspired by his or her charismatic person or legacy; it is there that we often find the principal doctrinal issues and controversies regarding the awlî addressed in polemical contexts. The perennial issue of the relationship between walâya and nabuwasat, for instance, was injected into the rivalry between the Nakhbandî and Yasawi orders by the 10th-11th-century Yasawi Sufi Kâsim Şaykh of Kermân, who criticised Nakhbandî claims that the silent dîvr was superior to the vocal dîvr. Equating the former with awlîyâ and the latter, through its public character, with nabwusat, Kâsim Şaykh reportedly argued that, although saintliness is superior to prophethood, when those two qualities are combined in a single person (as in Muhammad), it would be absurd, whereas awlîn in another, for the saint to claim primacy over the prophet; hence Nakhbandî partisans should not exalt their “hidden” and silent dîvr over the public “mission” of the dîvr-i qâbir (Mîr Musayyab Bûkhârî, Kûdî-i maârûf-i dâir, ms. St. Petersburg University No. 854, fol. 520a).

Similarly, the much-discussed question of whether the saints are known to the world is cast in concrete political terms by Sâyyîd Mânşûr, another Yasawi Şaykh of 10th/16th-century Transoxania, in a hagiographical narrative that assumes the equivalence between “dîvr-i qâbrî” and “saint.” Asked by a local ruler to serve as the şaykh in his domains (and implicitly his legiti-
simply through karamât; to transmitted sanctity conveyed through heredity, by receipt of a holy "legacy" or "ascriptive" sanctity claimed through attestations of divinity within classified hierarchies of saints, through the notion of "Uwaysi" transmission from the spirit of a deceased prophet or saint [see Uwâsyyya], or simply through claims of divine ājadma. Often, of course, specific saints or their partisans appealed to different combinations of these and other legitimising principles. In any case, doctrinal defences of the legitimacy of the saints and their kedjat found hagiographical adaptation in narratives evoking these various principles, typically in the context of overcoming the "rejection" (inâkâr) of a shaykh by his opponents, whether portrayed as formalist scholars or rival ājadma.

The late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries in Central Asia were especially productive of saints whose public memory has endured down to the present, above all in at least one of three major venues for ongoing "encounters" with a saint: (1) a ājad's spiritual descendants, in the form of a Śuffi order; (2) the putative natural descendants of a saint (who still form distinct social groups, despite Soviet-era efforts to dissolve such communities, throughout Central Asia); and (3) the most public aspect, the shrine. In this era lived the great Śuffis adopted as the spiritual ancestors of the three major Central Asian orders: Ahmad Yasawi (eponym of the Yasawi order, for whom the death-date customarily given, 562/1166-7, is probably a half-century too early), 'Abd al-Khâlik Ghudjduwan (spiritual ancestor of the Khâdjašâgh and later Nakshbandi traditions, d. most probably in 617/1220), and Nadîm al-Dîn al-Kubrâ (d. 618/1221, to whom is traced the Kubrâwî ājadma). In addition to the Śuffi communities stemming from these saints, their shrines became pilgrimage centres and benefitted from state patronage; Yasawi, and probably Ghudjduwan, were also known as the ancestors of prominent desert groups. More locally prominent in their own time, however, were several Central Asian "patron" saints whose memory was cultivated primarily among their descendants and at their shrines; these figures, known from historical and hagiographical sources of the 8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, include Burhan al-Dîn Kilic of Uzgand in the Farghâna valley; Mašâlat al-Dîn Khudjand; Nur al-Dîn Başfr of Samarkand; Badr al-Dîn Maydân of Bukhârâ; and Zayn al-Dîn Kûsâr, on the life of a female saint called simply "Agha-yi Buzurg", who lived near Bukhârâ (see Sabzvar woṭoṇkâh,rī ruḥbânî Akerîw Aka- "demi nawk Uzâkhsbî SS"r, v [1960], no. 4137).

As suggested, the most public venue for encountering the awâlî is the shrine. Our information on saints' shrines and pilgrimage in Central Asia from before the Mongol era is relatively sparse; we find some material on the shrines of Kutham b. 'Abûs [q.v.] in Samarkand, of Abû Hafs-i Kabîr in Bukhârâ, and of Kutayba b. Muslim [q.v.] in the Farghâna valley, for instance, while the 6th/12th-century Aşrâr al-tawhid, on the life of Abû Sa'id b. Abî 'l-Khayr [q.v.] offers rich evidence on the public prominence of shrines in northern Khorâsân; the same century also saw the "discovery" of the shrine of 'Ali near Balkh, and the emergence (at least into our sources) of the pattern of state patronage of shrines that would come much clearer by the Timurid era (e.g. in Timur's own patronage of shrines in Harât, Shâhr-i Sabz, Turkistân and Tirmîd). An unexplored source from the middle of the 6th/12th century promises new insights into the veneration of saints' shrines in Central Asia and Persia; the Persian Lujâ-yi qâdâqâh (q.v.) describes the major shrines of several towns along an itinerary leading from Bukhârâ to Mecca and Medina. The work, preserved in a single manuscript in Dushânbe (see Katalog vošoṭnîkî ruḥbânî Akerîw Aka- "demi nawk Tadžikskoy SSR, i, Stalinabad 1960, no. 188), has remained unstudied, but is of interest for the study of saints and shrines in the Muslim world at large (it predates the celebrated Kitâb al-Ziyârât of 'Ali al-Harawi [q.v.]—see Janine Sourdel-Thomine, Guide des lieux de pelerinage, Damascus 1957—by half a century).

The legitimacy of visiting saints' tombs is still de-
fended in the 9th/15th-century Tdnkh-i Mullazada, written by a pupil of Khwadja Muhammad Parsa, on the shrines of Bukhara [in which shrines of Stifs appear alongside those of the Prophet’s juri- diction]; the practice became a definite part of Central Asian religious life that later shrine guides—for Samarkand, Balkh, Bukhara, Khwarazm, Sayram and the Volga-Ural region—rarely bother to address at any length the possibility that ziyara might be regarded as bid'a. The veneration of saints at their shrines had by the 9th/15th century (and probably in fact much earlier) clearly become a central and accepted part of Muslim religious life, and the shrines themselves were not only the definitive features of Islamic religious geography in the region but the chief public “evidence” of the saints themselves (whether the shrine marked the grave of a pre-Islamic prophet, a member of Muhammad’s family, a martyr for the faith, an Islamiser, a communal ancestor or a Sufi saint). Equivalents of the term awliya’ (with the plural used here as a singular) in modern Central Asian languages often refer simply to a shrine, whatever it is understood to signify, or to the entire cemetery typically centred upon a shrine, indicating a popular understanding of the saint’s continued presence at the site. The shrines were the setting at which the awliya’s intercession was sought, not only for the private needs of health, fertility, success and the like but also for communal protection and solidarity; the shrine marked the continuing presence of the saint, and God’s blessing, in his or her community, and the 18th-century romantic hagiography of the antinomian saint Mashrab could in effect forget the celebrated jurists buried in Bukhara and declare that, were it not for the presence near that city of Baha al-Din Nakshband’s shrine, Bukhara would be an infidel town (Dinmey-vi-Maghrib, tr. N.S. Ikoshin, Samarkand 1915, 194).

In more recent times, the veneration of saints’ shrines was the target of intense pressure during Soviet anti-religious campaigns; many local shrines were demolished—as recently as 1986, under Gorbachev—and both pilgrims and unofficial shrine custodians were subject to prosecution. Since 1990, shrines have enjoyed a remarkable revival throughout Central Asia, in the region but the chief public “evidence” of the Saint’s re-emergence and reformulation of those traditions in post-Soviet times.

The minor brotherhoods, such as the Kubrawiyya (q.v.) in Kashmir, and the Firdawsiyya and then the Shattariyya (q.v.) in Eastern India, had a regional influence. They are known in Arabic as pir, terms which apply to a living saint as much as to one who is venerated after his death.

The existence of a cult of saints and a theory of saintliness is sporadically attested in India from the beginning of the presence of Muslims there. Holy individuals not as yet attached to Shi‘i orders were worshipped in the region of Sind (q.v.) in present-day Pakistan when it was under Arab domination (from the 8th to the 11th centuries), then in the Punjab (q.v.) under the Ghaznavids (q.v.) (11th to 12th centuries).

The Caliph in Lahore Hudjwfrf (d. ca. 1072 [q.v.]), was already venerated. He left the first treatise on Shi‘ism in Persian in his Kadh al-mukhjahb, an ambitious theory of saintliness, which stated that “God has saints (awlidy) whom He has specially distinguished by His friendship and whom He has chosen to be the governors of His kingdom . . . He has made the saints governors of the universe . . . Through the blessing of their advent the rain falls from heaven, and through the purity of their lives the plants spring up from the earth, and through their spiritual influence the Moslems gain victories over the unbelievers” (tr. R.A. Nicholson, 212-13); furthermore, he had already described the invisible hierarchy of the saints [see ANDAL] who govern the world (op. cit., 214).

The documented history of sainthood in India begins with the founding of the sultanate of Delhi (see DIN, AWL) in 1210, which established Muslim supremacy on the Indian subcontinent for six centuries, and the consolidation soon afterwards of the orders of mystics [see TEKKA]. From this time onwards it is possible to outline the history of sainthood in India within the context of the Shi‘i orders until the 16th century, throughout the unified sultanate of the 15th-14th centuries, and then the regional sultanates of the 14th-16th centuries [see IND. IV. HISTORY]. Mystical theology was dominated by the Chistiyya (q.v.) who rivalled the Suhrawardiya (q.v.); and from the 15th century onwards the Kirdiyya (q.v.) was established.

The minor brotherhoods, such as the Kubrawiya (q.v.) in Kashmir, and the Firdawsiyya and then the Shattariyya (q.v.) in Eastern India, had a regional importance. In contrast to the socially respectable orders, which were obedient to the Shar‘a, India was also familiar with less conventional orders described as mulwaddiyya (q.v.), and more recently by the specifically Perso-Indian expression bh gha‘r (q.v.); these included the Kalandariyya (q.v.) and the Madariyya [see BADR AL-DIN SHAh MADAR] in the north, and the Rifa‘iyya (q.v.) in the west and south of the subcontinent.

The conception of sainthood which prevailed among the brotherhoods was inherited from Kufurshān and Central Asia. It was first to be seen in hagiography, in which the saints close to God are seen to be endowed with supernatural powers and able to perform miracles (kanina [q.v.]). They display these gifts in an ostentatious fashion, especially in the heteropraxic orders. Then there are those who are obliged to mediate between God and man, guiding man towards Him; the distress of the faithful is consoled and their illnesses cured by their intercession (ghaf‘a [q.v.]). Saints also have a cosmic role, for they may have control over the rain and the crops, like Ghazz Miyan (q.v.). But in particular, they play a political role by assuring victory for the armies of Islam, like Mu‘in al-Din Chishti (d. ca. 1224), to whom is attributed the foundation of the sultanate of Delhi. Saints make and unmake kings, for sainthood (awlidy or wulidy) really implies “the government of a territory” (awlidy). Therefore it was believed that from its inception the throne of Delhi was controlled by the great saints of the Chishtiyya, in particular Ni‘m al-Din Awiyya (q.v.), and it is from this that there arises conflict-ridden relations between the saints and the sultans, who found it hard to tolerate this spiritual control.

In an India where Islam was very much in the minority, Muslim saints were also competing with Hindu mystics. Saints such as Abd al-Kudr Das Gangohi (1456-1537) and Mu‘ammad Ghawth Gawaiyari (1500-62), while not hesitating to use techniques such as yoga, were intent on showing the superiority of Islam in magical contexts. Their tombs are often found at resanctified former Buddhist or Hindu sites. The saint within the Delhi sultanate was most often given a highly colourful character. Alongside the sages devoted to the spiritual improvement of their disciples, like Shara‘ al-Din Yahya Manerf (d. 1391), representing the Firdawsiyya, emphasis was given to the ecstatic personalities who were enamoured of music and poetry. Kufu al-Din Bahlul Kaki died at Delhi in 1235 after four days of ecstasy spent singing the same Persian verses. A saint could become violent in the working of miracles in order to put an end to his own adversarvies.

From the middle of the 14th century onwards, saintliness became the subject of theological discussions. The influence of Ibn al-‘Arabi spread, especially through the medium of the Kubrawiya with ‘Ali al-Hamadani (d. 1380), who was especially attached to Abu’l Djalhanir al-Sinnanni (d. 1436 [q.v.]), who passed on to membership of the Chishtiyya.

The Mughals (16th-18th centuries [q.v.] beginning with Babur, brought a new brotherhood from Central Asia, the Nakhshbandiya (q.v.). It developed theories of sainthood by aligning itself with Ibn al-‘Arabi, especially under the influence of Ahmad Sirhindf (q.v.), the founder of the mughalduiya branch. He gave a firm emphasis to the supremacy of the Shar‘a and the superiority of prophecy (nabustawat) over sainthood (awlidy); but this did not imply, as was wrongly thought, abandoning the traditional ideas of sainthood. Sirhindf and his son placed themselves at the top of an invisible hierarchy of saints with the title of kasyun, which like the kha‘ (q.v.) played the role of the axis mundi. Today, the Nakhshbandiya keep alive the mediaeval conception of sainthood and align themselves with the Barelwī (see below) in venerating saints.

The Mughals also supported other orders: Humāy (q.v.) put trust in the Shattariyya, especially in Muhammad Ghawth (1500-62 [q.v.]), a great musician and a patron of musicians; Shāh Djalhan and his son Dārā Shukoh favoured the Kirdiyya and saints like Miyan Mfr. But since Akbar, the true organiser of the empire, who renewed links with the traditions of the Delhi sultanate, the dynasty was placed...
under the protection of the Cishtiyya. He generously
\[g.e.\] donated the tomb of Mu'in al-Din at Ajmer
\[q.e.\], and he attributed the perpetuation of the dynasty to
Salim Chishti (d. 1571), founder of the
\[g.e.\] Madariyya. There were also those who played a politi-
c\al or religious role in a particular region, among
whom the most famous were those belonging to the
Cishtiyya, like Farid al-Din (d. 1265) from Pak-Pattan,
protector of the Pandjab, Nizam al-Din Awlia
\[q.e.\] were the great historical characters of India, founders
of Indian orders like BadT
\[g.e.\] and he attributed the perpetuation of the dynasty to
Abd al-Kadir al-Djflanf
\[g.e.\] around his tomb. In the 18th cen-
tury the last Mughals revived the cult of Ku\'b al-Din
at Dih\l.

A definite cult certainly developed around thousands
of saints. First, there were the great saints born out-
side India, especially the founders of the great broth-
ern\o\os like 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djflanf
\[g.e.\] and their families, like those of Ahmad
\[g.e.\] which remains predominant in the entire subconti-
ent. It is well organised within the framework of Pakistan
but more informal elsewhere, and expresses a religiosity
which remains predominant in the entire subcontinent.

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7. In Southeast Asia and Indonesia.

Veneration of saints has been well established in the classical Malay and Javanese worlds of Southeast Asia since at least the 15th century. Nine legendary figures, the famous wali sanga ("nine saints"), are thought to have planted Islam in Java and successfully displaced the old Hindu-Javanese political and socio-religious order in the northern coastal areas. With the exception of M awlānā Mālik Ibrāhīm, who early went to Java as a missionary from abroad and is buried in Gresik (an elaborate Gudjarati tombstone from 822/1419 marks his grave), the saints were accorded the Javanese title sunan ("eminence") and most were closely associated with particular places in Central and East Java: Sunan Ampel with Surabaya, Sunan Giri with Gresik, Sunan Kalijaga with Demulah (or Demu), Sunan Kudus (also known as Dji'lar al-Sādīk) with Kudus, Sunan Gunung Jati with Cerbon, Sunan Bonang with Tuban, Sunan Drajat with Demak, and Sunan Muria (a son of Sunan Kalijaga) with Pati. Sunan Kalijaga is usually considered to be the greatest of the wali sanga. Additional personalities are also sometimes grouped with the wali sanga, giving rise to modern scholarly speculation that the number nine was more a symbolic than archetypical concept. As G.W.J. Drewes suggested: "In Indian-Javanese cosmological mythology, nine was a very important number, and it is possible that the nine saints occupy the places of the nine guardian deities who presided over the points of the compass in the old cosmological system" (Indonesia: mysticism and activism, in Unity and variety in Muslim civilization, ed. G.E. von Grunebaum, Chicago 1955, 297). Nevertheless, the listing of nine named saints continues to be widely maintained.

Although most of the sources about the wali sanga are hagiographical and sometimes conflicting, certain of the saints appear to have been significant religious-political leaders in their times, and they continue to enjoy a prestigious position in Javanese Muslim consciousness to the present. They may be understood to represent, among other things, the essentially harmonious and gradual transition into an increasingly Islamic worldview as the religion gradually spread in-
land from the coastal regions. Such cultural legacies as shadow play, the gamelan orchestra, and the gandal, recounts the history of the last period of the sanga and its cults have been extensively described in a series of articles by D.A. Rinkes in his *De heiligen van Java*, in *Tijdschrift voor indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, lii-lii (1910-11). Annual saint festivals (ma wa li) in honor of the sanga and other saints are celebrated, with parades, banners, special foods, circumincessions and litanies in the graveyards, all resembling similar festivals in saint-rich countries like Egypt. People make pilgrimages [see ZIYARA] to Javanese saint shrines, both at the time of the ma wa li and throughout the year. (A nuanced treatment of traditional, syncretic Javanese—agamjau—and orthodox Islamic—agami santri—saint-related beliefs and practices appears in Koentjaraningrat, *Javaanse cultuur*, Singapore 1985, ch. 5.)

Not all Javanese have admired the Muslim saint tradition of their island. A controversial genre of literature developed during the later 19th century emphasizing the incompatibility of Islam with traditional Javanese ideals and values. One book, the *Serat Dermagandul*, recounts the history of the last period of the Madjapahit dynasty and depicts such sungs as Sunan Bonang, Sunan Giri, and Sunan Kalijaga and their roles unfavourably. The book was summarized by G.W.H. Drewes, *The struggle between Javanism and Islam as illustrated by the Serat Dermagandul*, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, cxxii (1966), 309-65.

The process of Islamisation in Java included a fair amount of accommodation with Javanese traditional religious and cultural values and symbols. It is possible that the Kur'ān was introduced in the interior to some degree by means of traditional Javanese song and in translation. The shrine complex of Sunan Giri in Gresik, East Java, near Surabaya, features a Madjapahit-style stone split gate with large sculpted nagas (Hindu serpent guardian spirits) at the entrance to the cemetery. There are also elaborately carved wooden nagas on either side of the entry to the walls wooden tomb chamber, which is decorated with carved lotus figures. The tomb is devoid of the kinds of Arabic calligraphic designs that typically decorate saints' graves in the Middle East and South Asia. The layout of the shrine complex on a hilltop overlooking the town has a Friday mosque occupying the eastern part, with a cemetery lot beyond the kibla wall to the west (the direction of Mecca is somewhat northwest of Surabaya). Further west are several substantial tombs of venerated personages, with that of Sunan Giri occupying a pre-eminent position. The layout resembles a congregation, with the living ranged at the back of the mosque building and then the tombs of the deceased, but "living" saintly members in a higher status arrangement toward the "front", with the great saint serving, as it were, as imam for the prayers. A similar arrangement may be seen at the shrine complex of Sunan Kudus in the small city of that name. The minbar of the Sunan Giri mosque is low, with a canopy, and more than a traditional Middle Eastern minbar, the design resembles a traditional seat for a Hindu god. The mosque (whose actual name is Masjid 'Ayn al-Takin, from another name of the sulta) is of the early Javanese type with a three-tiered roof popularly known as the “Meru” style, after the Buddhist cosmic mountain. All of these syncretic details designed into monumental Islamic structures bear witness to a blending of Hindu-Javanese and Islamic ideas and symbols during the period when Islamisation was taking root among the Javanese society at large, including the royalty, and not merely in the coastal market towns and ports.

Although this article has focused on sainthood in Java, the phenomenon is also found in various manifestations in the traditional Malay world. C. Snouck Hurgronje wrote of the saint veneration of a century ago in Aceh as relating principally to the fulfillment of vows by persons who visit shrines seeking favours such as healing (*The Achetense*, Leiden 1906, ii, 292-303). Such practices were often of a popular folk character and not within the boundaries of orthodox Islam. They included bestowing gifts of food and flowers, processions with a small orchestra (gangrang) of a woodwind instrument and percussion, and dramatic performances, as well as recitation of the Kur’ān or other religious texts. In Aceh the Malay title *tuun* (“master”) rather than the Ar. *wall* has been preferred ([ibid.].

Shī‘īsm has also influenced the understanding of saintliness in Southeast Asia, for example through the concept of the “Perfect Man” (al-insān al-kāmil [q.v.]) as applied to early Muslim rulers in the Straits trading-centres of Pasai and Melaka. Evidence that the concept had currency in the latter place is contained, e.g. in the 16th/17th century Malay annals (*Sjarah Miliau*; see A.C. Milner, *Islam and Malay kingship*, in *JRAS*, ser. 3, i [1981], 55).


The term *wall* does not seem to have existed in traditional Chinese Islam, whether in the form of transliteration of the Arabic into Chinese characters with a phonetic rendering distinctly identical, or in translation. Moreover, when this topic is raised before a Chinese Muslim, a “Hui” in Communist China, from the milieu of strict orthodoxy, he will indignantly repudiate it as an invention of the West brought forward to harm Islam; or at most, as a Sunnī of the Hanafi school, he will consider it as belonging to Shi‘īsm. Nevertheless, the cult of dead saints, and to a lesser extent living ones, exists in Chinese Sunnī Islam, having strongly developed within the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th.

(i) The sacred tomb, a place of pilgrimage on a greater or lesser scale, is called in Chinese Islam *kungpei* (gongbei in pinyin, a term transliterated from Pers. gunbad = Ar. kubba [q.v.]). In Western China, where Muslim communities are most concentrated and the cult of tombs is at its most active, the sacred tomb generally appears as a hexagonal pavilion made of mud bricks surmounted by a dome and with an entablature curving upwards at the corners, thus giving a Chinese appearance. In the centre of Ninghsia (Ningxia, the “Autonomous Hui Region” of the PRC) [see NINGSHA], the sacred tomb has the unusual form of a lime-washed sugarloaf, in front of which is a portal lined with bricks and a hood decorated with Chinese motifs and Kur‘ānic sūras within medallions. Inside these various structures, the tomb is roughly finished, in lime mortar, with no ornamentation, but is sometimes covered with a silken covering when the local faithful have the means for supplying this. In
front of the tomb are a prayer mat, a water pot for ablutions, and—a typical Chinese custom—sticks of incense ... water. The
North African wall Sldl Yahya al-Tadallisf (who was
also a sharif) was his contemporary and is categorised

(ii) The prominence of spiritual leaders is character-
istic of the ensemble of popular Sufism in those parts of Western China where the brotherhoods have
a significant role. The turāb burst forth into numerous religious, social, economic and even political small
units, the men-huan [see TASAWWUF. 6. In Chinese Islam], whose pivot is, for each of them, the kung-pei
of the founder of the line, surrounded by the kung-
peis of his male and female relatives. The required
cult of ancestors has contributed in China, without
doubt more than the influence of practices from
Central Asia, to the legitimisation of hereditary trans-
mission of the direction of the men-huan and to the
investiture of the supreme charisma inherent in the
tomb of the dead “Head of the Way” (tsao-chang or
daozhang, also called “Master of the Faith” chiao-chu or
jaou-chu, i.e. shaykh). For the adept of the men-huan, the
first of his obligations is to make a pilgrimage once
in his life to the “Hall of the Way” (tsao-t'ung or dou-tang, centre of the Master’s khânakdh [q.v.]) and to pay
homage to him by the great prostration (the k'ou-t'ou,
whence the Western European word “kowtow”), with-
out worrying about orientation towards Mecca, and
by the offering of a “present” (hai-ti-yeh, i.e. hadiya)
of a value proportionate to his own income.
The usual ritual at these pilgrimages and the fre-
quently ceremonies on the occasion of the “anni-
saries” (mh-mai-lu, i.e. al-mawlid) of the dead members of the sacred line, comprised the chanting recitation of the
dhkâr, the reading of sacred texts appropriate to the men-huan, fumigations with incense, offerings of fruit, the presenting of “gifts” to the Master, the
latter’s blessing and the offering him of a gift of a
monetary value inversely proportionate to the one
which he received. If the Master was an ascetic, the
system of presents and presents in return functioning
like a redistribution of wealth amongst the adepts; in
the opposite case, it was a heavy tribute destined for
the Master’s treasury and that of his relatives. The
Master was considered by his faithful as at least
the equal of Muhammad, if not his superior, since
he had the advantage of being alive and visible. The
faithful would often go so far as to say that they pre-
ferred to make a pilgrimage to a living saint rather
than to a dead one, and that it was better to be
wrong in the presence of the living saint than to
be right against the latter’s will.

(iii) An extensive religious structure in the Chinese
style grew up, at least before the destructions of the
Cultural Revolution, around the sacred kung-pei enab-
ling the Master of the time to exercise his charisma.
Thus the “Great kung-pei,” on a site founded in 1689
by the one who introduced the Kâdiriya into China,
Ch'i Chi-ming (1656-1719) at He-chou (the modern Lin-
hsia, in the extreme west, on the borders of Kansu
and Ch'inghai), extended, as it does until the pre-
sent time, over ca. 2,700 ha, with a mosque, a Kurân
school, a seminary, the administrative services of the
men-huan, lodgings for the resident religious mem-
bers and for visitors, a cemetery and, behind a low
wall, the sacred mausoleum.
The importance of the sacred bodies, or at least
one of their heads, in the transmission of charisma
has resulted in the fact that men-huans of identical
sitle have stolen these or heads from each other
at the time when their power became consolidated,
i.e. in the last decades of the 19th century up to the
1930s. Thus one of the men-huans arising out of the
Djahriyya (a Chinese branch of the Naqshbandiya),
in the so-called Ling-chou line, the men-huan of Pan-
ch'iao, held on to the headless corpse of the executed
Fifth Master Ma Hua-lung (1810-71 [q.v.]), whilst the
head was the property of the men-huan of Pei-shan,
from the same line, at Ch'ang-ch'ia-ch'uan (in Kansu),
which further held the body of Ma Yuan-chang (1833-
1920), although this last was venerated by the op-
posing line, of Kuan-ch'uan, which attached itself
hereditarily to the Djahriyya’s founder, Ma Ming-hsin
(1719-81 [q.v.]). Similarly, the men-huan of Sha-kou, at
Hsi-chi (in Ninghsia), of this line of Kuan-ch’uan,
after 1920 spread its domination over a mausoleum of
Ma Yuan-chang in which there was no corpse,
and over the Hall of the Way of this last, as well
as, by stretching its antennae over various points in
Greater China, notably in Sinkiang, over the tombs
of male and female ancestors of Ma Yuan-chang.

The cult of dead saints has had a revival in the late
1980s in the PRC (not much is known about living
saints), since, in the words of one of the faithful,
addressing a saint in the hope of having one’s request
granted by God is like making use of the “back door”
(hou-men), i.e. using relatives who are well placed in
the Communist world in order to gain a favour.

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9. In West Africa.
While the term waI (and the feminine waliyya) is
frequently applied as an epithet of holy or saintly per-
sons in the Islamic literature of West Africa, there is
little development of any “cult of saints”, and tombs,
although sometimes known, are generally very mod-
est. Persons described as wail are generally distin-
guished by their being the locus of manifestations of
divine grace (tünâm) in the fifth of thaurâ-
turgical acts, or, more simply, by acts demonstrating
extreme piety. The Târîkh al-Sudân of al-Sa’dî gives
brief biographies of several such persons, though none
of these is among the dozen saints buried around the
edges of the old city of Timbuktu who are currently
considered to be the chief among its 333 guarding
saints. Muhammad al-Kâbari (mid-9th/15th century)
was able to inflict leprosy on a scholar of Marrakesh
who insulted him; he could also walk on water. The
North African wali Sift Yahyâ al-Taladibli (who was
also a shari’i) was his contemporary and is categorised

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(FAÎNCEUDE AUBIN)
as a khitb. When he came to Timbuktu he used to see the Prophet nightly, but later when he engaged in business he saw him only once a month and finally once a year. As a sharif, he was not only immune to fire, but whatever he touched became similarly immune. He was reputed to be clairvoyant (dha mukaddanim), as were several others. Muhammad 'Uryan al-ra's (fl. 1009/1600), not only met with al-Khadir (q.v.), but when he exhibited signs of madness it was explained that this resulted from a vision of God. Others could relocate themselves daily to Cairo to pray in al-Azhar mosque, while the Egyptian saint Abu 'l-Makārim al-Bakrī (d. 994/1586), who had met several Timbuktu scholars when they passed through Egypt, made daily visits to Timbuktu. The only one of these saints now celebrated in any sense is Sidi Yalāya al-Tadallīf, in whose name a mosque was built, and whose tomb is within the mosque enclosure. Some of the currently-existing saints' tombs in Timbuktu have keepers who receive cash offerings from the faithful who supplicate the saint, but there are no organised celebratory festivals.

The same is true for Kano. In 1406/1985 Śāliḥ Bābah b. Abī Bakr published in Kano a booklet entitled Tabāqat ahl Allāh bi-ṣīlah bi-kārān min asṣālīyā Allāh, giving brief biographies of saintly men and women buried in the city or locations of their tombs. A few of these have regular guardians, but again there is little ceremony about visitation and no large parades or gatherings. However, Abī al-Kādir al-Dījanī's mawṣūl was celebrated in public fashion with parades in the city and beating of bandari drums during the latter part of the lifetime of Nāṣiruš Kābara (d. 1996), the leading Kādirī dāqūd of West Africa. Only in Senegal is there the kind of annual festival and visitation that is common in Egypt and North Africa, with large boisterous crowds and a carnival atmosphere. This is the maggal at Touba, the burial place of the "national" saint of Senegal, Abūd Bamba (d. 1927 [see muktaddīya]). The followers of Abūd Bamba, who was exiled by the French to Gabon, have developed a rich hagiography of him. The most common iconographic reminder of his miraculous powers is the picture of the prayer rug cast upon the waters when the French captain of his ship to Gabon forbade him to pray on board the vessel. Angels hover above and the ship's crew looks on in disbelief. Another religious figure exiled by the French, Ḥāmū Allāh (correctly Ḥamāhu Ṭālīh) of Nıoro in Mali (d. 1943 [see Ḥamālīyya]) also gained the status of waṣīf; indeed, his followers saw him as the khitb, and in poems in praise of him proposed a status for him that was scarcely distinguishable from the divine (B. Soares and J. Hunwick, Falskema IV: the shaykh as the locus of divine self-disclosure: a poem in praise of Ḥamāhu Ṭalīh, in Sudanic Africa, vii [1996], 97-112). His son Muḥammad still lives in Nıoro and is the object of pious visitation and gift-giving by Muslims from a broad spectrum of Malian society. Ḥamāhu Ṭalīh died in exile in France, but his most devoted followers fervently believe that he did not die, and they await his return.

There were other West African saints who are said to have attained similarly exalted mystical ranks. Abī Allāh al-Barnawī (d. 1088/1677), whose mystical initiator was the angel Ṣarfālī, guardian of al-lawh al-maḥfūz [see lawh], was regarded in Bornū as a khitb. Another Bornū waṣīf of similar name who died in 1126/1714-15 was an intimate of the well-known Moorish saint ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dābbāgī (Abūd al-Mubārak al-Laṃaṭī, K. al-ʾIbrīz, Cairo 1380/1961, 14). In the early 13th/19th century Muḥammad Sambo, a son of the reformer ʿUṯmān b. Fāṭīm (q.v.), attained a high rank in waṣīfah, and a firm stance in divine knowledge (maʿrifah), and a true state in suḏīgīyā (J.O. Hunwick, A supplement to Inṣāf al-mawṣūr: the biographical notes of ʿAbd al-Qādir b. al-Mustafā, in Sudanic Africa, vi [1996], 35-51), this latter being the station just below kurba, which is the station of al-walāya al-kubrā (on this see M. Chodkiewicz, Seal of the saints: prophet-hood and sainthood in the doctrine of Ibn Ṭirāz, Cambridge 1993, ch. 7). According to his biographer ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Dābbāgī, the Egyptian saint Abū ʾl-Makārim al-Bakrī "had seen the land of the samāsima (ṣīr) and had entered it" (ibid., 15 and appendix), the ʿaṣr al-sīsimā being "the land at the extremity of the imaginal world at the point where it adjoins the sensory world" (H. Corbin, Tere celeste et corpus de resurrection, Paris 1961, 214).

There is not a large theoretical literature on the concept of the waṣīf in West Africa. The most extensive treatment of questions relating to the waṣīf is to be found in the important Ṭidjānī manual of al-bīḥāṣī Ṣuḥr b. Saʿīd (d. 1280/1864), the Rīmāk biḥāṣī al-rāhīm (see B. Radikte, Studies on the sources of Kūlāh Rīmāk biḥāṣī al-rāhīm of al-bīḥāṣī Ṣuḥr, in Sudanic Africa, vi [1995], 73-114). These elaborate older concepts; the illumi-nated waṣīf is not bound by the muḥāfathah: grooming and allegiance to a perfected waṣīf is like pledging allegiance to the Prophet; the Prophet is omnipresent and the waṣīf has the ability to see him in a waking state. Ch. 36 deals with the seemingly innovatory claim of Abūd al-Tidjānī to be the "seal of the Friends of God... and the support of the poles and the nurturers (ṣāḥib al-walāya min-ṣāḥib al-walāya) who is the intermediary between the Prophet and the Friends of God such that none of the Friends, either of greater or lesser rank, finds an effusion [of grace] from the plane (bafris) of a prophet except through his mediation". However, the claim to be the "seal of the Friends of God" was first made by Ibn al-ʿArabī, and despite the seemingly final nature of such a phrase in its parallelism with the phrase "seal of the prophets" (ṣāḥib al-nabīyīn) as applied to the Prophet Muhammad, Chodkiewicz suggests that this term may have come to represent a rank rather than an ultimate claim (op. cit., 128 ff., esp. n. 42). Whether Abūd al-Tidjānī saw it in this light is doubtful, in light of his claim to be the sole source of mediation of an effusion of divine grace (ṣuḏāra) from the plane of a prophet; indeed, al-Tidjānī actually claims that Ibn al-ʿArabī gave up his claim to this rank in favour of him.

10. In Chad and the Nilotic Sudan.

In the eastern Bilād al-Sūdān, the term ṣawāfī overlaps in usage with ḥādiq, ṣaffī, colloc. ḥādiq (which often share the pl. ḥādibān), ṣawāfī (pl. muḥallātīkhān), ṣafī (used in compound phrases with a place-name, e.g. ṣafīī ṭayyibī ṭayyibī Rayba), muṭaʿalla, muṣallā (Hausa), and ẓanī (Kanuri, strictly one who has memorised the Qurʿān), names which variously reflect the ṣawāfī’s spiritual qualities and station, and social status and roles.

Awliya’ are prominent figures from the beginnings of recorded or remembered Islamic history in the region—remembered and celebrated as propagators of Islam, promoters of the Ḥadīth, founders of lineages, clans, settlements, schools, even of dynasties. The earliest personalities are associated with (1) the flow of Islamic influences into the western end of the region along an axis extending from Tripoli southwards to Lake Chad by way of Fezzan, Tibesti and Kanem, and into the Nile valley at its eastern end from Egypt to the north and the Arabian peninsula across the Red Sea to the east; and (2) the rise of Muslim-ruled dynasties in Kanem, Sinnar, Dārfūr, Wadai, Bagūrīrī, Taqālī and other states—dynasties that offered the holy men patronage and protection for spiritual support, political legitimation and practical services (e.g. as scribes). Among the earliest of the awliya’ venerated in oral tradition and recorded in charters of immunity, genealogical treatises and biographical literature (mandkiḥ; see below) are Muḥammad b. Māni (5th/11th century), who is associated with the conversion to Islam of the ruler of Kanem, and Qāḥilʿān Allah b. Āydī, a Yemeni who migrated to the Dongola area of Nubia and “built the mosques and taught the Qurʿān and religious sciences” for a people sunk in “extreme perplexity and error” (Yūsuf Fadl Ḥasan, The Arabs and the Sudan, Khartoum 1973). Traditions represent the founders of kingdoms across the eastern Bilād al-Sūdān as Muslim “wise strangers”; and some clearly resemble the pious charismatic figure of the ṣafīī, e.g. “Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmīnī” of the ṣawāfīī khāniqah of the Kadhiriyya (q.v.) and al-Karīmī, founder of the ṣawāfīī Ḥanbalī school in Wadai.

The ṣawāfī’s nearness to God endowed him (or occasionally, her) with divine blessing or grace (barakā), which manifested itself in extraordinary acts and capacities (kairūnī). The recounting of these kairūnī is an important genre of sacred literature and folklore, and, in the Nilotic Sudan, has been incorporated into works of maḥkāmī such as Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Ǧayf Allāh, K. al-Ṭāḥkātī fi ṣawāfī al-awliya’ waʾl-ṣāḥābīn waʾl-ṣāʿāmāt waʾl-ṣawāfāt waʾl-Sūdānīn, ed. Y.F. Ḥasan, Khartoum 1974; ʿAbd Allāh al-Bukhtānī, al-Bukhtānī al-lāmī al-nawāfī fi ṣawāfī al-ṣawāfīī al-ṭalīkī al-Ḥanbalī, ed. Muḥammad ʿAbd Allāh al-Sālim, Beirut 1991; and “ʿAbd al-Maḥmūd Nūr al-Dāʿīm, Azhīrī al-nīyāt fi ẓarīk al-ṣawāfīī al-ṣawāfīī al-Tayyībī b. al-Ṭabāqīrī, Cairo 1973. The ṣawāfī was known for the efficacy of his prayer, e.g. for rain, health and fertility, and of his curse upon the oppressor and the violator of pledges. He was distinguished by his faculty of “uncovering” the unknown (kafṣīf), i.e. perceiving thoughts, distant places, the past, and the future. He personified detachment, abstinence, probity on the one hand and open-handed hospitality and generosity on the other. These attributes and capabilities fitted the ṣawāfī to mediate in conflicts and resolve feuds, to intercede for his followers and to provide sanctuary for the fugitive. Prominent among his regular activities were the preparation of amulets (hādīq) and erasures (muhāsá, sc. verses that were washed off the writing-board and drunk by the patient), the teaching and initiation of disciples, and prolonged withdrawal into solitary meditation (khalwa).

The social life of the ṣawāfī centred on the mosque, the school and the tombs of sanctified for-bears. Their instruction frequently combined Sūfī ḍiyār with Qurʿānī study, jurisprudence (following the Mālikī school), and theology (ʿAbū ʿAbd Allāh al-Sanāʿī’s works were the most popular). Significantly, the word ḍiyār (= Sūfī retreat, place of seclusion for prayer) is widely used in the region for Qurʿānī school. A substantial proportion of settlements were founded by holy men. The right of sanctuary held by the ṣawāfī, the exemptions from taxation and other impositions by secular authorities (though the ṣawāfī themselves collected canonical taxes) attracted settlers and sometimes contributed to the rise of flourishing market towns. With the steady inflow of visitors and offerings, these communities became nodes of redistributive networks.

Research in recent decades has confirmed the existence, at least as early as the 17th century, of a vast network of awliya’, their centres of religious instruction and devotional practice spanning the Bilād al-Sūdān (see J. Lavers, Diversion on a journey, or the travels of Shaykh Ahmad al-Yamani (1630-1712) from Ḥadīthaya to Fīz, in Y.F. Ḥasan and P. Doornbos (eds.), The Central Bilād al-Sūdān. Tradition and adaptation, Khartoum n.d. [1979]). Some holy men accompanied a diaspora of Nubian traders from the Nile (known collectively as ḍallāḥ) extending westward to Dārfūr and Wadai, and others a counterstreaming of Hausa merchants, Fulbe and Bornawi migrants, and pilgrims originating in the western Bilād al-Sūdān. Eastern and western influences have their counterpart in the distribution of types of Arabic script: Maghribī is used in Kanem and Bagūrīrī, Nasīḥī in Wadai and Dārfūr. Only in the Nubian region did the Arabian and Egyptian style of domed tomb (kubba [q.v.]) become firmly implanted, during the era of Fundj rule (16th-19th centuries). School of regional importance up to the 19th century were located at Bidderi (Bagūrīrī), al-Dāmīr (at the Nile-Atbara confluence), Arbaḍī (on the Blue Nile), and Kubayḥ (Dārfūr). Itinerant students (muḥādīrīn), pilgrims, traders, and ḍawṣīfī circulate among the schools and shrines scattered throughout the region and continually renewed linkages with the Ḥijāz, Yemen, Egypt and the Maghrib.

The Kadhiriyya (q.v.) brotherhood was pervasive and unchallenged throughout the region (except for a minor presence of Ṣhaḏliyya [q.v.] along the Nile) until the 18th century when the Samānīyya (a branch of the Ḥijālwaṭīyya [q.v.]) was established in the Gezira by ʿAbd Allāh al-Ṭayīb b. al-Ḥaṣāfīrī. The 19th century witnessed the advent of several new fraternalities, notably the Ḥaṭṭāṭīyya from the Ḥijāz, the Ṭajjānīyya (q.v.) from the Maghrib by way of Borno and Hausaland, and the Ṣanṭāṣīyya [q.v.] from Cyrenaica. The independence, individuality, and idiosyncrasies of the ṣawāfī were somewhat constrained within these more centralised, hierarchical and regulated brotherhoods.

During the 19th and 20th centuries, imperialism (Egyptian, British and French), social upheaval and millenarianism presented new challenges, roles and opportunities for the awliya’. A number of holy men entered the arena of politics—most successfully,
Muhammad al-Amin al-Kanimi, who founded the Shehu dynasty of Bornu subsequent to a challenge from the Fulbe majdhibun of the Sokoto Caliphate, and Muhammad Ahmad, the Mahdi, whose defeat of the Egyptian colonial government inaugurated a short-lived independent state. The subsequent Anglo-Egyptian and French colonial systems, imposed over the former Egyptian Sudan and Chad respectively, perpetuated old patterns of patronage and subsidy to mu^dhidun of the Sokoto Caliphate, from the Fulbe in the former Egyptian Sudan and Chad respectively, Egyptian and French colonial systems, imposed over the whole, see Le Gouverneur Beyries, Khartoum 1985; K.S. Viker, The Sufi brotherhoods in the Sudan, London 1995; A. Hofheinz, "Djelili," 537-9, argues for the early 1720s.

The later tafullyk writers make much of Wall’s supposed meeting during a visit to Dihili in 1122/1707 with the Nakhchbandi saint and Persian poet Shah Sa’d Allah Gulshan (d. 1141/1728), who advised him to write in the Urdu [q.v.] of Dihili rather than the Dakhini Urdu in which he had hitherto composed, and for the embellishment of his poetry to draw upon the full resources of Persian. Polished in the light of Gulshan’s recommendations, it is said, Wall’s poetry rapidly achieved a universal popularity which greatly aided the replacement of Persian by Urdu as the preferred poetic language of the courts of Dihili and northern India. However, the core of the replacement of Dihili’s cultural supremacy may be as history, the endurance of the Wall-Gulshan story as myth was ensured when Muhammad Husayn Azad used it to initiate his immensely influential account of Urdu literature. It is this passage (Ab-i hayât, 80), whose rhetoric neatly eliminates the entire Dakhini phase of Urdu poetry, which generated the two clichés most commonly applied to Wall, either as the Adam of Urdu poetry (naiz-i Urdu kii naal kii Adam), or as its Chaucer. Many later critics have noted the difficulty of detecting radical changes of language and aesthetic justifying any notion of consistent pre- and post-Dihili phases in Wall’s extensive divaan of some four hundred ghazals. This is not to deny the relevance to the characterisation of Wall’s poetry as transitional between older Dakhini and later northern Urdu of the internal stylistic contrasts which may be partially established by suitable isolated examples (e.g. Sadiq, History, 64). The divan is, however, less remarkable for any internal diversity than for the general uniformity of its emphasis upon distinctly human amatory themes, often delightfully treated. While Wall’s name has predictably caused the mistaken attribution to him of Şûfi and other religious works, little conviction attaches to attempts at mystical readings of his divan beyond the conventions of tassewufi baray-i shirf guftan khub ast “Sufism is good for composing poetry”.


Walî al-Ahd (a.), the heir-designate to a caliph or ruler, literally “successor [by virtue of] a covenant” (see Šâhi in the context of the political economy of the Republic of Sudan is Idris Salim al-Ḥasan, Religion in Society, Nemer, and the Turq, 1972-1980; Khartoum 1993. (N. McHugh)
entirely clear when the title came into use. Historians from the 3rd/9th century (e.g. Ibn Kutayba, 155 ff.) apply it to the Umayyad 'Abd al-Aziz b. Marwan and subsequent heir-designates of that dynasty, but this may be anachronistic. Coins from the 'Abbāsids caliph al-Mahdi's period (158-69/775-85), proclaiming his heir Mūsā (al-Hādī) as wallī 'āhd al-muslimin, categorically attest to its being in use by then (al-Bāhū, 542-3; Lane-Poole, Cat., i, 54).

Designation was a standard way of transferring power, including caliphal power, throughout Islamic history. The precedent—such appointments on old tribal norms—was set by the first caliph Abū Bakr, who nominated 'Umar to succeed him; the latter in turn designated a group of leading Muslims to select the next in line from among themselves. Muḥammat, the first Umayyad caliph, established another precedent by naming his own son Yazīd as successor, thereby introducing a dynastic principle. A later Umayyad caliph, Marwān I, went a step further by designating not one but two of his sons, 'Abd al-Malik and 'Abd al-Azīz, to come after him successively; but when the former of the two came to power he manoeuvred his brother out of the succession and nominated his own two sons instead. Such early practices established the pattern: succession by designation, normally of a son (not necessarily the eldest) or brother; the option of nominating more than one heir at a time; and the annulment of a designation in favour of another candidate. The majority of caliphs, and most other hereditary Islamic rulers—in the Buyyāhid, Sāliḥid, Fātimid, and Mamlūk states and in Muslim Spain, among others—came to power through such procedures. The most common alternative to this practice was seizure of government by force.

Designation was effected through an 'āhd, a unilateral voluntary testament by the incumbent ruler. Under the Umayyads this was a relatively simple act, with the nomination sometimes made public only after the caliph's death. The 'Abbāsids developed a more elaborate routine. A stereotypic text of the 'āhd was adopted, and the nomination came to be announced in a ceremony presided over by the caliph, where-upon the heir-designate was offered a bay'a [q.v.] by the dignitaries at hand. The appointment was then publicised throughout the empire. Once designated, the wallī 'āhd was accorded a black insignia, his own palace and staff and, if still a minor, a tutor. His name was mentioned in the khutba alongside that of the caliph and inscribed on the empire's flag and coins. Upon his nomination, the wallī 'āhd was given a regnal title (luxab [q.v.], which he later retained as caliph; al-Mahdi was the first to be so entitled, while still heir-designate, by his father al-Manṣūr. To train the candidate for his future post, he was sent as governor to a major province. Thus 'Abbāsids heir-designates became governors of Syria, Armenia or provinces of the west; and in Kāḏurīr Persia they were customarily in charge of Adharbayjān. The institution of wallī 'āhd had its peak in the early 'Abbāsids period, when the heir was second to none but the caliph and replaced him on the throne during the latter's absence from the capital. His status declined when caliphs came under the sway of sultans, in Bahgād and then in Cairo, who curbed their authority and interfered in the selection of their heirs.

Based on Abū Bakr's and 'Umar's precedents, Sunnī jurists sanctioned designation as one of two accepted modes of succession, along with election (in Šī'ī doctrine, designation carried a different sense and importance; see īmām, šī'ī). They saw no contradiction between these two principles: the caliph, as īmām, was capable of selecting for the post the fittest man possessing the required mental, spiritual and physical traits, on behalf of the entire community. But his choice did not depend on the consent of the community or even a part of it; and in that sense the bay'a offered to a wallī 'āhd was viewed as a confirmatory measure rather than a legitimising condition. The 'āhd and the nomination were considered irrevocable: once an heir was designated, he could not be unilaterally deposed nor could he resign. But since in practice such appointments were repeatedly reversed or annulled, jurists justified the dissolution when both nominator and nominee agreed or when an assembly ruled that the candidate was no longer fit.


WALĪ ALLĀH AL-DIHLAWĪ [see al-dihlawī, sīhā walī allāh] WĀLĪBA B. AL-HUBĀB al-Asadī, Abū Usāma, Arab poet of the early 'Abbāsid period, flor. in the later 2nd/9th century.

Wālība was born in Kūfā where he probably spent the largest part of his life. When his cousin on his father's side, Abū Buḍjar Yaḥyā al-Najdāši al-Asadī, was appointed governor (or landtax collector) of al-Dār al-Maḥāl by al-Manṣūr, Wālība followed him there. During his stay there he met with Abū Nuwās [q.v.], who was then a handsome beardless youth (anwarād). According to some sources, this happened in al-Ahwāz, where Abū Nuwās had gone together with his employer at the time, a perfume merchant (ṭaffār) from Baṣra, in order to offer their wares to al-Najdāši; according to others, it happened at the souk of the druggists in Baṣra, where al-Najdāši had sent his cousin to buy supplies. The ties between Abū Nuwās and Wālība were not only of an erotic nature. Wālība rapidly recognised the poetic talent of his qulūm. He took him along to Kūfā and looked after his education; Abū Nuwās's poetry was to be decisively influenced by him.

Wālība came to Baghdad most likely in the time of al-Mahdi, who admired his poetry but, on account of the latter's hemistich "I am a man who sleeps with his commensals", did not want to make him one of his boon-companions. Wālība was, however, unable to establish himself there, because he let himself be drawn into a highād exchange with Abū l-Al-Thahīrī, in which he emerged as the loser. Abū l-Al-Thahīrī doubted, īnter alia, the Arab descent of Wālība because of the latter's light skin and blond hair. Humbled, Wālība had to return to Kūfā. From a poem composed in alternate lines by himself and Abū Nuwās and which describes the toils of a foot march to al-Hīrā
Waliba B. al-Hubab — al-Walid


He was probably born ca. 54/674 in Mu‘awiya’s reign. His mother was Wallada b. al-‘Abbās b. Džāz of a well-known family of ‘Abṣ b. Baghiṣ of Kays. He was his father’s nominee to inherit the caliphate and the death of his uncle ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Marwān in 85/704 meant that he succeeded unopposed. After the struggles of his father’s reign, al-Walid’s caliphate was generally a period of internal peace and external expansion. As caliph he never seems to have left Syria; he probably died there in 91/709-10 and to have instituted a system of poor relief and charity in Syria. He was certainly a great patron of architecture, building the Great Mosque in Damascus in its present form and rebuilding the mosque of the Prophet in Medina. In political affairs, he continued his father’s policies with little change. He attempted to keep a balance between the different groups in the Umayyad elite and control the divisions between Kays and Yaman. He maintained al-Hajdjidjād b. Yūsuf [q.v.] as governor of ‘Irāq and the East until his death in 95/714. His brother and heir, Sulaymān, was governor of Syria and, for most of the reign, his cousin, ‘Umar b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, later to be caliph himself, was governor of the Hijāz. Both had Yemeni sympathies and gave refuge to political opponents of al-Hajdjidjād.

The reign of al-Walid saw the success of Muslim arms in many areas. In the west, Spain was invaded in 92/711 and almost completely taken by 97/716. In the East, the expansion was managed by al-Hajdjidjād. In Khurāsān, his governor Kutayba b. Muslim [q.v.] (86-96/705-15) launched a series of attacks on Transoxiana which the Muslims had hardly penetrated before. He secured the submission of Bokhārah in 87/90-906-9, Khūtārazm and Samarkand in 91-3/711-12 and Farghāna in 94/713. From 90/708-9 Muhammad b. al-Kāsim al-Thaqafi began the Muslim conquest of Sind. Despite frequent Muslim raids, little progress was made against the Byzantines. Al-Walid never led the campaigns himself but entrusted the frontier to his brother Maslama [q.v.], who built up a formidable power base in the area.

Al-Walid died in Damascus in Džumādā II 96/late February 715. In accordance with his father’s will, the caliphate was to pass to his brother Sulaymān, with whom his relations seem to have been increasingly strained. Some sources say that he was trying to secure the acceptance of his own son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz as heir but that he died before this could be accomplished, and Sulaymān duly succeeded. His reign had been remarkably successful and represents, perhaps, the zenith of Umayyad power. It is less clear to what extent the caliph himself contributed directly to this, and perhaps his main achievement was to preserve balance and stability among the factions of the ruling family and their allies.


His date of birth is uncertain and estimates of his age at his accession to the caliphate vary between 37 and 45. His mother was Umm al-Hasdîyâ Taynab, daughter of Muhammad b. Yûsuf al-Thakaff.

His father, Yazîd II b. 'Abd al-Malik, had nominated him to succeed his own brother Hishâm. At first, Hishâm seems to have regarded his young nephew with some affection but he became increasingly disillusioned by his dissolute lifestyle; he reduced his allowances and punished some of his undesirable associates. Al-Walîd in turn withdrew from court and established himself in a remote desert residence which may be the ruined site now known as Kâsr al-Tûba in the Jordanian desert.

The exact chronology of events in al-Walîd's short reign is not clear, but he faced opposition from the time of his accession and seems to have exacerbated this by his conduct. The stories of his debauchery and wine-drinking may have been exaggerated, but they allowed his enemies to claim that it was legitimate to depose him. After taking the bay'a in Damascus, he lived entirely in remote desert palaces which allowed rumour to spread and opposition to grow unchecked.

The new caliph's first actions were populist, increasing the stipends for the Syrians and other supporters and providing slaves to help the blind and crippled. However, he soon began to arouse political opposition by his reliance on members of the Kays-Mudar faction and, especially, the Thakafi relations of his mother. The most important of these was Yûsuf b. 'Umar Ibn Hubayra [q.v.], who had been appointed governor of Irâk and the east by Hishâm and was retained in office by al-Walîd. He also appointed his own maternal uncle Yûsuf b. Muhammad b. Yûsuf al-Thakaff to the prestigious governorate of the Hijâz. He allowed the Kays-Mudar leaders to persecute their Yemeni opponents, in particular the widely-respected former governor of Irâk, Khâlid b. 'Abd Allah al-Kasrî [q.v.] who was effectively sold to Yûsuf b. 'Umar and tortured to death. The caliph also took action against Hishâm's sons and other members of the Umayyad family whom he suspected of opposing his accession, and the powerful Sulaymân b. Hishâm was flogged and exiled to 'Ammân. A broad coalition of interests, including many Umayyads and the family of Khâlid al-Kasrî and other leading Yemenis emerged, and leadership of the opposition was assumed by the caliph's cousin, Yazîd b. 'Abd al-Malik. While the caliph remained in his desert retreat, the opposition was able to take over Damascus. Shortly afterwards, an expeditionary force under 'Abd al-'Azîz b. al-Hasdîyâ b. 'Abd al-Malik was sent to al-Walîd's palace at al-Bâghrî, south of Palmyra. Here, after a short siege, the caliph was killed, according to al-Tabarî, on 27 Dhu'nul Mîdâd II 126/15 April 744.


The History of the Caliphs of the House of Umayyad (II) b. Yazîd and in his role literary,
AL-WALID — AL-WALID B. TARIF


[RENATE JACORI]

AL-WALID B. HISHAM, Abū Rakwa, a pseudo-omajjaden pretender who led a revolt against the Fatimid caliph al-Hakim [q.v.]. He was an Arab, probably of Andalusian origin, who for some time had earned his living as a schoolteacher in al-Kayrawān and Musta'ala b. Mūsā (Old Cairo) and then went into service with the Arab Bedouin clan of Banū Kurra (of the Hilāl tribe) whose pasture-grounds were the hilly country of Cyrenaica south-east of Barka (modern al-Marej); there he taught the boys of the clan to read and write. His nickname Abū Rakwa "the one with the waterbottle", seems to point to his Sūfī-like appearance. (The most detailed reports of his early career are found in al-Nuwayrī, Niḥāyat al-ārāb, ed. M.M. Amīn and M.H.M. Ahmad, xxviii, Cairo 1992, 181-4, and Ibn al-Āthīr, ix, 197-8). When in 394/1004 a conflict broke out between the Banū Kurra and the caliph al-Hakim, the Bedouin rebelled, and young Abū Rakwa—then in his mid-twenties—took the lead in the revolt. He passed himself off for a descendant of the Umajjaden caliph of Cordova 'Abd al-Rahmān III, and in Ǧumādā II 395/995, in the village of ʿUyun al-Nasir li-Dīn Allāh, he set up a temporary, although his alleged ancestor 'Abd al-Rahmān III had borne; the "caliph" posed as the champion of Sunnism against Shiʿī heresy. The Arab Banū Kurra under their chief Mādī b. Mukarrab were supported by several Berber fractions of the Zanata, Mazāta and Luwāta tribes. Barka, the capital of the Cyrenaica, was evacuated by the Fatimid garrison in September 1005 after a siege of five months, after an Egyptian force of relief under the Turk Yūnāl al-Tawīl had been crushed by the rebels. In 396/1006 the hordes of the rebel tribes with their tents and flocks hurled themselves against Egypt; their vanguard overran a Fatimid contingent near today's El Alamein. As Arab forces, fortified, Abū Rakwa led his bands to the south. Since al-Hakim had occupied the bridgehead of al-Dījāta, the rebels were forced to march across the desert in order to gain the fertile lowlands of al-Fayūm. Here the hordes of Abū Rakwa were engaged by the Fatimid main army under Faḍl b. Sāhil at Ra's al-Birka and annihilated (3 Dhu '1-Hijādha 396/30 August 1006). Abū Rakwa fled to Nubia, where he found asylum in a Christian monastery, but he was handed over by the Nubian king at al-Hakim's request in exchange for a considerable ransom. He was brought to Cairo and executed there in March 1007.

The short career of Abū Rakwa was accompanied by a celestial phenomenon, a Super Nova which from May to August 1006 was observed also in Europe; in the Egyptian chronicles a parallel was drawn between its appearance and fading and the rise and fall of Abū Rakwa (Yaḥyā al-Anṭākī, 475; al-Maḳrīzī, Ḥīṣaẓ, ii, 61).


AL-WALID B. AL-MUGHIRĀ B. ṬABĪB AL-ʿĀLIḤ, member of the powerful and numerous clan of Makhdūm [q.v.] in pre-Islamic Mecca, opponent of the Prophet Muḥammad and uncle of another opponent, Abū Ṭālib [q.v.]. Amīr b. Ḥishām b. al-Mughira, d. just after the Hijra.

Little is known of his life, but he clearly represented the aristocratic interests of his clan and was himself prosperous, seen in the fact that he is said to have owned a garden in Taʾif which he planted for pleasure only and never gathered the fruit in it (Sprenger, i, 359). According to the commentators, there are references to him in several passages of the Kurʿān, e.g. VI, 10, XLIII, 30, LXXIV, 11 ff. and LXXX, 1 ff., although his name is never expressly mentioned. One cannot, of course, place implicit confidence on such statements, which are sometimes based on later deductions. Muslim historians frequently mention al-Walid among those members of Ǧurayḥ who rigorously persecuted Muḥammad and endeavoured to silence him. Thus he is said to have been a member of a deputation which went to Abū Ǧalīl [q.v.] and protested to him, but without success, at the Prophet's conduct. It is also related that Muḥammad's enemies had on one occasion, on the approach of the pilgrimage, discussed the best means to set strange visitors against Muḥammad and proposed in turn the epithets kāhin "sooth-sayer", maḏīnṇīn "possessed" and ḥaṭṭir "poet", but al-Walid rejected them all until those present finally agreed to his proposal to call Muḥammad a sāḥīr "magician", who would separate a man from his father, brother, wife and whole family, and to warn the pilgrims seriously against the alleged magician. When ʿUṯmān b. Maʿzūn [q.v.], a relative of al-Walid, who had adopted Islam and taken part in the emigration to Abyssinia, but was still under al-Walid's protection, wished to break off this relationship, the latter endeavoured to dissuade him, but in vain. After al-Walid had therefore released himself from all obligations to his relative, ʿUṯmān was severely wounded in a squabble, whereupon al-Walid again offered him his protection but ʿUṯmān rejected this kindly-meant offer.

Al-Walid died in Mecca in the year 1, and three of his seven sons adopted Islam. In keeping with his aristocratic descent and social status, his actions were frequently characterized by magnanimity and dignity.

Bibliography: Ibn Ḫishām, i, 123, 167, 171, 187, 236, 238, 240, 243-4, 262, 272-3; Taḥārī, i, see index; Ibn al-Āthīr, ii, 32, 47, 53-4, 58-9, 85; Yaʿkūb, Historiæ, i, 300, ii, 6, 18, 24; A. Sprenger, Das Leben und die Lehre des Muḥammad, i, 90, 361, ii, 19, 21, 36, 40, 46, 48, 56-7, 70, 75, 80, 89, 109, 111-12, 161, 320, 345, 393, 405; L. Krehl, Das Leben des Muḥammad, 41-2, 74-76, 78; F. Buhl, Das Leben Muḥammad's, 168, 179; Caetani, Annales dell' Islam, i, see index with further literature in the text; W.M. Watt, Muḥammad at Mecca. Oxford 1953, 9, 123, 134; Patricia Crone, Meccan trade and the rise of Islam, Oxford 1987, 120-2.

[K.V. ZETTERSTEEN*]

AL-WALID B. ṬARĪF al-Qāḥibī al-Shaybānī al-Shārī, Khāridjīte rebel in al-Ǧazīra in 178-9/794-5, i.e. during the reign of Hārūn al-Raṣīl. The Arabic sources tell us much about al-Walid and his outbreak, although some details are contradictory; the most explicit sources are Ǧaḥīf b.
Khayyat, the Aghdam, Ibn al-Athir and Ibn Khallikan.

Starting from Nasibm, al-Walid swept through Armenia and Agharbâyjân into al-Qaṣrâ, an old Khârijite stronghold, defeating several caliphal armies. Hence in 179/759 Hârin sent against him the experienced Yazîd b. Mazyad al-Shâybañî. Pressed by the caliph and accused by the Barmakîs of deliberately hanging back, Yazîd attacked al-Walid at a place called Ghûra near Hit [q.v.] on 2 Ramadan 179/November 795, defeated his army and killed the rebel. The caliph, relieved of this threat, left for the 'umma and the hâldî, performing all the prescribed ceremonies by way of state.

Many of al-Walid's own verses are cited in Arabic literature, as are also the elegies for her brother by al-Walid's sister Fârî or Layla; contrariwise, there exist verses by Muslim b. al-Walid [q.v.] praising Yazîd for his victory.


AL-WALİD B. ʿÂKÎRA B. AḤÂM MUḤÂNT, Companion of the Prophet and member of the Abû ʿAmr family of the Umayyad clan in Mecca, d. 61/680.

His father ʿÂkîra fell at Badr opposing Muhammad, but al-Walid became a Muslim at the conquest of Mecca in 8/630. He acted as collector of the sadaka [q.v.] from the Banû Muṣṭafâ under the Prophet and that from the Christian Banû Tabhî [q.v.] in al-Qaṣrâ. The latter became caliph and appointed al-Walid governor of Kûfâ after Saʿd b. Abî Waqqâs (29/645-6). His licentious behaviour and wine-drinking made him unpopular with the pietistic elements there, and after complaints had been made to him Uthmân removed him in 29/649-50. When Uthmân was murdered, al-Walid fled to al-Djazîra and stayed there, standing apart from politics, dying at Rakka in 61/680. He had some fame as a poet (see Aghânî, v, 122-53, as did his son Abû Kaṭîfa ʿAmr (d. before 73/693, see Blachère, HLA, iii, 621, and Sezgin, GâS, ii, 424-5).

Bibliography: The sources are detailed in Zirîkî, Aḥâm, i, 143, to which should be added Baladhûrî, Anabî, v, 29-35. See also G. Röter, Die Umayyaden und die zweite Bürgerkrieg (680-692), Wiesbaden 1982, i, 111-91, 212-31. H. Eisenstein

WÅLDE SÜLTÅN (a.), Turkish pronunciation valede or valide sultan, a term meaning "mother sultan", or "queen mother". It was used in the Ottoman Empire to refer to the mother of the reigning sultan, and only for the duration of the sons reign.

The history of the position and its occupants, like a great deal of the history of the hâldî [q.v.] and its influence on the dynastic politics of the Ottomans, is couched in myth and exoticism, and much of its early development is completely obscured. The interference of the royal women in politics, a fact which most Ottoman chronicles of the middle period note and de-lore, became intimately linked to, as well as blamed for the long decline of the empire, especially after the death of Süleyman the Magnificent in 1566. In both Turkish and Western histories, the period from the mid-10th/16th to the mid-11th/17th centuries has been known as the kadınlar sultanâtı "women's sultanate" or "the rule of the women". Abundant material is available, from both documentary and foreign observers alike, although less so in more circumstantial Turkish sources, but all has to be sifted with care. Of newer work, two studies on the sovereignty and ceremonial aspects of the dynasty have placed the role of the imperial household in a more reasonable context (those of Peirce and Necipoğlu).

The source of most of the women for the imperial household was slavery (see 'ahdî). Initially, free-born daughters of rivals and allies, or captives of war, were the choice for marriage. In the middle period, women from the Caucasus and other areas, prized for their beauty, were enslaved and became part of the sultan's entourage, often as gifts. While the early sultans married in order to contract or cement alliances, once a royal palace [see tâksev sâkii] was constructed in Constantinople after its conquest in 1453, the private quarters of the sultan and his household altered the public role of women in the sultanate, although the hâldî remained a source of royal brides for the upper echelon of the Ottoman administration. Thereafter, the sultan himself never married, with the exceptions of Süleyman to his beloved Roxelana (d. 965/1586) and 'Uthmân II (1618-22 [q.v.]). Sultans had a number of favourites, usually, but not always, limited to four, called khaṣṣî or [q.v.], and those who had borne the sultan a child were called khaṣṣî sultan.

Nothing could enhance the prestige of a khaṣṣî more than to have her son become sultan. This equivalent of the dowager queens of other dynasties commanded a respect that at least partially derives from Muslim and Turkish filial piety, exemplified in the hâldî "Paradise lies in the meadows of the mother". In addition, when succession was contested, the problem of a potential heir and his survival in fratricidal disputes embroiled many mothers in their sons' affairs, creating often unique, but ambivalent, bonds of affection and power. All princes of the Ottoman household after 1600 were confined to the royal precincts, given very small allowances, and prevented from producing unwanted offspring upon entering maturity. The women, especially mothers, came to assume a disproportionate influence in the safe passage of such sons to the throne. Royal mothers were paid the highest stipend [see bâsmaARKa] in the empire (Peirce, 126). They often became considerable patrons of large building projects, and allied themselves when necessary with ambitious officials of the court, most especially, with the chief black eunuch, the guardian of the hâldî, the Kızlar Aghasî, who in the middle period of the empire became the third most important palace official after the sultan and the Grand Vizier. As the royal women rarely appeared in public, all such political and financial arrangements were conducted from within the confines of the palace.

The valide sultan commanded an enormous household which grew in the period 1550-1700 from under 200 to close to 1,000, in addition to the valide or
the khaṣṣekīs (Peirce, 122). The wālide was given special recognition on two ceremonial occasions: upon his son’s accession, the too was installed in a separate ceremony, which sometimes involved a procession from the old palace (eski saray), where retired or out of favour khaṣṣekīs as well as royal mothers and sisters of previous sultans resided. The sultan himself greeted her at the gate of Topkapı Sarayl. Should she die while her son was in office, the sultan bade her cortège farewell at the gate and she was treated to a royal burial. If her son died before she did, she retired to the eski saray. Palace etiquette surrounding the wālide sultān set her apart from all the other women of the hartin, as well as from most other high dignitaries of the court.

The list of women entitled to be called wālide sultān varies according to the source, in part because the early genealogy of the dynasty is coloured with much later accretion, probably encouraged by the sultans themselves, and centring on their putative relationship to royal married sisters. The later accretion, probably encouraged by the sultans themselves, and centring on their putative relationship to royal married sisters. The sultan himself was much diminished, although the ceremonial and psychological bond between mother and son remained strong. Of wālides of the 18th century, Gülhâne (d. 1127/1715), mother of Mustafa II and Ahmed III and Naksh-i Dil, mother of Mahmut II, is evoked in the popular imagination for her generosity and intelligence. Included among her projects was the Çinili Dâmi (Çinili Mosque) and its associated buildings in Uskudar, as well as other charitable foundations. She was also the builder of a market [see qâbas] in the centre of the city (see EL s.v. [Deny], 1116-7, for a more complete list, and the articles in this Encyclopedia on the individual wālides; Peirce, 200-20, discusses the role such projects played in promoting Ottoman sovereignty).

By the 18th century, when succession was more regularized, the political influence of the wālide sultān was much diminished, although the ceremonial and psychological bond between mother and son remained strong. Of wālides of the 18th century, Gülhâne (d. 1127/1715), mother of Mustafa II and Ahmed III and Naksh-i Dil, mother of Mahmut II, respectively influenced the two great reformers of the sultans of the age. Alderson lists Şevkefza (i.e. Şewkefzâ), mother of Murâd V, whose reign lasted 93 days in 1876, as the last designated wālide, but ‘Abd al-Hamîd II (1876-1908 [q.v.]) bestowed the rank on his adopted mother, Peresto Khânîm, having lost his natural mother at an early age. The mothers, like royal married sisters, were on the civil list in the 19th century and still commanded considerable salaries.


The literature on the harem has itself grown vast, a majority of the works are written by politicians or officers of the late Ottoman household, an interesting one is Ayse Osmanoğlu’s Avec mon père le sultan Abdûlhamid de son palais à sa prison, Paris 1991, published also in English and Turkish. (Virginia H. Aksan)

Wâlîhî, the pen-name (makhlas) used by several Ottoman poets of the 10th/16th century, two of whom are prominent.

1. Kurşûzâde of Edirne. After a modest education, he left the Ilimiyé [q.v.], went to Cairo and became a murâd of seyyid Ahmed Khayâtî, son of Îbrâhîm Gûlşenî, the founder of the Gûlşenîyye order. After his return to Edirne, he earned great repute as a preacher, delivering exceptionally captivating sermons (serâ). When the Selîmiyye mosque in Edirne was completed in 1582/1574, Wâlîhî became its first preacher, and he retained his position there until his death. However, his emotional temperament and inclination to love affairs involved him in various
incidents, one of which resulted in his temporary banishment from Edirne in 971/1563-4. He joined the Eastern expedition of Lala Mustafa Pasha [v.a.] and in Thilisi, following the city's surrender to Ozdemir-oghlu Oğmân Paşa, delivered a memorable ḱḥṭb to the army in the name of Sultan Murâd III on Friday, 29 August 1578. He died in 994/1586 according to 'Aḍḥī’s calculation of the chronogram which his namesake Wâlihi of Üsküb (see below) wrote on his death (or in 996/1588 according to Ĥibrî) in Edirne and was buried in the cemetery of the ḱȳḳh Shâhidzâ’ir on the shore of the Tundja.

Poems by him of a lyrical (şâhâkî) and mystical (muhaftawezîfâne) character are to be found in muğtânâ’s and tâqâkîres. Kinali-zade Hasan Celebi relates that he also composed pleasing chronograms (tâqîrâ). There is no mention in any of the tâqâkîres of a divân, so that the divân attributed to him in the ḱȳḳmâ’î nâmêliye (and thereafter in other sources) must be due to a confusion with Wâlihi of Üsküb, who is, in fact, the author of a divân.

Opinion is divided concerning the separate identity of a Wâlihi whose particulars are very similar to those of Kurd-zade Wâlihi. This is Wâlihi of Dîjrst-i Ergene or Ergene Köprüsu (Uzunköprü near Edirne), who was a pupil of Muḥâshshî Sinân Efendi during who was a pupil of Muḥâshshî Sinân Efendi during. Although Kinali-zade Hasan Celebi’s information in situ (or in 996/1588 according to Ĥibrî) in Edirne and was buried in the cemetery of the ḱȳḳh Shâhidzâ’ir on the shore of the Tundja.

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2. ÂHMED of Üsküb (Skopje). The son of a kâdî, he finished his medrese education in Istanbul and thereafter became a tutor (mu’âtî) at the Sultan Bayezid II medrese in Edirne. Later, he served as kâdî, but no details on his appointments are known. He died in Üsküb in 1008/1600. Ewliya Celebi relates that his grave is in the cimâ’î of ḱȳḳh Lutfullâh near the fortress of Üsküb and that it has become the object of pious visits.

He enjoyed great repute as a poet and is the author of a divân. There is only one known ms. of a Wâlihi divân and that is no. Diez 30 in the Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz in Berlin (edition in preparation by the author). This fragmentary ms., containing about 300 ghâzâhs, is attributed to Wâlihi-îyi Belgradî (cf. W. Persch, Die Handschriften-Verszeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin, vi, Berlin 1889, no. 413). A Wâlihi of Belgrade is mentioned solely by İdrîsî and is conceivably identical with Wâlihi of Üsküb, for whom there is no entry in Lâlîf’s tâqâkîre. He may have been unaware of the poet’s true provenance, who may have lived for a time in Belgrade in his youth, perhaps even during İdrîsî’s stay there prior to finishing his tâqâkîre in 953/1546. However, we do not know if Wâlihi of Üsküb’s date of birth is early enough to make this possible. Although İdrîsî states that his given name is Mêhemî, he also remarks that he has a brother called Âhmed, giving no further details on Wâlihi’s curriculum vitae. That Lâlîf speaks in the most contemptuous language of Wâlihi’s, and his brother’s, poetic capabilities should be viewed in connection with the fact that he was the butt of their satirical verses; the few verses he cites are insufficient proof for his exceedingly low opinion.


WÂLÎHî, an ancient town of Morocco.

Wâliî, or Wâliîsa as it was known to the early Muslim historians, is the arabised form of the Roman name Volubilis. Located at 27 km/16 miles north of Meknès, Wâliî occupies the ledge of the Zarhûn plateau and enjoys a privileged position in the midst of a very fertile valley. It is uncertain whether this Roman city served as capital for all of the Roman province known as Mauritania Tingitana, but there is no doubt that it served as the chief city in this part of Morocco until the 7th-8th centuries, a notion which is fairly well supported by the few verses he cites are insufficient proof for his exceedingly low opinion.

The Islamic history of the place started with the arrival in A.D. 788 of a Ṣaḥîfîn fugitive, İdrîs b. ‘Abd Allâh, who took refuge in the far Maghrib following an unsuccessful uprising against the ‘Abbâsîds of Bagdad [see Ṣaḥîfîs]. For a short time, İdrîs took up residence at Tangier, the other important city of Mauritania Tingitana, but he soon realised that an inland place like Wâliî would better serve his political ambitions. In fact, Wâliî happened to be well protected by the Zarhûn massif, and in the middle of rich lands belonging to the influential Awrâba Berbers. At Wâliî, İdrîs enjoyed the hospitality and support of the Awrâba chief, İshâh b. Muḥammad b. ‘Abd el-Ḥamîd. According to Ibn Khaldûn, the Awrâba were then the most powerful Berber group, something which proved to be of crucial importance in gathering the support of the other Berber tribes for the cause of İdrîs. The latter was proclaimed amîr by the Berbers of central and northern Morocco in a significant move to free the western Maghrib from ‘Abbâsîd domination. The fact that İdrîs chose Wâliî to be the seat of his kingdom is a clear indication that, by the end of the 8th century A.D., the city was still an important urban centre, even if mediaeval sources such as Ibn Abî Zarî’s in his Rawd al-kir’in describe it as being then “a middle-sized city”.

Traditional historiography has for a long time maintained that the İdrîsîids contented themselves with Wâliî as capital of their kingdom until the death of İdrîs I in 817/803. It was his son İdrîs II who, according to historians such as al-Dîjza’llî or Ibn Abî Zarî, decided to leave Wâliî after it became too small for his growing entourage and build a new capital at Fez. However, this view has been seriously challenged, and
enough historical evidence is available today to indicate that Fez could very well have been the creation of the first Idris rather than that of his son.

Whoever was the real founder of the new capital, it remains true that the transfer of the Idrisid centre of government to Fez inaugurated a period of decline for Walliī, despite the burial of Idrīs I in a place located a few kilometres only from old Volubilīs, in the village which thereafter acquired the name of Mawlūy Idrīs. By the 6th/12th century, the place was no longer known under the name of Wallī. Contemporary sources mention it under the Berber name of Tīzra, which in Berber means “stones”. Apparently, the place was then all in ruin and, therefore, looked more like a field full of stones. In the 8th/14th century, according to al-Dzānī, it was known to the people of the far Maghrib as Kāṣr Firwa’n (Pharaoh’s castle), a clear tendency to obliterate the memory of Roman Volubilīs and to bring it within the pagan pre-Islamic heritage. This name continued to be used until the beginning of this century when, during the First World War, the French employed German prisoners to dig up a large part of the buried city. However, not far from the old Wallī the burial place of Idrīs I grew from a village into a town-zdwa’n, especially after the resurgence of Sharī‘ism during the Ma‘arrūnid period (7th-9th/13th-15th centuries) and the miraculous discovery in 719/1319 of the mortal remains of Mawlūy Idrīs, in good shape and in their original shroud. Thereafter, a zdwa’n was built to honour the founder of the Idrisid dynasty and the town of Mawlūy Idrīs developed into the important pilgrimage centre which it remains today [see Mawlūy Idrīs].

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**Wallīa** [see ‘urs].

**Wallīshān** [see Shībī].

**Wallāchīa** [see al-‘Ibar].

**Wallālāt** bt. Muḥammad III b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān, poetess and littératource of the Spanish Umayyad family, d. Sa‘ar 480/May-June 1087 or 484/1091.

Her father was placed on the throne with the tākhwīd of al-Mustakfī, but reigned for sixteen months only. Hence Wallālāt’s childhood and youth coincided with the peculiarly troubled and confused end of the Umayyad caliphate in Spain. Aged about sixteen at this time, and the offspring of a slave mother of European origin, she was able now to exercise a relatively free life and, having received a thorough education in the Islamic literary sciences, she gathered round herself at Cordova a literary salon which “was the rendezvous of the well born, frequented by writers and poets who sought out her friendship, welcoming attitude and the numerous society round her” (Ibn Bassām, Dhokhīta, i/1, 429). Amongst the famous persons attending her salon was Ibn Zaydūn [g.e.], who had an amorous relationship with Wallālāt, much elaborated in the sources, e.g. Faḍī b. Makhānī, Kalīd’il, 79-93, in which she herself took the initiative, daring for her time, Wallālāt composed verses on this liaison and had them embroidered on her dresses.

The relationship deteriorated, however, when Ibn ‘Abdīs [g.e.], the wāṣir of Cordova under the local ruler Abū ‘l-Haẓam Ibn Djuhwar [g.e.], succeeded in replacing Ibn Zaydūn in her heart. Ibn Zaydūn reacted furiously by trying to pin his own al-Riṣāla al-hāziyya on her, but failed to sow dissension between Wallālāt and her new lover, and had to leave Cordova. Wallālāt then remained Ibn ‘Abdīs’s mistress until his death aged 80, never marrying having no children and also dying aged over 80. At the time of the break with Ibn Zaydūn, Wallālāt attacked her ex-lover in verses of a singular coarseness, so much so that Ibn Bassām refused to admit them to the pages of his Dhokhīta. The humiliated Ibn Zaydūn was nevertheless subsequently inspired to address one of the finest works of Arabic poetry to her, a nāṭiya of over 50 verses, an unusual length in Arabic poetry for a love-poem addressed to a lady, replete with the devices of badī‘.

In it, Ibn Zaydūn cleverly reproached Wallālāt in a gentle fashion only, mixing this with her praises and contrasting their past happiness with his present misery.

Wallālāt has gradually become the type of the free woman of al-Andalus and the symbol of her emancipation. It is true that she appears as freer in her attitudes and her relaxation from certain social constraints than her oriental counterpart. But she must be regarded here as far from typical, even if the political troubles of the time and the more relaxed regimes of the Taifa allowed her a measure of freedom, and indeed, regarded as exceptional, from her father’s premature death and the possible inheritance of some of the mores of the qiṣṣa from her foreign mother. This exceptional status within the usual Arabo-Muslim aristocracy is probably seen also in Ibn Zaydūn’s temerity in addressing to her galant verses and speaking freely of his liaison with her. Certainly, his poems to her have immortalised her as much as the poet himself.

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(MOHAMED EL MANSOUR)

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**Walwālīdī, Warwālīdī**, a town of mediaeval Ṭashrīstān, in what is now northern Afghanistan, mentioned in the Ḥadīth al-‘ālam, tr. 72, 119, as the kāshubu or administrative centre of the
province. It lay on the road from Balkh and Khulm to Talakan and Badakhshan, between the confluence of the Doshi (Surkh-ab) and Talakan rivers, whose united stream then flowed into the Oxus. It seems to be the A-hua of Hien-tang, attesting to its existence in pre-Islamic, Hephthalite times. E.G. Pulleyblank suggested that the element wal-/war- reflects the name of the Central Asian people of the Avars and that the second component reflects the Altaic word for “town”, Tskh. baluk, Mgl. bulagan (The onomastical system of Old Chinese. Part II, in Asian Musical, N.S., iv (1963), 328-9). The de-variant of this name gives the name of the Central Asian people of the Avars. B. Utas has observed that the name of the Central Asian people of the Avars has undergone in the early Ghaznavids in the 420s/1030s, until Sal SJkJ times, but thereafter seems to have been replaced by Kunduz (< kuhan-diz, perhaps the old citadel of Walwalfdj). [q.v.]

At least one literary person was connected with the place, sc. Rûhl Walwalfdj (sic), mentioned by ‘Awfî (? flr. in the second half of the 6th/12th century; cf. Storey-de Blois, v, 509-10, 636).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Marquart, Erünahr, 68, 217, 229; Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern caliphate, 428; Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 67; Zambaur, Die Munzprägungen des Islam, Wiesbaden 1968, i, 271.

(C.E. Bosworth)

WâmiK wa ‘Adhrâ “the Lover and the Virgin”, the name of two exemplary lovers, often referred to in Muslim literature together with other famous loving couples such as Laylâ and Madjnûn, and Yusuf and Zulaykha.

Although references to Wâmik and ‘Adhrâ are not infrequent, no fixed and widely known story about them has been preserved. The best-known version is that of the Persian poet Abu ‘1-Kasim ‘Unsun (d. 1200), who is connected with the place, sc. Rûhl Walwalfdj (sic), mentioned by ‘Awfî (? flr. in the second half of the 6th/12th century; cf. Storey-de Blois, v, 509-10, 636).

The story of ‘Adhrâ is also found in a Persian prose version in the compilation of narratives called Dârâb-nâmâ by Abu ‘1-Tâhir ‘Arstârî, probably written in the 6th/12th century (ed. Dîj. ‘Afnî, Tehran 1344/1965, i, 164-5). This version, although very concise, is more complete and continues the story by telling how ‘Adhrâ’s father was executed by his enemy (in fact, the Persian Satrap Oroites, cf. Herodotos 3.124) and ‘Adhrâ herself was sold into slavery by her successor (for Greek Maiandrios). After many adventures, ‘Adhrâ is set free by a kind merchant who promises to bring her to Wâmik. However, the end of the original story remains uncertain.

No less than 24 love-epics containing poems about the couple Wâmik and ‘Adhrâ are known, at least by name. Strangely enough the surviving versions contain stories that differ widely from each other (cf. Shafi, q.v.). The latter was made known in Europe by J. von Hammer-Purgstall (Geschichte der germanischen Dichtkunst, ii, Pesth 1836-8, 45-63; cf. Utas, in AO Hung, xviii (1963), 229-39). Then follows a great number of little known Turkish and Persian versions and even one poem in Kashmiri (written in 1854 by Sayf al-Dîn Afnî, cf. ms. India Office 173/6).

Bibliography: See also J. von Hammer, Wâmik and ‘Arstârî, Das ist der Glühende und die Blühende. Das älteste persische romantische Gedicht, im Fünfzehnten abgegangen, Vienna 1833; B. Utas, Did ‘Adhrâ remain a virgin?, in Orientalia Suecana, xxxii-xxxv (1994-6), 429-41;
idem, The ardent lover and the virgin—a Greek romance

WAN, conventionally VAN, the name of a
lake and of a town (lat. 38° 28' N., long. 43°
21' E.) in what is now the Kurdish region of
southeastern Turkey.

1. The lake (modern Tkish., Van Göli). This is
a large stretch of water now spanning the is of Van
and Bitlis. It lies at an altitude of 1,720 m/5,640 feet,
with a rise in level during the summer when the
snows on the surrounding mountain ranges melt. Its
area is 3,737 km²/1,443 sq. miles. Being landlocked,
with no outlet, it has a high content of mineral salts,
especially sodium carbonate, which makes its water
undrinkable, but freshwater springs along its shores
have always enabled human communities to thrive
there, most notably the town of Van (see 2. below).
Before the First World War and the subsequent mas-
sacres and deportations, there were many Armenians
living in its towns and villages, plus some sedentary
sacres and deportations, there were many Armenians
living in its towns and villages, plus some sedentary

In mediaeval Islamic times, Lake Van was usually
known as the Lake of Ardjish or Akhłat [q.v.], from
the towns on its northern shore. It was famed for its
torik fish, which were adapted to its waters, and were
captured and salted for export as far away as 'Irak and
Khurāsān. The early 10th century Armenian church
of the Holy Cross, famed for its sculptures, stands on
the island of Aghthamar in Lake Van.

Bibliography: Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern
Caliphate, 1834; Admiralty Handbooks, Turkey, Lon-
don 1942-3, i, 187-90; iv, art. Van (lake and region)
(Süha Göne). (C.E. Bosworth)

2. The town. The name Van is not found in the
Arabic sources on the Arab conquest of Armenia
(for which see ARMENIA), but Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramers,
347, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 342, mentions Ibn al-
Dayrānī as being lord of Zawazan, Wān and Wustān
(for these places in the Lake Van area and the prin-
cipality of Vasparakaran to its east, see Marquart,
Sudarmenien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und ara-
ビshen Geographen, Vienna 1930; Canard, 'Humandides,
183-90). In the later 3rd/9th century, the Bagratid
Ashot (Ashyūr) was recognised as king of Armenia by
the 'Abbasid caliph, with the princes of Vaspurakan,
of whom the Artsrunids were the chief, as his vassals.

Already in this century, colonies of Arabs had settled
in Armenia, like the Amirs of Mančerkert (Maltzgir-
q.v.), whom the Armenians call Kaisikkī (< Kays) and
who ruled on the northern shore of Lake Wān (Apas-
Runik), and the 'Ummānids (in Armenian, 'Umanīkī)
on the northeast shore of the lake, at Bergi and Amiuk.
Towards the east, Vasparakan was exposed to the
attacks of the Arab governors of Adharbādyan. The
Sādjiād Ḫūšin occupied Wān and Wustān and
appointed eunuchs as governors there (cf. Thomas
Artsruni, tr. Brosset, 221).

In 503/916 the Sādjiād Yūsuf executed the Bagratid
king Smbat in Dīwān (cf. Stephen Asolik, History, iii,
chs. iv-v, tr. F. Macler, 18-24). Before this catastro-
phē, the Artsrunid prince Gagik (through his mother,
a nephew of Smbat) had enrolled himself in Yusuf's
suite and by this manoeuvre was able to assert the
independence of Vasparakan against Smbat's succes-
sors (kings of Kars and Ani). The Artsrunid kings
were overlords of the principalities of Mokk
(nor Muxus) and Andevasatsik (cf. Markwart, Sudarmenien,
359-82).

The Artsrunid princes are several times mentioned
in Ibn Miskawayh's Chronicle. In 326/937, the troops
of the Deylamī chief Lāshkārī were defeated near
'Akkabat al-Tinmn by Atom b. Djurdjfn (= Gurgen),
lord of Zawazan (Ibn Miskawayh, i, 402; Ibn al-
Athūr, vii, 262). This Atom belonged to the elder line of
the Artsrunids, which was eclipsed by that of Hada-
makert. In 330/940 (ibid., ii, 33), Daysam, prince of
Adharbādyan, took refuge with Djaqik b. al-
Dayrānī (Gagik b. Derani). In 342/953 (ibid., ii, 151), Ibn
al-Dayrānī and (?) Ibn Djaqik (probably "Derani
b. Gagik") surrendered Daysam to the Musafarid
Marzubān.

In 1004, the Artsrunid Senek'erim, being pressed
on all sides, ceded Vasparakan to the emperor Basile II,
who gave him in exchange Siwākh, to which 40,000
Armenian families followed their king. Byzantine dom-
ination was of short duration: the battle of Malazgīr
in 463/1071 lost the Byzantines the last of their pos-
sessions in Armenia.

The name of Wān is briefly mentioned among the
towns of "the province of Akhłat" which the Khā-
razmshāh Djaqal al-Dīn besieged after the capture of
Akhłat in 626/1229 (Bargrī, Manāzgīr, Bitlis, Walaš-
ġīr, Wān, Wustān).

In the Mongol period (after Arghun Khān, 1284-91),
the region of Wān was close to the summer encamp-
ments of the Mongol Il-Khānids (on the mountain of
Ala-Tag), the ancient Noqba, Dēzmīr, to the north-
est of Lake Van), but the local authority of Wān
must have been in the hands of the Kurd chiefs of
Hakkārī (see below). Mustawfi's <i>Nzah al-balābū<
102, says that "Wān is a fortress while Wustān (Ostan)
has been a large town but now is a medium-sized one",
and "its climate and its fruits are good, its water
comes from a mountain; its taxes amount to 53,400
dinārs (Urmia, 74,999 dinārs, and Ardabil, 85,000
dinārs)."

Towards the end of the 8th/14th century, the rule
of the Kara Köyunlu Turcomans, whose hereditary
centre was at Ardjish, was extended over Wān, but
the direct administration remained in the hands of
a family of Kurdish begs. When in 789/1387 Timūr
had plundered the Kara Köyunlu encampments of
Ala-Tag, he ordered the destruction of the fortress,
but "this building that in the time of Sha'dīdī" resisted
his efforts. Timūr made Izz al-Dīn, lord of the fortress,
governor of the "wilāyat of Kurdistān" (<i>zafar-nāma</i>, i,
421-4). The Izz al-Dīn, here referred to in the <i>Zafar-
nama</i>, was an important figure and took part in many
of the events of his time (see "Abd al-Razzāk Samar-
kandi, Matla' al-sa'dym, tr. Quatremère, in NE, xiv,
110, 153, 180). The son of Izz al-Dīn Muhammad
was well received by Shāh Rūkh in 824/1421. Under
Uzun Hasan [q.v.], the Aḵ Köyunlu troops conquered
Hakkārī and placed it under the Dombolī tribe, but
the local Nestorian Christians restored the power to
a scion of the old family.

After the coming of the Şafāwids, prince Zāhid b.
Izz al-Dīn II entertained friendly relations with Shāh
Ismā'īl. In view of the rival propaganda of the Şafā-
wids, the Ottoman empire must have endeavoured
to strengthen the very loose organisation given to Kur-
distān by Idrīs, but the incorporation of the distant
frontier district of Wān, filled with foreign elements,
was full of incidents.

Thus in 940/1534, during the offensive of the grand
vizier Ibrāhim Paşa against Tabriz, delegates from
Wān gave him the keys of the fortress. But as soon
as the cold weather forced Sultan Süleyman's army to
withdraw, the Persians advanced to Wān and soon after-
wards occupied both this town and Ardjīsh (İskendar
WAN — WANG TAI-YU

Munshi, Tankh-i cAlam-ara, 51; according to Ewliya Celebi, iv, 174, the Persians retook Wan in 953/1546). The situation during the years from 940/1534-48 is not very clear, but when, at the instigation of the Persian prince Alkas Mirza, Suleyman again marched on Tabriz, he laid siege to Wan in Radjag 955/August 1548. The town surrendered through the mediation of Alkas Mirza, and the defterdar Cerkes Iskender Pasha was appointed governor (see von Hammer, GÖR, ii, 209; Ewliya Celebi, ii, 174). From this period date the baths of Rustem Pasha at Wan and a mosque of 973/1567-8. With the appearance of the Ottoman mir-i mîrân at Wan, the Kurdish chiefs retired to their fiefs of Qüalamerk and Wustân.

In 1013/1604, Çığâhâ-leâ, appointed commander-in-chief against Persia, established his headquarters at Wan (of which he had previously been wâli in 993/1585; see von Hammer, ii, 552). He was besieged there by the Persian troops under the command of Allah Werdi Khan, and escaped from the fortress by boat. Very soon he undertook a new campaign against Tabriz, but it ended in a complete débâcle in the autumn of 1014/1605; cf. Iskandar Munshi, 474-6, and TÂRÎB; von Hammer, ii, 678, 660; Gouvea, Relation des grandes guerres, French tr. Rouen 1619, book ii, chs. xvi-xvii, 260-86; Arakel de Tauris, Livre d'histoires, tr. Brussel, St. Petersburg 1874, ch. vi, 305-7.

About 1008/1600 the administrative organisation of Wan was described by Köjdja Niğündijâ (934-74/1528-67), who in his Tabâkât, quoted by Hâdxijî Khâlîfa, included in this eyâlet some places now belonging to Persia (e.g. Salmâs), and by Ayn-i 'Ali (cf. Tischen-dorf, Das Lehmenwesen in d. mus. Staaten, Leipzig 1872, 72) who numbers in Wan 13 sanâ'âks and one hukumat, including in all 1,115 large and small individual fiefs (kilic).

Ewliya Celebi, who in 1065/1655 accompanied his uncle Ahmed Melek, who had been appointed wâli of Wan, has given us a very full description of the town, has given us a very full description of the eyâlet of Wan (iv, 176). It is curious that the text information was suppressed from the printed text by censorship under 'Abd al-Hamîd II. Ewliya (iv, 176) gives 57 feudal sanâ'âks in Wan of different dimensions and with different privileges. The most important were the hukumat of Hakkarî (with an army of 47,000, including 10,000 with guns?), of Bidlis, Mahmûdî and Pînâyânî.

In the autumn of 1256/1841 the heir to the Persian throne, 'Abbâs Mirza, took advantage of some complications with the Ottomans to invade the Turkish territory of Bâyezid as far as Bîlis. Diplomatic complications and more particularly the epidemic of cholera, arrested the Persian operations and the status quo was re-established (see Mirza Tahtî Sîphir, Târîkh-i Râyîdar, Tehran, i, under the years 1236-7; cf. R.G. Watson, A History of Persia . . . to 1835, London 1866, 197-221). After the Russo-Japanese war of 1905, the Ottomans in their turn advanced claims to the „unredeemed“ territories, and in July 1907 Yawer Pasha occupied many districts of the region of Salmâs (q.v.).

The status quo was, however, re-established after the Balkan War (Ottoman note of 12 October 1912) and given legal sanction after the delimitation of 1913-14 (on the basis of the Final Protocol of 17 November 1913).

Wan was at various points in its later mediaeval history a mint centre: under the Il-Khanids, the Timûrids, various Turkmen dynasties, the Safawids in their brief occupation of the 10th/16th century and, on various occasions, the Ottomans (see Lambeur, Der Münzprägungen des Islam, Wiesbaden 1968, i, 269). It also acquired some fine buildings, especially when it came under Ottoman rule in the 10th/16th century and was administered by energetic beylerbeyis like Iskender Pasha, Rustem Pasha and Khoisrew Pasha. The citadel and walls were repaired, together with the Ulu Camî, which probably dated from the end of the 8th/14th century, and baths, a caravanserai and a covered market built (see IA, art. Van. Tarih, for details). Towards the end of the 19th century, V. Guimet, in his La Turquie d'Asie, Paris 1891-3, ii, 629-760, gave population estimates for the wilayet of Wan (which then comprised the two sanâ'âks of Wan and Hakkârt [q.v.] to its east: 30,000 Turks, 210,000 Kurds, 79,000 Armenians and 92,000 Nestorian or Assyrian Christians, with a total of 430,000. It was during the late decades of this century that Wan was caught up in the Armenian revolutionary activity of the time, with large-scale violence there from 3 to 11 June 1896, in which 500 Armenians and 150 Muslims were killed, and which caused much damage in the town, hardly repaired when Mark Sykes passed through Wan fifteen years later (see his The Caliphs' last heritage, London 1915, 419).

In the First World War, Russian troops attacked Van and held it from 20 May 1915 to 8 August 1915, and again, after a brief Turkish re-occupation, from 19 July to 7 August 1916. In the autumn of 1917 Van, under the 18th Ottoman governor, was the site of the last Turkish victory of the war (15-17 November 1917). The town had an estimated population in 1914 of 25,000 Armenians and 10,000 Muslims. Most of the Armenians left with the Russians, but many Armenian villages in the vicinity of the town were sacked and their inhabitants massacred by the Muslims. In 1918, the town was virtually desolate.

Under the Turkish Republic, the town of Van (lat. 38° 26' N., long. 43° 20' E.), gradually revived and became the chef-lieu of a vilayet, later il, replacing the administrative organisation of Wan described by Köjdja Niğündijâ. In 1920 the town had a population of 88,600 and the il one of 326,000; by 1997 these figures had risen to 226,965 and 762,719 respectively.


[WANG TAI-YU (Wang Daiyu) (Mathews' Chinese-English dictionary, revised American ed. 1943, characters nos. 7037, 5997, 7618), Muslim author of one major work and probable author of four minor works in Chinese. His date of birth is unknown, but he called himself an „old man“ in 1642; he seems to have died in 1657 or 1658. He tells us that his ancestor was an astronomer who came from Tianfang Hung-wu („Arabia“) to bring tribute during the Ming (Hongwu) era (1368-98).

Wang studied the Islamic sciences in the Islamic languages, presumably Persian and Arabic, but did not begin a serious study of Chinese until he was thirty. He became well versed in the Classics and is comfortable discussing Confucian, Taoist, and Buddhist teachings. In the introduction to his major work, he mentions colleagues who had read his book and criticised him for going too deeply into Taoist and Buddhist teachings, and he replies that without borrowing all his terminology from other traditions, he...
would have no way to explain Islamic teachings to those unfamiliar with the Islamic languages; it seems his intended audience was primarily well-educated, Arabic speakers and makes no attempt to translate Islamic ideas into Chinese in any direct fashion. His whole Neo-Confucian flavour. Perhaps it needs to be pointed out that Wang and those Muslim scholars rationalised their position within the major intellectual tradition other than their own. He was buried in a graveyard belonging to a mosque in San-li-ho (Sanlhei) in the Western part of Peking (Beijing), though neither mosque nor graveyard exists today.

Wang's longest work is *Cheng-chiao chen-ch'uan* (Zhengjiao zhenquana) ("The real commentary on the true teaching", Mathews, nos. 351, 719, 297, 1672), the earliest extant book on Islam in Chinese by a Muslim. It was first published during Wang's lifetime in 1642 in Nanking or Nan-ch'in (Nanjing) and several times subsequently, most recently in 1987 (existing editions also include 1657, 1801, 1873, 1904, and 1993). The editions of 1878 and one of those published in the context of the long distance trade, first of imperial Ghana, and then, in the 13th century, of imperial Mali [q.v.], as an instrument of *djidhad*, held that "its inhabitants are rich, for they possess gold in abundance...". In the 17th century the Timbuktu author of the *Ta'rikh al-Fattdsh* (in present-day Ghana) wrote of Wangara as "the country of Wangara" and commented that "its inhabitants are rich, for they possess gold in abundance...". The vast network of trade built up by the Wangara extended from the Sahelian termini of the trans-Saharan caravans and the great entrepôts of the western Sudan, southwards to the rich, gold-bearing forest country of the hinterland of the Guinea Coast between the Volta and Comoré rivers. Along the roads they established trading posts, most commonly adding their own quarters to existing towns and villages. Many of the communities of the Wangara diaspora were far beyond the authority of any Muslim ruler, and the settlers were obliged to live among, do business with, and rely on the protection of those whom they regarded as unbelievers.

Wangara scholars rationalised their position within the *dâr al-harb*. Most influential of these was the late-15th to early 16th century al-Hajj Salim Suwari who, while holding that relations with unbelievers need not be confrontational, stressed the importance of education and introduced a system of licensing, by *imâd*, teachers of the *Tafsîr al-Dalâlât* of al-Mahallî and al-Suyûtî, and *Maqâṣda* of Malik. In the 19th century the "Suwarian" rejection of *djihâd* as an instrument of change brought them into conflict with militant reformers. Early in the century, the Wangara of Yandoro and Kurmin Dan Ranko, in Hausaland, failed to support *Uthamân b. Fûdî's* [q.v.] call for *djihâd*, and both towns were destroyed. In the 1880s Wa and Nasa (in present-day Ghana) were sacked by the Zabarima warlord Babatu, and in the next decade the forces of Almann Samori massacred the *ilamâ* of Kong and called the "appendix" or *fu-lu* (fulu), the other the "addendum" or *sheng-yu* (shengyu). The first, in about 3,000 characters, adds thirty-six conversations in the same style as the main text; the second is a series of short questions from Buddhist monks with equally short answers in about 4,000 characters.


**WANGARA**, a people of West Africa.

The Wangara identity appears to have been formed in the context of the long distance trade, first of imperial Ghana, and then, in the 13th century, of imperial Mali [q.v.]. The earliest reference to the Wangara is probably that by Abu 'Ubayd al-Bakri of Cordova in 460/1067-8, where they were called the black merchants of Yarasna, a Muslim town in lands of unbelievers somewhere in the region of the headwaters of the Niger river. Writing for Roger II of Sicily almost ninety years later, al-Idrisî referred to the inland delta of the Niger as "the country of Wangara" and commented that "its inhabitants are rich, for they possess gold in abundance...". In the 17th century the Timbuktu author of the *Ta'rikh al-Fattdsh* essayed a definition: "The Wankara and Malinke are of one origin. Malinke is used to mean the soldier among them, whereas Wankara refers to the one who engages in trade and travels from one horizon to another."

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Drawing upon writings of early Mâlikî jurists, Wangara scholars rationalised their position within the *dâr al-harb*. Most influential of these was the late-15th to early 16th century al-Hajj Salim Suwari who, while holding that relations with unbelievers need not be confrontational, stressed the importance of education and introduced a system of licensing, by *imâd*, teachers of the *Tafsîr al-Dalâlât* of al-Mahallî and al-Suyûtî, and the *Maqâṣda* of Malik. In the 19th century the "Suwarian" rejection of *djihâd* as an instrument of change brought them into conflict with militant reformers. Early in the century, the Wangara of Yandoro and Kurmin Dan Ranko, in Hausaland, failed to support *Uthamân b. Fûdî's* [q.v.] call for *djihâd*, and both towns were destroyed. In the 1880s Wa and Nasa (in present-day Ghana) were sacked by the Zabarima warlord Babatu, and in the next decade the forces of Almann Samori massacred the *ilamâ* of Kong and
The Wangara of the eastern diaspora have now become, other than in their own remembrance, all but totally assimilated to the culture of Hausaland. In contrast, those of the southern diaspora, extending into the modern republics of Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Ghana, have developed an identity of their own. They call themselves Juula (Duyla, etc.) and still, in some contexts, Wangara. They speak their own dialect of Mandekan, refer their origins to Mande Kaba in some contexts, Wangara. They speak their own dialect of Mandekan, refer their origins to Mande Kaba in some contexts.

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The early history of the massif is little known, though there are numerous prehistoric sites to the west of the Oued Rhiou, such as that of Columnnate, but these tend to be peripheral, and there is very little in the central and eastern parts of the massif. It seems likewise to have been avoided by the Romans, and their roads (and their times) are marked out along the Chelif valley and the southern piedmont (Sersou).

The population was formerly Zenata Berber, but the mediaeval geographers, and even Ibn Khaldun, hardly mention them, since their itineraries could not cross this inaccessible region. C. Courtois (1955), basing himself on Procopius, suggested the hypothesis of a Wansharis political entity bordering on Chelif to the north and Sersou to the south. At the time of the colonial period in Algeria, Berber speech still persisted among the Beni Hindel and in the region of Théniet el Had (Théniat el-Hadd) (R. Basset, 1895), but these have totally disappeared today. This complete Arabisation of a mountain region, difficult of access, seems hard to explain when other less difficult massifs have remained Berberophone.

The local population was tribally organised and, at the time of the French conquest, local prophets, the best known being Bou Maara, tried to achieve unity there. Colonial settlements soon appeared, and were more numerous than one might expect in such an unwelcoming milieu. There were a series of zones of colonisation in the northern valleys, before the massif opens out on the Chelif (Massena, Bougainville and Lamartine), a region along the southern piedmont (Waldeck Rousseau and Liébert) and a series in the massif itself (Guillaumet, Molière, Théniel et Had et Letourneux). Today it is organised administratively as the Commune Mixte de Ouarsenis, with five component wilayas, based on the piedmont towns of Ain Della, Chelif, Relizane, Tissemsilt and Tiaret.

The Wansharis massif is oblong in shape, some 200 km/125 miles long and comparatively clearly delimited: in the north by the Chelif valley (100-200 m altitude), in the south by the Sersou plains and the Nahr Ouess el (900-1,000 m), to the west by the Mina valley and to the east by the course of the Chelif. The massif is made up of mountain ridges running essentially west to east, with granite ridges and clayey and marno-schistous formations. Deep valleys like those of the oueds Deudeur, Fodda, Rouina and Sly fall towards the great valley of the Chelif, but make communications difficult because they cut across the longitudinal lines without creating real axes for everyday life. With moderate precipitation (628 mm at Théniet el Had), there are layers of classic vegetation patterns: oleasters and lentiscus regions in the lower parts; above to Nahal al-dinar, the classical, 138

Bibliography: Manakah-i Wankuli, in the 1117/2971 Kita'i-i hasht-i Wankuli; Sihde-i na'danmiyeye, Boyel of 'Aṣūr, 316-17; Mehmed Tharayey, Sihde-i o'qanānī, iv, 130; Bursali Mehmed Tahir, 'Omānāt

mu'ellicerleri, ii, 48; Sānti, Kāmis-i al-dām, vi, 4678; von Hammer, GÖR, ii, 575. For Wankuli's Turkish tr. of the Şâhid, see Brockelmann, S I, 197; Sezgin, GAS, v, 221 (TH. MANZE)

WANSHARIS, conventionally Ouarsenis, the name of a mountain massif in the central Algerian Tell. Lying to the southwest of Algiers, Wansharis owes its toponomy to its central part, the Kef Sidi Amar (1,985 m/6,510 feet), whose imposing pyramidal peak dominates from 800 m/2,625 feet the nearby topography (Berber wanšarís = "nothing higher"). For local people, this term only applies to the central part, but modern geographers have extended it to the whole massif.

The early history of the massif is little known, though there are numerous prehistoric sites to the west of the Oued Rhiou, such as that of Columnnate, but these tend to be peripheral, and there is very little in the central and eastern parts of the massif. It seems likewise to have been avoided by the Romans, and their roads (and their times) are marked out along the Chelif valley and the southern piedmont (Sersou).

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Bordj Bou Naama and the Parc Nationale des Cèdres at Théniet el Had). Until the mid-19th century, lions and panthers were numerous but they had been exterminated by the beginning of the 20th century.

A specific feature of this massif is the functioning of a mini-community, the bocca, whose administrative coverage often corresponds to a cleared area, with a hamlet which marks the countryside by its irrigated gardens and orchards. The people were semi-nomadic, living in tents during the hot season and in modest houses of stone during the rest of the year; they are nowadays completely sedentarised.

The tribes, comprised on average of five to twelve boccas, take advantage of the complementarities of the land to compensate for the poverty of the milieu as a whole: those of the northern slopes with limits taking in the valley of the Chelif, and those of the southern slopes bordering on cereal-growing piedmont areas. One can thus understand that the century of cofonisation, breaking the continuity of these administrative areas and leading to a demographic explosion, was marked by upsets to the traditional balances previously existing (Dj. Sari, 1977). Deforestation and forms of erosion are often spectacular. The population, too great for the skimpy cultivable land (average density = 60 persons per km²), has led to the existence, for several decades, of severely disadvantaged groups.

Within the framework of independent Algeria, the installation of state enterprises, modernisation of the road system and the improvement of administrative divisions, have strongly contributed to integrating the massif into the national economy and life. Even so, the WansharTs massif functions mainly as a reservoir for water supplies, with a dozen barrages, of varying sizes, across the north-flowing rivers and thus irrigating the Chelif valley, and as a reservoir for manpower, with a migration extending over the last four or five decades to the plains and towns around the massif. Hence the true capitals of the massif are outside it, Chelif to the north and Tiaret to the south.


AL-WANSHARISI, ABU 'L-'ABBAS AHMAD B. YAHYA b. Muhammad b. ’Abd al-Wahid b. ’Ali (834-914/1431-1508), Malikí jurist and mufti, born possibly in the Ouarsenis (Algeria, Ar. Wansharfs [w.]), where he grew up and pursued his education. His family belonged to one of the numerous Berber tribes which populated these mountains. At this time, the situation was relatively unstable on the political, military and social levels, on account of the struggles for power between the Zayyam family [see 'ABD AL-WADIDS], the Hafids [q.v.], who were intent on taking control of Tlemcen, and the local tribes who were allied with the Marinids [q.v.] in opposing the kings of Tlemcen. Shortly after his birth, the family left the mountains of the Ouarsenis to settle in Tlemcen, where he was educated. The most eminent intellectual figures of Tlemcen were his teachers. These were jurists, and consequently al-Wanghari’s education was predominantly a legal one in addition to linguistic studies.

Among the teachers whose classes he attended were: (1) Kasim al-‘Ukhani (d. 854/1450-1), eminent jurist
of Tlemcen, who travelled to the East in 830/1426-7 and was kādi of this city for some time before quitting his post to devote himself to teaching and the composition of fatwās. Al-Wanshārī makes copious reference to him in his work (Mi’yār, i, 10-11, 181-6, 321-2, 428, vi, 40, 41, 42, 47-8, 504-5). (2) al-Murrī (d. 864/1460). (3) Muhammad al-Ubkbāni (d. 871/1467), grandson of (1) and nephew of Ibrāhīm b. Kāsim al-Ubkbāni, cited below. He was grand kādi of Tlemcen, an expert in nasāʾī; some of his fatwās are retained by al-Wanshārī (Mi’yār, ii, 15-16, v, 107, 109-10). He composed a treatise entitled Tūfīf al-māznār wa-ghnayt al-adhāk fi hijf al-shār‘ fī-sawātij al-umānkār (Zaytūna Library, Tunis). (4) Ibn al-‘Abbās al-Ubkbāni (d. 871/1467), a jurist and kādi. Among his works, a large two-volume kādi. (5) al-‘Aqil al-Mamkūn (d. 864/1460). (6) al-Kāmil al-Mīnakī (808-80/1405-6 to 1475-6), a jurist of Tlemcen and muftī of his time. He composed works on grammar and religion as well as numerous fatwās, some of which were retained by al-Maṣûn and al-Wanshārī (Mi’yār, i, 404-7, ii, 17-18, 388-91, iv, 363-4, 451-4, 454-7, v, 106-7, 109). (5) al-Kawr al-Lakhmī al-Mīnakī (804-72/1401-2 to 1468). Of Andalusian extraction but born in Meknès, he was muftī and grand kādi. Among his works, an eight-volume commentary on the Maḥtūsār of Khalīf stands out. Al-Wanshārī was to include some of his fatwās in his work (Mi’yār, ii, 396-7, vii, 187-8, 228-9, ix, 312-3). (8) Ibn al-Khatīb. An eight-volume commentary on the Mudawwana; the author of numerous works, who was grand kādi and muftī of this city following the removal of his nephew Muhammad. His fatwās were collected by al-Wanshārī (Mi’yār, i, 177-8, iv, 302, 326-7). (8) Ibn Hārūzā (d. 883/1478), preacher and expert in usūl. (9) Ibn Marzūq al-Kaffī (d. 901/1412), born in Tlemcen where he also died, author of a commentary on fatwās. (10) Ibn Zakrī al-Maḥrāvī al-Ma’ansī al-Tūlxānjī (d. 899 or 900/1492-3), a jurist of Tlemcen and author of numerous works, who was grand kādi of this city during this second phase of his life in Fas, al-Wanshārī was treated as a distinguished person, occupying various teaching posts, and thereby arousing hostility on the part of the ulamā’, leading to his dismissal from these posts. He taught in the Mu’ālak mosque, in the al-Sharṭān quarter of Fas al-Karawiyyīn, and occupied the Mudawwana chair in the Mīshābīyā madrasa. Little is known of his personal life, but it is assumed that he married in Fas since his son ‘Abd al-Wahāb, the only one mentioned, was born in this city ca. 880/1475-6.

He died on 20 Šafar 914/Tuesday, 20 June 1508 aged eighty, the same year that the Spanish captured Oran. He was buried in Fas, in the Kudrat al-Barāq al-Talāt cemetery, near the tomb of Ibn ‘Abdād of Ronda (d. 792/1390). His profound knowledge of Mālikī fikh had made him the flag-bearer of the school at the end of the 9th/15th century.

As for his œuvre, the principal work of al-Wanshārī is the Mi’yār al-murūb wa-‘l-dājānī al-maghrīb ‘an fatwās ‘alsānī fī-rida’īa wa-‘l-Andalus wa-‘l-Maghrīb, a vast compilation of Andalusian and North African fatwās from the 3rd/9th to the 9th/15th centuries. He wrote some thirty books in all.

(a) Printed works.

(1) K. al-Wāṣyī (H. Bruno and M. Gaudfroy-Demombynes, Le livre des magistrates de l’Andalousie, Paris, 1937). This is a compendium of legal jurisdictions and public functions in relation to the judicial power, and the characteristics and functions of the kādi.

(2) al-Mustakhfàn min al-bīdā, Section of the Mi’yār on customs and social traditions, and acceptable innovations (H. Pères, al-Mustakhfàn min al-bīdā, Algiers 1946; Mi’yār, ii, 461-511).

(3) ‘Abd al-māghtār fi bayn ‘alā’i wanahīn al-maṣīh wa-l-ya’lam wa-l-maṣīh wa-l-yālā (d. 914/1508). Fatwā; tracts written in response to a question formulated by ‘Abd Allah Ibn Khūnīya on the subject of Andalusians who had emigrated to North Africa and, having failed to find a satisfactory situation, wanted to return to Spain (H. Mu’nis, ‘Abd al-māghtār, . . ., in RIEIM, v [Madrid 1957], 129-91; Mi’yār, ii, 90 ff.).

(4) “Prologue” to the Muṣrī of Ibn al-Khāṭīb. An epigraph written in response to the satire of the Granadan vizier attacking the notaries of his day for their corruption and incompetence.


(7) ‘Ādīb al-dawwār al-māṯṣūra wa-damm al-akhdār al-sākīhā. . . Letter referring to objections and criticisms issued by a jurist of Tlemcen on the subject of a fatwā concerning a transaction (Mi’yār, vi, 574-606).


(9) ‘Īdāb al-jāḥī fī al-murād ‘aṣyā‘a ‘al-tawwīf ‘aṣyā‘a ‘al-murrāf ‘aṣyā‘a ‘aṣyā‘a ‘al-jāḥīf al-Fīghtālī. This is a commentary on the Fīghtālī’s work on notary documents, written in the margin of a copy of this text (Fas 1889).

(10) A biography of al-Maṣṣūrī al-Dājjād.

(11) Bibliographed works.

(12) ‘Īdāb al-muṣārī fī-miṣrāb ‘aṣyā‘a ‘al-murrāf ‘aṣyā‘a ‘al-Māṣīh. This is a commentary on the Fīghtālī’s work on notary documents, written in the margin of a copy of this text (Fas 1890).

‘Uddīt al-barāk fī ‘al-murūb (talkhīs) mī fī ‘lm-adhāb min (fī) ‘l-dājān fī-rida’īa wa-‘l-Andalus wa-‘l-Maghrīb. Large two-volume
treatise dealing with controversial questions of law (ed. Šamza Abū Fāris, Beirut 1990).

(15) Ḥaddāt al-khāli wa-l-muṣṭafṣāt bi l-ṭarādīk ’alā maṣūla naṣṣī fī Šarī'ah al-Mukhtasar, the work written in Fās, responding to criticisms levelled at his judicial decisions.

(c) Works still in manuscript.

(16) Muḥṭasar ʿabākām al-Buṣrī (Karaʾwiyīn Library, Fās; General Library of Rabat, 1343, D. 1447; Royal Library of Rabat, 9843, 8462).


(18) Muktasar ʿākīdhah al-Buṣrī (General Library of Rabat, D. 2197).


(20) K. al-Faqiʿ fī al-muḥimmah (General Library of Rabat, Q. 1061).

(21) K. al-Faqiʿ fī al-muḥimmah (Royal Library of Rabat, 2052).

(d) Other lost works.

(22) Fathas (not located).


(27) K. al-Faqiʿ fī la-ṣadjīma; General Library of Rabat, D. 2197).

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he classifies his anecdotes by theme or by reference to famous persons. Al-Muḥṣāṣīm (q.v.) in his K. al-Muḥṣāṣīm wa l-ṣuʾūr fī la-ṣūrāḥ, cites Ibn Ḥanbal four times, and explicitly places waṣdī below renunciation of the world (ṣuʾūr).

This is, furthermore, the position attributed by the texts to al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (q.v.), but one wonders whether this is not an attempt to cite an ancient authority during a polemic obviously of the 3rd/9th century. Al-Muḥṣāṣīm’s text is considered to be one written in his maturity, representing not only an elaboration of his thought but also his awareness of the various nuances in the opinions of his contemporaries. His solution was to co-ordinate them by placing them in a hierarchy. He starts from a definition of the Good as doing what God has ordained and renouncing what He has forbidden. Fear of God (taṣūq (q.v. in Suppl.)) is that which integrates purity of intention with works so that the actual work is done for God alone. The resultant waṣdī does not extend merely to clothing and food, as certain people think, but to the fear of God in all circumstances where there is a prohibition or an obligation. Four conditions are necessary for genuine scruple. Two are obligatory: not to do anything that God has forbidden, such as innovation or heresy, and not to take or make anything illicit that God has permitted, whilst the other two are recommended: to avoid anything ambiguous, lest it be illicit, and to avoid everything that, although illicit in itself, can serve as a means for illicitness (e.g. gossip, which can lead to defamation or lying). A criterion is necessary in order to avoid becoming victim to an illusion: this consists of resisting temptation when it presents itself, intention alone not being enough. This is why renunciation is better than scrupulosity.

The various aspects of this doctrine are developed by later authorities. Al-Tirmīdī stressed the doctrine of taṣūq, defined by him as waṣdī al-kalb wa l-ṭarādīk “guarding the heart and scrupulous abstention”. But it was above all the hierarchisation of the mystical “stations”, subsequently elaborated, that allowed the progressive integration of the mystical approach within the ensemble of the believer’s attitudes. The following stages may be thus sketched:

(1) Al-Sarrāj (q.v.) considers that the mystic’s scrupulosity must exceed that of the ordinary believer. He places it in second place after taqīd, repentance, but before zuhd, fakr, poverty, sāḥib, endurance of adversity, tawakhlīf, confidence in God, and, finally, riḍā, submission to and agreement with the divine will.

(2) In his Book of stages, al-Anṣārī defines waṣdī as “the last stage of zuhd for the masses and the first one of zuhd for the elite”, and he distinguishes three degrees of it: (a) concerning obligations; (b) “the maintaining of sanctions for what is not in itself evil, through reserve and taṣūq, by [desire of] elevating oneself above base things, and in order to be pure of all infringement of the legal penalties (ḥadd)”; and (c) “scrupulosity towards everything which tends towards the dispersion of time and attachment for separation, and which is opposed to the state of union”.

(3) Finally, al-Ghazālī (q.v.) in his Ihkām, defines four degrees: (a) simple observance of all which issues from the Islamic profession of faith, sc. abstinence from what is clearly forbidden (ḥaram); (b) the scrupulosity of the sāḥib, abstention from everything which is dubious; (c) that of the mutattāk, sc. abstinence from all that is licit in itself but which might lead to what is forbidden; and (d) that of the sāḥib, which is “turning away from everything which is other than
God through fear of wasting an hour of one's life on things which do not increase one's "warad". This concern only gnosia. In effect, abstention from what is licit and necessary would be disobedience, and abstention from what is licit and superfluous concerns only "zuhd." Conversely, the person who does not have his eyes fixed only on the things of this world but sees in them only the face of God cannot apprehend the signs which would guide him towards scrupulosity regarding what is doubtful.

Even so, these distinctions are not always respected by the person who makes them himself, e.g. Ibn al-'Arabi, who in his profession of faith uses "warad" and "zuhd" almost without distinction.


**WARĀD** [see NAGYVÁRAD].

**WARADIN** (Serbian Petrovaradin, Hungarian Pétervárad, German Peterwardein), a town and centre of a nābiya in Ottoman Hungary (lat. 45° 15' N., long. 19° 55' E.), earlier a settlement on both sides of the Danube in the mediaeval Hungarian counties of Bacs and Szerém; today the southern part of Novi Sad (Hungarian Újvidék) in Serbia.

The place was already inhabited in Roman times as Cusum. Of its later history nothing is known until the 13th century, when the Hungarian king Béla IV (1235-70) conveyed it to the Cistercians. After 1439 it was under the patronage of the banus of Macso. The northern part of the town, which had 18 heads of families and a widow, most of them with Hungarian names and insignificant Southern Slav infiltration, was registered as Vasarus Varad in 1522. However, the inhabitants could not pay taxes since the settlement was "devastated and desolated."

Among the fortifications along the Danube, the stronghold of Waradin was of considerable importance in the first line of the Hungarian defence system against the Ottomans. In March 1523, Bátholy, the beg of Semendire, made an unsuccessful attempt to conquer it. During the 1526 campaign of Sultan Süleyman I, the castle was captured after a siege of two weeks.

Waradin became the centre of a nābiya and of a kadafl within the nābiya of Szerém/Sirem which belonged to the province of Buda [q.v.]. It served as a significant crossing-place during imperial and other campaigns.

In the 17th century, the population of the town was small and the yield of ordinary taxes modest. Around 1570, the majority of the inhabitants were Muslims, many of whom possessed a vineyard and a piece of arable land, and there was a strong Southern Slav minority and no Hungarians. The number of soldiers in the castle was some 300 to 400 men in peace-time. The sum to be paid from tithe and dues amounted to 3,740 akčes around 1550, 6,001 akčes in 1560, 10,001 akčes around 1570, and 12,425 in 1591. Local people failed to gain derbeni status in compensation for their work at the landing-place and for the upkeep of the temporary bridges there. However, they were granted certain immunities including payment in kind. Ships owned by Muslim merchants in Waradin appear with various goods, mainly cereals, in Buda in 1571-3.

In 1687 Waradin, together with several strongholds in the vicinity, was taken by the forces of the Christian allies. Ottoman attempts in 1694 and 1716 at regaining it ended with failure. In the second battle for it, an Ottoman attempt in 1694, the Grand Vizier died. This decisive defeat, as well as the loss of Temeshwar [q.v.], led to the 1718 peace of Pożarevac [see PASAROYK], when the border was drawn far below Waradin.

**WARAKA b. NAWFAL**, an early Arabian monotheist and contemporary of the Prophet.

Biographical details concerning Waraka are few in number and legendary in character, since in one way or another they all relate to his kerygmatic role in the narrative of Muhammad's earliest revelation. Waraka was the son of Nawfal b. 'Abd al-'Uzza b. Kuṣayy, who is said to have been killed in the last "Battle of the Sacrilege" (yaum al-Fajār al-akhir) (Ibn al-Kalbf, *Daschmanni al-nasab*, Beirut 1986, 68-9), and of Hind bint Abf Kashfr. He was thus the cousin of the Prophet's first wife Khadidja [q.v.], but unlike her line (that of Kuwaylid b. Abad b. 'Abd al-'Uzza), his left no descendants of note. According to Ibn Sa'd (Tabakdt, viii, 8; cf. al-Baladhurf, *Ansāb al-ashref*, i, Cairo 1959, 407), Khadidja had been "proposed" (gjamkar) to Waraka, but the marriage did not take place; and this, at least in part, probably explains the traditionists' occasional sensitivity about their relations (Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakät*, 1/1, 130). One wonders how this account relates to another, according to which Waraka's sister proposed marriage to 'Abd Allāh, Muhammad's father.

Frequently mentioned alongside 'Ubayd Allāh b. Djabah, 'Uthmān b. al-Huwayriḥit (for whom he composed an elegy, 'rīḥa'), and Zayd b. 'Amr (the latter sometimes called his nadim, or boon companion), Waraka is counted among those contemporaries of Muhammad who abandoned polytheism before his call to prophethood. Like other hanifs, Waraka not infrequently appears circumambulating the Ka'ba, and for Ka'ba protocol is cited by al-Azraqi (*Akbhar Madha*, Madrid 1979, i, 175, 192; cf. U. Rubin, *Hanifiyata* and *Ka'ba: an inquiry into the Arabian pre-Islamic background of dīn ibrāhīm*, in *JSL*, xiii [1990], 97). Unlike most other hanifs, however, Waraka is also said to have converted to Christianity, apparently while travelling through Syria (and elsewhere); it is presumably during these travels that he came to study under "people of the Gospel and Torah", and to learn (written) Arabic and even Hebrew. Whatever truth one attaches to these travel accounts, Waraka's knowledge of an Arabic Gospel is almost certainly anachronistic (see
S.H. Griffith, The Gospel in Arabic. An inquiry into its appearance in the first Abbasid century, in Oriens Christianus, lxxix [1985], 144-9; even if its literacy is possible (according to al-Baqi al-Ansab, ed. Pellat, i, 81), Waraka’s sister also consulted books. Some of the poetry attributed to Waraka is occasionally credited to another hanif, Umayya b. Abi l-Salt [q.v.].

Although he is associated with Muhammad very early on—Waraka and an unidentified Kuraşı are said to have found the young boy, who had strayed from his suckling mother, and returned him to Abd Allah b. Asad in his place in early Islamic history, confirming that Muhammad’s first, tentative, revelation was indeed authentic. “There has come to him,” Waraka says, “the greatest law (nīmūs) that came to Moses” (nīmūs being interpreted as the angel Gabriel); “surely he is the prophet of this people” (Ibn Isḥāk, i, 238). The exact details are very hard to pin down, however. Sometimes Khadidja sends Muhammad to Waraka; sometimes she goes alone, and reports his words to the Prophet; sometimes she is accompanied by Abū Bakr; the last of these clearly suggests that the story came to the slaymans about whom the tradition had been converted first (noted by M.J. Kister, Al-Tahannuth, Beirut, v, 370). Already from the question of who exactly was involved, traditions were keenly interested in Waraka’s response. The consensus seems to have been that, having recognised Muhammad’s prophethood, Waraka still retained his Christian faith. But confusion about his fate is sometimes acknowledged, some authorities counting him among the sahābas, indeed some even identifying him as the first (male) to convert (e.g. al-Zurqānī, Sharh al-Sirā al-ḥalabiyya, Būlāk 1292, i, 257; al-Diyārbrī, Ta’rīkh al-ḥamās, Cairo 1302, i, 323). According to Ibn Ḥadīr, Isāba, Cairo 1977, x, 304 ff., Waraka died before Muhammad’s (public) “call to people” that they convert”. The account echoes others that characterise him as old and blind at the time of his birth (thus Ibn Ishāk, al-Sīra al-nabawīyya, i, 81, Ansāb, ed. Haydarābād, xiii, 119 ff.; Tirmidh, Ta’rīkh, ii, 21-2; Ma’sūdī, Murtid, ed. Pellat, i, 81, 316, and viii, index, s.v. for more literature; Ṣaḥafī, Wāfī, Leipzig and Beirut 1931, xxvi, 441-2; Ibn Sayyid al-Nāṣ, ‘Tārīkh al-āthār fi ṭurūq al-maghāzā wa l-ḥamāsīl wa l-ṣayyān wa l-ṣiyār, Cairo 1356, i, 83 ff.; Hālāfī, al-Sīra al-Halabiyya, Būlāk 1292, i, 319 ff.; Suyūfī, al-Rawd, Cairo 1967, ii, 347, 348-2; Ibn ‘Aṣākir, Ta’rīkh madārij al-Dimashqī, Beirut 1995-3, iii, 432 ff.; Bāghawi, Ta’fīr, Beirut 1987, iv, 506; Gaentz, Annali, i, 220 ff.; H. Lammens, L’Arabie occidentale avant l’hégire, Beirut 1928, 33 ff.; F. Buhl, Das Leben Muhammeds, Leipzig 1930, 125, 134-5; T. Andrae, Muhammed, sein Leben und sein Glaube, Göttingen 1934, 90-1, Eng. tr. Mohammad, the man and his faith, London 1936, 111-12; J.W. Hirschberg, “Jüdische und christliche Lehren im umkreis u.m. u. u.m. der Arabien, Cracow 1939, 39; W.M. Watt, Muhammad al-Meca, Oxford 1953, 39 ff.; 50 ff., 163; U. Rubin, The eye of the beholder. The life of Muhammad as viewed by the early Muslims, Princeton 1995, 103 ff.

WARĀMĪN, a small town of northern Persia (lat. 35° 19' N., long. 51° 40' E.) lying in the fertile Waramīn plain, which benefits from a good water supply from the Dāḏa Rūd and has been much frequented by Turkmen nomads up to modern times.

1. History. The mediaeval Islamic geographers place it at two stages from al-Ra‘y (al-Mu‘akkadd, 401) or at 30 miles from it (Yākūt, Būlānī, ed. Beirut, v, 370). Already in Byzid times it was a flourishing little town with a busy bazaar, but it dwindled at the time of Muhammad’s first revelation, fits the traditional chronology of revelation, according to which the fāṭra—the suspension of revelation—followed XCVI, 5, and, finally, explains why Waraka is given to foretell Muhammad’s persecution at the hand of the Meccans; he himself never lived to see it.

Some say Waraka died in Mecca, others in Syria; the second of these occasionally forms part of a different chronology, according to which his death came after the ḥijra. Since the Prophet is said to have forbidden insulting the (memory of) Waraka, and, moreover, to have had a dream of him in heaven, one surmises a lively controversy about his status in the early period. The Syrian connection is also among many features Waraka’s story shares with the legend(s) of the monk Bahārī, and Noldeke, who adduced some evidence that he was in fact a Jew (Heute Muhammad christliche Lehrer?, in ẒDMG, xxi [1858], 699 ff.), went so far as to find the origins of these legends in Waraka. Here he may have gone astray; but there is no question that the accounts providing monotheist collaboration for Muhammad’s prophecy frequently overlap. Needless to say, all this makes evaluating Waraka’s significance for the birth of Islam vexing indeed. It is particularly difficult to judge what kind of influence (if any) he exerted on Muhammad’s thought; that he did has been argued in both European and Middle Eastern scholarship alike (thus Abū Mustāf al-Ḥarīfī, Kāf al-nawāli (Diyyar ’Aḵū, 1985).

the 20th century with the general development and urbanisation of the whole Tehran region.
The present town of Varāmīn (lat. 35° 19' N., long. 51° 40' E., altitude 922 m/3,026 feet) now has significant industry, having benefited from being a station on the Tehran-Khurāsān railway, completed in the late 1930s. In ca. 1950 it still had a population of only 4,522, but this has by now risen considerably, Varāmīn having become part of the conurbation of Tehran.

The town includes several īmān-zādān, including that of Husayn Riḍā; the tomb tower of ‘Ālā’ ad-Dīn, a high, brickwork cylindrical tower with a conical roof and interior dome (688/1289); and the great, square 5th/11th century citadel, the Kāf ‘a-yī Gabr. The especially fine four-iwan congregational mosque was built in 722/1322-6 during the reign of the Il-Khwānī Abū Sa‘īd b. [Hasan b.] Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Manṣūr ‘al-Khwādghī; some of its inscriptions are Šī’ī in time although the sultan was a Sunnī. It was rebuilt in 821/1418 in the time of the Timurid Shāh ‘Alā’ ad-Dīn Yusuf Khwāzīdja.


WARWALD. A town of the northeastern Deccan of India (lat. 18° 00' N., long. 79° 35' E.), important in mediæval times as the centre of a Hindu princedom in the region of Telengana and Vidjayanagara [q.v.], marched on Warangal, defeated and killed Devarāyya II, and finally incorporated the city and much of Telengana into the Bahmanī state, appointing the Khān-i ʿAzām as its governor. Local Hindu rulers still remained significant in the region, and caused trouble for the later Bahmanīs and their successors, but Warangal’s history was henceforth largely subsumed in that of the Muslim sultanesates of the Deccan and their eventual supplacers, the Mughals.

The Muslim monuments of Warangal include a palace, attributed to ʿṢ̣̄ṭāb Khān ca. 905/1500 [see MAHALL, at vol. V, 1216b].

In British Indian times, Warangal came under the Nizām of Haydārābād’s dominions. It is now in the northern part of Andhra Pradesh State of the Indian Union, and is a commercial and industrial centre with a population in 1971 of 207,000. It is also the chief of a District of the same name which extends as far as the Godavari.


WARĀMĪN [see MARZBĀN-NĀMA].

WARD (a., coll., sing. warda, Rossa sp., Rosaceae, also known as dül or gul (Persian)). Though ward can refer to any flower, it generally denotes the rose (Lane). According to Maimonides, it is known to physicians as d Gül, though the Arabs used this name only for the white rose (Shahr, no. 121); misrīn was the wild rose or Chinese rose (no. 253). Ibn al-Bayḍār in his Tafsir to Dioscorides explains riḍāh as ward, or as d Gül, of Persian origin; the red variety is called baḥrijīm, the white misrī (i, 101, 140).

Medicinal use. Ibn Sinā calls it cold in the first degree, dry in the second; it quietens the yellow bile (Aduiya majfra, 61). Al-Zahrāwī used rose leaves, dried rose, rose water (muʿ al-ward) and rose dhun (oil), describing the methods for making the latter (105-6) and its uses (117-18). An excellent medicine, moderately cold and astringent: internally, good for the stomach and for cases of tuberculosis; externally, soothing, and included in ointments. It was combined, in small
amounts, with other ingredients. According to Ibn Wahshiyya, the rose, its petals, leaves, rose water and rose oil were included in several antidotes to poison. Sābūr b. Sahl in his Akhbaṭādīn used rose oil, rose water, dried red rose, and seeds, for a variety of ailments. Ainslie speaks of wād as Rosa centifolia (Linn.); he considers this probably the true gil of Ḥāţf. R. gallica (red rose, in P. gul-i surkh) was used as carminative, cephalic and tonic (Māʾāri Indica, i, 345). Rose oil (dāhb) and rose water are produced by distillation from the flowers of some types of rose (Ghaleb, ii, 361-6). Rose water today is a refreshing ingredient in the preparation of food, especially sweets. The dried flowers are included in some versions of the Arbaʿa or "forty" substances sold by ṣāḥāṭār (herbalists).


**WARDAR,** the Ottoman Turkish name for the **VARĐAR,** Grk. Axios, a river of the southern Balkans. It rises in the Sar Mountains near where Macedonia, Albania and the region of Kosovo meet, and flows northeastwards and then in a southeastern and south-southeastern direction through the present (Slavic) Macedonian Republic [see MĀKĀDUNYA], past Skopje or Uskub [g.v.] and through Greek Macedonia to the Gulf of Salonica. Its length is 420 km/260 miles.

The lower valley of the Wardar probably passed into Ottoman Turkish hands around the time of the first Turkish capture of Salonica in 1387 [see SELANIK], soon after which the Byzantine town of Pella in Macedonia was conquered and became for the Turks Wāndar. The river after 1918 has, in the past, been tapped by wells, thus permitting wine growing and the cultivation of a number of vineyards. The upper course of the river after 1918 came under Ottoman control after the defeat in 1387 of the Ottoman Turks in Macedonia by Zenata tribes. According to Ibn Khaldūn, the Banū Rustam had occupied the region by the 9th century A.D., many KharidjTs came to settle in the region of that name, but reading between the lines, contains criticism of what was, according to him, the way in which the Turkish government was run and the privileges of the land were acquired.

**WARGLA,** a village near Kef, d. 1190/1776 at Tunis. After study at a Korān school in his native village, he went to Tunis to continue his studies at the Great Mosque of the Zaytūna [g.v.]. At the Great Mosque of the Zaytūna [g.v.], and subsequently himself gave courses there. His wide learning and gift for writing attracted the attention of the Bey, ‘Ali I Pasha, who made him secretary in his chancery. This Husaynīd ruler had just dethroned his uncle al-Husayn and himself assumed power in 1735, but was in turn overthrown in 1756 by his cousin Muhammad al-Baqīr b. al-Husayn. Since al-Warghī was a fervent partisan of ‘Ali I, and had been richly rewarded by him, he was after 1756 persecuted and imprisoned. Till his death, he never recovered his former privileged position, but gradually contrived to secure a pardon, regain his liberty and acquire authorisation to practise as a notary.

Al-Warghī is known above all as a poet, and especially as a eulogist of ‘Ali I, but his Diwān, published at Tunis in 1765 by ‘Abd al-ʿAzīz al-Kīzānī, contains poems on many other themes, such as descriptions, love poems, petitions, verses on the hazards of fate, etc. Dominating his œuvre is a neo-classicism. He was also the author of three makāmāt, also published with his nasrīl at Tunis in 1762 by al-Kīzānī, which include several of his own verses. The first, written in 1160/1747, al-Balāḥya, nominally concerns the foundress of the madrasa of the Hanbali shāfiʿī school in Tunis, but contains criticism of what was, according to him, the way in which the government was run.

**WARGLA,** conventionally OUARGLA, an ancient oasis town of the Algerian Sahara (lat. 31° 58' N., long. 5° 20' E., altitude 290 m/320 feet), situated 160 km/100 miles south-south-west of Tuggurt [g.v.] and now the chef-lieu of a wilāya or province of the Algerian Republic. It occupies a depression above a sheet of underground water which is fed by the subterranean course of the Wadi Miya and which has, in the past, been tapped by wells, thus permitting vast date palm groves in the oasis (see below).
Wargla and founded the town of Sedrata, the ruins of which still exist buried under the sands half a day's journey to the southwest. At the same time, Abū Yazīd, the "man with the ass", who had rebelled against the Fatimids, recruited many followers in this region. The ḫāṣṣīdīyah had nevertheless in the 6th/12th century, as a result of conflicts with the orthodox and perhaps under the pressure of Arab elements, to abandon the region of Wargla and migrate to the Tadmait, where they finally settled and created the oasis of the Mzāb [q.v.]. ḫāṣṣīdīyah, however, continued to survive at Wargla where in the 11th/17th century it still had a few representatives.

During this period, Wargla, which according to the traveller al-ʿAyāṣī was ruled by the Banū Tūḏīn dynasty, seems to have been a prosperous city enriched by trade with the Sudān (al-Idrisī, tr. de Goeje, 141). The Ǧīlāli invasion marked the beginning of a troubled era. In the course of the wars between the Hammadīs and the Aṭhḥāḏīḏ, with whom the people of Wargla had contracted an alliance, the dynasty of the Banū Tūḏīn was overthrown and the town destroyed. Rebuilt a short distance from the original site, it suffered later in the wars between the Almohads and the Banū Ghanīyya. In the 8th/14th century, although under the suzerainty of the Banū Muzzīnī, representatives of the Ḥafīḍīs in the Zāb [q.v.], Wargla was practically independent under the rule of sultans belonging to the family of the Banū ʿAbī Qubālū, of the fraction of the Banū Wagguṇ or Ugīn (Ibn Khaldūn, Histoire des Berbers, tr. Slane, iii, 286). At the end of the 10th/16th century, these sultans were extremely wealthy, but according to Leo Africanus (ed. Schefer, book vi, vol. iii, 146), they had to pay heavily for the protection of the nomad Arabs. Wargla at this time still preserved the commercial importance that it owed to its situation as a "port of the desert", to use Ibn Khaldūn’s phrase (loc. cit.). It was a market where the produce and slaves of the Sudān were exchanged for the merchandise bought from Tunis and Constantine. Leo Africanus remarks on the beauty of the houses, the number of artisans and the wealth of the merchants. This opulence attracted the attention of the Turks of the Algerian coastlands to Wargla. In 1552 Ṣāḥib ʿErīṣ, at the head of an army of Turks and Kabyles, advanced as far as Wargla, the inhabitants of which offered no resistance, and he returned after plundering the town and imposing on the sultan an annual tribute of 30 African slaves.

The expedition of Ṣāḥib ʿErīṣ was followed by a new period of troubles which was ended, it seems, at the beginning of the 17th century by the proclamation of a new sultan, Allāhūm, to whom local tradition attributes a ʿSharīfīan origin; his descendants held power down to the middle of the 19th century. But the real masters of the country were the nomad Ǧamāhīra, Banū Tur and Sīdī ʿOtba, whose continual interference in the quarrels of the two jiḥāf or factions [see ʿAff] into which the settled population was divided kept up the disorder and made the authority of the sultans illusory. The latter had even to recognise the supremacy of the Banū Ǧabīla, hereditary chiefs of the oasis of Ngusa, which they did not cast off till 1841. But ten years later, a new cause of trouble arose. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh, the şarīf of Wargla, raised the tribes of the Sahara against the French, who entrusted the task of reducing the rebels to the şaykh of the ʿUṯlīd Sīdī ʿShaykh, Sīdī Ḥamzaa. The latter occupied the town in the name of France in 1853 and was given supreme command of the Sahara tribes. But the participation of the people of Wargla in the rising of the ʿUṯlīd Sīdī ʿShaykh in 1854 forced French columns to intervene on several occasions in the region. Another rebel, Ben Shaqqa, nevertheless succeeded in establishing himself in Wargla in 1871. The suppression of this rebellion resulted in the final establishment of French authority in 1872.

With the suppression of the trans-Saharan slave trade under the French rule and with a French Army fort in the oasis, Burdj Lutaud, the economic importance of Wargla declined. But it subsequently became the chef-lieu of the Territoire des Oasis Sahariennes, with the municipal status of a commune indigène.


2. The modern oasis and town.

Wargla owes both its historical and its present importance to its remarkable position on an isthmus of terra firma connecting the north and south Saharas, between the great Eastern Erg and the Great Western Erg. Its position has at all times made it of the greatest significance for trans-Saharan trade; it had relations with Gao and Timbuktu to the south, and was a transit point for the slave trade, what Ibn Khaldūn called "the gate of the Sudān".

In the colonial period it was marginalised, with a population only one-half of that of Tuggurt’s, but it has today surpassed Tuggurt and Ghardaïa in importance. It has benefited from the proximity of the oil fields of Hassi-Messaoud (Ḥasy Mas’ud) at 80 km/50 miles to the east-south-east, and the Algerian state’s decision to make Wargla a Saharan capital, with institutions serving the whole Sahara (a University, a Commission for Development and Land Reclamation, and an Institute for Saharan Agronomy). As a garrison town also, at a crossroads of modern roads, and still with important date palm groves, Wargla has today 120,000 inhabitants.

As noted above, the town lies in a north-south depression within the rims of a calcareous plateau and corresponding to the ancient course of the Wadi Ngouza. It has benefited from the proximity of the oil field of Hassi-Messaoud (Ḥasy Mas’ud) at 80 km/50 miles to the east-south-east, and the Algerian state’s decision to make Wargla a Saharan capital, with institutions serving the whole Sahara (a University, a Commission for Development and Land Reclamation, and an Institute for Saharan Agronomy). As a garrison town also, at a crossroads of modern roads, and still with important date palm groves, Wargla has today 120,000 inhabitants.
and the Banu Sissin, Berber-speaking Zenata, dark-skinned from the admixture there of negro blood, share the ksar and also the palm groves, though in the urban agglomeration as a whole former Arabic-speaking nomads have become the majority. Around the ksar the modern suburbs have developed. The “Green Triangle” of monumental buildings and greenery forms the administrative quarter laid out in the 1930s by Col. Carbillot, a disciple of Lyautey. Quarters of former nomads, now sedentarised, have sprung up in various places, and the urban sprawl has now joined up with peripheral ksur (Rouissat, Adjadja, Bamendil, etc.).

The palm groves, amounting to 550,000 trees, are amongst the most extensive in the Sahara. They are served by the artesian water supplies, formerly tapped by wells but now by bore holes. But the extension of lands suitable for agriculture has now reached its natural limit, stretching across lands that are becoming waterlogged through the rise of the water-table, with a veritable lake formed to the east of the town; hence it has become necessary to construct a drainage network that conveys used water to the Oum er Raneb sabkha.

But beyond the palm groves, Wargla is becoming a centre for extensive development, thanks to its underground water levels and its alluvial soils, a sector chosen by the Algerian government for the improvement of modern Saharan agriculture; hence along the roads to Hass-Messaoud and Tuggurt stretch numerous modern developments, industrial and agricultural.


WARIK (a.) “silver money”, distinguished from ‘aun “gold money”, and nukra, refined silver in bars or ingots.

In the mediaeval Islamic world, as elsewhere before the introduction of central banking, gold and silver money were two separate currencies, with a fluctuating market exchange rate. The unit of silver currency was the dirham [q.v.], normally represented by a coin with the same name, or, more strictly speaking, by an amount of current silver money with the weight of a standard dirham; the corresponding unit of gold currency was the dinar [q.v.], with its own weight standard (unminted gold in ingot form was tibr). To describe quantities of coins, ‘aun and warik are used to designate the gold and silver portions of the sum. For example, when the caliph al-Wathik died (227/847), the treasury was inventoried and found to contain ‘aun, 5,000,000 dinars and warik, 15,000,000 dirhams (Kāfī Ibn al-Zubayr (attrib.), K. al-Dhakha’ir wa ‘l-tuhaf, 217-18, tr. Ghada al-Qadduml, Book of gifts and rarities, Cambridge, Mass. 1996, 208). On a more humble level, a Geniza letter acknowledges receipt of “10 dinārs, 7 in ‘aun, 3 in warik” (Goitein, A Mediterranean society, i, 230); that is, a payment with a total value of ten dinārs was made, of which seven dinārs were paid in gold coin and the rest in silver coin worth three dinārs.

In Syria and Egypt, the meanings of the pair warik/nukra changed as a result of Salah al-Dīn’s reintroduction of full-weight pure silver dirhams ca. 572/1176-7. Up to that time, warik had continued to
mean silver coins, in particular, the increasingly debased dirhams which were the only silver coinage of the region from the 4th/10th to 6th/12th centuries, while *nukra* meant pure commercial grade silver metal, or its theoretical price as calculated from the price of a silver coinage of lower fineness. When Šalāḥ al-Dīn introduced pure silver coins, they were called *nukra* dirhams, while the term *warık* was reserved for the debased coins (which continued to be issued in many places). Ibn Baṭrā, a 7th/13th-century writer on the Egyptian mint, describes separately the methods of production for *nukra* and *warık* dirhams. The designation *nukra* stuck to the former even when, later, they too began to be debased (the term obviously had lost its specific denotation of pure silver). In 815/1412-13, we are told, the last *nukra* dirhams, by then containing only 10% silver, were demonetised in Egypt. The *warık* dirhams that had to be distinguished from *nukra* had also disappeared, and *warık* resumed its significance of silver coinage in general, although mainly in contexts with historical reference, such as those of *fikh* manuals.

Today the term *warık* meaning "money", is recorded. Very probably the significance survives in part from a more common meaning of the word, "paper", but it is likely that it also continues the older usage. *Warık*, with that meaning occurs only once in the Kur'ān (Strat al-Kalīf, XVIII, 19): "He is said to be orthodox (sahīb sunna) as well as a Murāji'. His *tafsīr* is reported to have been preferred by, amongst others, Yahyā b. Maʿīn and Abū Hānbal [q.v.], this *tafsīr* being one of the three recensions of the Ibm Abī Naḍīfī transmission of the *tafsīr* tradition that was started by Muğāḥīd b. Ḍjabr [q.v.]. His recension, which is preserved in the Cairo Dār al-Kutub ms. 1075 *tafsīr*, is related to the other two but often shows a different wording and a different distribution of individual *tafsīrs*. Al-Ṭabarī apparently set great store on the Warka' recension, but only quotes it regularly from sūra XIV onward in his *tafsīr*.

**Bibliography:** See biographical references in Sezgin, Ges, i, 57, and Taʾāʾith Baghdadī, xii, 515-17. For his *tafsīr*, see Muğāḥīd b. Ḍjabr. The new edition by M. 'Abd al-Salām Abū 'l-Nīl, Tafsīr al-imām Muğāḥīd b. Ḍjabr, Cairo (Madinat Naṣr) 1989, does not follow the original arrangement of the ms.

(W. K. Loftus in the 1850s.

**WARNA**, conventionally VARNA, a town and seaport of northeastern Bulgaria, important in Ottoman Turkish times (lat. 43° 12' N., long. 27° 57' E.). It is situated on the Black Sea coast, on a bay of the Sea near the Devnya lake, with the region of Dobrudja [q.v.] to its north. At present, with 400,000 inhabitants, it is the third largest city in Bulgaria and its largest port, with road, rail and ferry connections.

1. Historical survey.

Varna has an ancient history. The Greek colony of Miletus-Odessos was founded on its site in the 6th century B.C., and on the Devnya lake there arose the Roman foundation of Marcianopolis. During the Slavic infiltration into the Balkans, Odessos was destroyed, but the name Varna appears for the region. It became part of the Byzantine empire in the late 10th century, ruled by Byzantium and Bulgaria, and from the 1340s came within the Dobrudja despotate which succeeded from the Bulgarian kingdom.

Varna was conquered by the Ottomans in 1388-9, but was probably ceded to Byzantium in 1403 by Süleyman, son of Bayezid I. In 1444, in a valley to the west of the town, there took place the celebrated battle of Varna (to figure prominently in Ottoman historiography, with a special *hazine-i name* of Sultan Murād II devoted to it). The force of European Crusaders (Hungarians, Poles, Czechs and Vlachs) under the king of Poland and Hungary Władysław II Jagiello/Ladislaus I and the Voivode of Transylvania Hunyadi János/Henry Hunyadi, was defeated by Murād's Ottoman army. After the fall of Constantinople, the Ottomans seized the last independent fortresses along the Black Sea coast and confirmed their authority over Varna.

In the early 17th century, Varna suffered from Cossack raids. There were Ottoman-Russian confrontations during the 18th century, and in the war of 1828-9, the Russians captured it after a siege and held it for over two years. During the Crimean War 1853-6, it served as a base for the forces of the English, French and Piedmontese allies, with about 60,000 persons there, but was devastated by cholera and a fire. In 1878 the fortress of Varna surrendered to the Russians without a fight, and was henceforth included within the Bulgarian principality.

2. Varna under the Ottomans.

The town was a port and a fortress in the sandjak (from the 17th century, the beylerbeylik) of Silistra, and it formed one of the *nahiyye* of the extensive Dobrudja region. In the 17th century, Ewlyā Çelebi recorded, amongst the town's officials, a superintendent of the port customs, a commander (muḥāfiz) of the fortress; a serdar of the Janissaries, a kethābul of the Sipahis;
the odabashi of the Janissaries; a muhtesib and a subashi.
In the 1840s, a sancjak and a muftiliuk of Varna were set up within the valley of Silistra, governed by a millet, and there was a meflik, consultative body (whose members included the local Orthodox metropolitan). This same structure was maintained when the region was included in the Tuna or Danube vilayet in 1864.

In past times, the port of Varna had been difficult to use without the construction of facilities for ships. Under the Ottomans, it functioned as a transit centre for foodstuffs from Dobrudja, governed to Istanbul, and it had a shipyard. Under the Treaty of Kuchuk Kaynardja of 1774, the Black Sea was opened up for foreign trade, and agreements for free navigation made with various Western powers, leading to the growth of foreign activities through the Straits and within the Black Sea. Hence by 1841 there were 14 consulates of European countries in Varna; steamships started docking there; and between 1861 and 1867 a railway linked Varna and the town of Russe on the Danube.

Varna forms part of a specific sub-region, a narrow zone along the Black Sea coast differing in demography and relief from its hinterland. The Varna region must have been Orthodox Christian on the eve of the Ottoman conquest, and there may even have been Christian Turks there in the pre-Ottoman period. Notable were the Gagauz, i.e. Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians using the so-called Karamanlidika, i.e. writing religious works in Turkish language with Greek script. In the 16th century, some 55 Yurük oδđİals are mentioned there, and there were sırqun [q.v. in Suppl.], i.e. transplanted Şí'ís from Eastern Anatolia. These deportations may have tipped the religious balance of the region in favour of the Muslims.

The first extant registers concerning the population of Varna date from 1526-7 and 1566-9. The ğemærât of Muslims consisted of 27 households and eight bachelors, plus 29 Muslim müslêmens, exempt from awrâr [q.v.] because they served in the Varna fortress. These grew into five Muslim mahâalles, totalling ca. 1,200-1,500 persons. Initially, the non-Muslim population formed nine mahâalles, with 352 households, 128 bachelors, 560 houses as well as non-Muslim müslêm and builders in the fortress. Ewliya Celebi speaks of 4,000 houses, and in 1659 Ph. Stanislavov mentioned 400 houses of Orthodox Christians, totalling 1,700 people, whilst the Muslims had 1,500 houses with 4,000 people. In the subsequent period, Armenian Christians are also mentioned as residents. The Russo-Turkish wars of the late 18th and early 19th centuries forced the non-Muslim population of the region either to migrate across the Danube or to move into the town of Varna, and after the 1828-9 war, when the total population of the town was about 26,000, the town lost nearly all of its non-Muslim population across the Danube or to Russia, and the Christian quarters and their churches suffered especially from the Russian bombardments. The Ottoman government took measures to facilitate the return of the emigrants. The 19th century was notable for the emancipation, and at times, confrontation, of the Greek and Bulgarian communities, with their own religious and cultural lives. They probably absorbed part of the Gagauz community. According to 19th-century observers, the Orthodox used Turkish, and church services in that language are mentioned, leading some authors to conclude that the majority of the Orthodox population were Gagauz.

Tatars settled in the region as early as the 13th century, increasing after Bâyezîd II's annexation of Bessarabia, and in the later 18th century with the population resettlement after Russia took over the Khâirate of Crînga [see Sânta] followed by a particularly large wave ca. 1860-2, when a Tatar mahalle emerged in Varna.

After the Crimean War, Varna's population increased rapidly. According to Kanitz, by 1855 there were ca. 16,000 inhabitants (8,300 Turks, 6,100 Orthodox, 1,000 Armenians, 30 Jews and 130 Greeks). The 1881 census revealed 24,561 people: 8,903 Turks, 6,721 Bulgarians, 5,367 Greeks, 837 Tatars, 541 Jews, 338 Gypsies and 186 Germans; in 1901 the total had reached 34,922 inhabitants.

The fortress that guarded the town and its port, until it was blown up in 1829 by the Russians, dated from Byzantine times; it had a double wall and towers, an ič kaîf large enough to shelter a barracks, a Muslim mahalle and a mosque, and a citadel,  naïrëdd-ğöme, used as an arsenal (pulled down in 1901). The open city was around the fortress and on the ancient site of the town. The Christians remained in their pre-Ottoman settlement zones, or in parts of them, where lay their churches. By the 17th century, a relatively substantial Armenian colony, with its own church, had been established in Varna. Muslims lived relatively separately, mainly to the west or south-west. Ewliya mentions several chief mosques (gâmkâ) and 36 meşâlûs. Many public buildings were built by persons associated with Varna, so that there was an Äbd el-Râmân Efendi mosque, zâviye and mahalle, a mosque and medrese of Kürd 'Ali Efendi, a bridge and fountain of Nâ'îb Ahmed Efendi and an 'âmâret of Khîsrew Kетhîhûdâ.

Because of Cossack raids and the wars with Russia, the open town was in the 18th century fortified with an earthen rampart surrounding, on the land side, a moat with a guarded road, towers and gates. After the Russian destruction of the İc Kaîf, the Ottomans started building a new fortress, the Yeni-Kale, largely completed in 1851, on the block fortification principle, with a central fortress and outlying forts and, in 1877, a moat. The wars with Russia and the conflagration of 1854 caused the loss of many Muslim public buildings, but many of these were largesized in the course of the 19th century. According to the Sînâyûm of 1872-3, there were in the town 19 mosques, 12 schools, one medrese and one tekke. That of 1874-5 records 732 shops, 15 tanneries, 14 khâms, 252 ware-houses, three hammâns, a clock tower and a nişâbûrîye school. There were in fact several dervish tekkes in the vicinity of Varna, including Bektaşî ones in earlier times, one of the seven tombs of Sârî Salihûk [q.v.] and tombs of the jejâhs from the battle of Varna of 1444. A collection of Ottoman inscriptions was gathered together by V. Şîkorpil in the Varna Archaeological Museum, inventoried with the help of local Muslims and translated. Some were carried off as trophies of war and are in the St. Petersburg Public Library, such as the inscription with an ode of 75 verses by the poet 'Aynûbî 'Aynî celebrating Mahmoud II's visit to Varna in 1837, which decorated a fountain built by the Mîr-Êkbar Şâdîk Agha when the town was reconstructed.

3. The post-1878 period.
After the declaration of Bulgaria's independence, many of the Turks of Varna emigrated, but the town remained in close connection with a Muslim-populated hinterland; a müftûlîk was still functioning in the town until the 1960s. Muslims had representatives in the state and local official bodies; and the Muslim community in Varna launched a number of important
In a passage of the 20th century, a copyist was criticized as an embezzler of science and knowledge, as is noted by Abu Bakr al-Khazin, in which he said, "A copyist was asked, 'What is pleasure?' He replied, 'Parchment, papers, poured ink and a cleft reed pen.'" He often complained about the insecurity of his profession. On being asked whether he lived a miserable life, his livelihood being narrower than the ink-pot, his body more slender than a ruler (misfara), his face was darker than glue; his hand was weaker than cane, and misfortune clung to him more than gum (al-samagh). Such literary exaggerations aside, some copyists earned a good income. For instance, Abu’l-Ukhbari (d. 428/1037) boasted that he used to buy paper sheets for five dinars to make a copy of the Diwan of al-Mutanabbī in three or four nights, earning thereby between 150 and 200 dinars (cf. Ibn al-Djawzf, Witr, p. 329). Another warak copied ten folios a day and earned 10 dinars by selling his work thus copied (cf. al-Khaṭṭāb, Ta’rikh Baghdad, p. 342). These cases were probably exceptional. Average copyists perhaps earned much less, yet the public regarded them highly because of their association with the literati and intellectuals in society.

It seems that a copyist of the 2nd/8th century earned a tenth of a dinar for copying a single page; but in the 3rd/9th century, a similar copyist earned a fifth of a dinar for the same amount of work. During the 4th/10th century, a warak earned one dinar for copying a single page for a customer. Thus the wage of a copyist for copying a page increased between the 2nd/8th and 4th/10th centuries. Some warakkān became famous because they worked for a famous employer; such was the case with ‘Abd al-Wahhab b. Ṣad al-Warāk (d. 319/931), who copied the manuscripts of al-Dīḥājī, and similarly, Ahmad b. Muhammad b. al-Warāk (d. 228/843), who worked for the Barmaki al-Fadili b. Yahya. It would appear from the statement of al-Yaḵṭābī that the warakkān as a professional group emerged during the 3rd/9th century, so much so that there were more than one hundred shops or stalls of copyists and paper sellers (hānith al-warakkān) near the site of Kaṣr Waddah in Baghdād. Those warakkān were also described as as ṣāḥib al-ḵutub or book publishers (cf. K. al-Buldān, p. 245, tr. Wiet, 24). There were book market stalls in all major Islamic cities, such as Baghdād, Baṣra, Sūmārā, Wāṣīṭ and Caiρo. It is recorded that Hūsain b. al-Daw ḥaṭ of al-Taβarī was offered for the price of 100 dinārs.

The profession of warak attracted men of letters of all descriptions, such as poets, theologians, commentators on the Qur’an, and traditionalists. Some of them had a poor reputation, but many basked in popular esteem. A warak such as ʿAttād b. ʿAbd al-Warāk (d. 353/964) claimed an honourable genealogy from the Prophet’s Companion Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, and earned for himself a reputation as a preacher (waṭīq). Allān al-Warāk, who regarded himself as a man of culture, earned his living as an itinerant copyist who paid visits to his customers rather than the other way round. In some cases a large group of copyists were employed by one man who also provided them board and lodging. The degree of accuracy of knowledge available in the ‘Abbasid Middle East reflected the quality of the copyists’ work; a bad copyist was criticised as an embezzler of science and knowledge, as is noted by Abū Bakr al-Kīārāzmi (Rasūlī, ed. al-Khāzīn, Beirut 1970, p. 150).

In the late mediaeval period, especially in Safawī Persia, Ottoman Turkey and pre-modern and early modern Egypt, there existed guilds of various groups involved in the book trade, such as copyists, bookbinders and book-sellers.
Like another Spanish Muslim geographer, Abū Bakr Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Rāzī (d. ca. 344/955: Pons Boiguès, no. 22; Miquel, i, p. xxii), he is called a "chronicler" (al-mawsīlī) and it is not known whether he was called al-Warrāk because he was a copyist or a book-seller, or whether this was his father's trade, as the preface to the Arabic text of al-Bakr might lead one to think (Description, 12 n. 3: Ibn al-Warrāk), but it is not to be excluded that he may have had the post of a librarian at the caliph al-Hakam's court.

Like several other scholars, he left a land occupied by the Fatimids and was welcomed by al-Hakam II, patron of scholars and litterateurs, but also glad to find in him a competent informant who could prove useful for his North African foreign policy (Brunschwig, 151; Miquel, i, 259-60).

None of his works has come down to us. Apart from his K. Masālik fīrišīya wa-mamālikhā, he wrote works in the following field: "numerous works on the history of the rulers of Ifriqiya, their wars and those who rebelled against them (taḥdī蛤 ḥanāfī ḥanāfī 1-ka'imin 'alāyhim), as also monographs (tawāfīf fī akhbār) on Tihart (Tāhir), Wahrān, 'Tanās, Sidjīlmāsā, Nakūr and al-Brāṣrā (of the Maghrib)" (al-Dabbī). He was equally skilled in genealogy, especially that of the Berbers (Ibn Hazm, 495 ff.).

He was one of the main sources for Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (q.v.) in his Description of North Africa, where he calls Muhammad b. Yūsūf or Muhammad (index, at 394a). It is affirmed there that his information was often first-hand, from having visited the places and following the itineraries, e.g. from Sidīlmāsā to Fās (281 ff.), or else was derived from his informants. Having said this, it also happens that he gives false information (30 n. 2). Ibn Hāyān (q.v.) also combined the fragments of his work in his History of the scholars of al-Andalus, and Ibn al-Idhārī (q.v.) did the same, to a lesser degree, in his History of Africa and Spain (i, 97, 339 ff., ii, 400 ff.).


Africa and has been printed in Saudi Arabia, Cairo and Tunis. The reading system of Näfi’ was also maintained by the Zaydiyya [q.v.] of the Yemen although no studies have been done to determine if this was the transmission through Kālūn (d. 220/835) or Warš.


**WARWARI ‘ALI PASHA.** Ottoman governor and commander, d. 1058/1648.

He was a native of Warvar or Varvara (lat. 43° 49' N., long. 17° 29' E.) in Bosnia. Details of his career in state service in the first four decades of the 17th century are provided by the Paša himself in his versified memoirs (*sar gudhaţ*). Some of the high points, as he relates them, include his participation in Murād IV’s campaign against Ėriwan in 1045/1635 as dāmdar (commander of the army’s rear flank), in which he received a cash bonus for exceptional service of four purses (160,000 ăkēn) of silver (*Memos*, v, 116), and his sustaining of battle wounds during the campaign against Bağdād in 1048/1638, which led to his promotion at the end of Murād’s reign to the governorship-general of Rumeli (vv. 133-40). ‘Ali Paša regarded his appointment to the governorship of Bosnia through the intercession of the Grand Vizier Semsīd Mehmed Paša in 1054/1644 as the pinnacle of his career (vv. 168-9, date confirmed in Na‘īmā, Tārikh, iv, 73). However, the insecurity of his position, shared by all provincial governors, is too apparent from his record of service at the beginning of Ibrāhīm’s reign. In the first four years of that sultan’s reign alone, he was appointed in rapid succession to six governorships: Mā‘nisa, Van, Anatolia, Adana, Diyarbekir and Bolu.

Warvari ‘Ali Paša is chiefly remembered for the stance which he took, bravely contradicting current government practice, in support of guaranteed conditions of service for provincial governors and for his opposing, in particular, abuses in the assessment of the appointments’ gratuity customarily paid by new incumbents to higher office [see *Paida*]. Uncontrolled increases in these assessments, especially during the reign of Ibrāhīm I, had left many governors in a state of chronic indebtedness. During his tenure as governor of Sivas in 1038/1648, ‘Ali Paša’s opposition took concrete form in rebellion, and during a conflict between government and provincial forces near the central Anatolian town of Ėrçek in Rabi’ II 1058/May 1648 he was captured and executed on the spot [see *Paša*]. It is ironic that, only four years later, in 1062/1652 Ibrāhīm, clearly inspired by the example of his discredited predecessor, himself lacked proposals in favour of a guaranteed three-year minimum term of service for all state appointees (Na‘īmā, v, 199, ll. 2-3). Ottoman political thinkers from the time of Koči Beg [q.v.] to Tatarđik ‘Abd Allāh Efendi [see *Selim III*] gave particular emphasis in their writings to the importance of state administrators’ immunity from arbitrary
dismissal (see textual refs. in Bibli.). Warwar 'Ali Pasha's sad end after long and loyal service spanning the reigns of six sultans demonstrates just how astute their observations were.


3. Political treatises. Koçi Beg's views on government are summarised in a supplementary təklih of his treatise of 1041/1631; see R. Murphey (ed.), The Velayuddin Telhis, in Belleten, xii, no. 171 (1979), esp. 560 (last 3 II) and 561 (first 3 II) and abbreviated Eng. tr. on 549. Tatardjlīk 'Abd Allāh's Ḵyāya of 1206/1791 has a long ch. on this theme and recommends a minimum term of office of four or five years; see Sherif Mehmed (ed.), Tatimat al-dahr, Beirut 1404/1984, iv, 1438-9; Ibn al-Aghānl, i, 99, 1. 13, Abu Nuwas; Khalīl al-Kātib, §§ 284, 297; Ibn al-Rūmī, ii, 688, idhā mā waṣafa mna'm il-miṣrī fī-lā taḏghat fī waṣafii wa ʾĀthī ‘when you praise one man to another, do not exaggerate his eulogy; do it with moderation’). In this connection, a verse of the Umayyad poet Wadhād al-Yaman states an equivalence between wasf and taḏghit which come to be equated (al-ʿAghānī, vi, 235, 1. 2); in fact, the latter refers predominantly to the eulogy addressed to the woman in the context of love poetry.

Under the Umayyads, wasf with the meaning of description gains ground in the texts, although the primary sense is not eclipsed. It is therefore appropriate to stress that it is flattering description that is involved here, the embellishment of reality. Wasf embellishment constitutes the fundamental approach of one of the great descriptive poets of Arabic literature, Ibn Khādīja: because description, he writes in the introduction to his Diwan, is a style of composition which purports to express a representation based on imagery, it follows that the poet is not to be denounced for having lied (i.e. for embellishing reality), nor can he be forced to confine himself to the real (Diwan, xi, 11). All of this runs counter to the assertions of Kudāmā b. Daʾfār (Nakd, 23) and of Ibn Rashīk al-Kayrawānī and of certain supporters of the theory of ʿamād al-ḏarʾ; in their view, the best description is that which adheres to the real, that which transforms words into directly comprehensible images (al-ʿUmda, ii, 294; see also 295).

2. The poetics of wasf
A large number of mediaeval theorists have studied two essential tools of the descriptive art, al-taḏghīb (simile) and al-istiʿāra (metaphor), which are reckoned to show mutual resemblance. Thus it is that Ibn Abī ‘Awn, in composing the K. al-Taḏghīb, and to a lesser degree al-Djāhīz in al-Raḗyān, devoted most of their attention to cataloguing the system of imagery adopted by poetry; this manner of proceeding exempted them from having to examine the entity known as wasf. At the end of the 3r.d/9th and during the 4t.h/10th centuries, this habit is seen to be perpetuated, with the systematic treatises of Ibn al-Muʿazz and of Abī Hilāl al-ʿAskārī on the one hand, and the works on maʿānī, giving an account of these tropes, on the other. Only a minority of original theorists addressed this art in the context of broad categories, sc. of literary genres. Kudāmā b. Daʾfār, 23, considers wasf one of the six genres most frequently employed by poets. Some of his views on the question have an utterly modern resonance. For him, prefiguring those contemporary theorists for whom all description is narration, description consists in relating a thing on the basis of its various aspects and its successive states. Thus the most gifted descriptive writer is the one who succeeds in combining the greatest number of maʿānī and in emphasising those that best characterise the object in question. The most successful description will be that which imitates (yabkū) the object and renders it perceivable (yunmāštahūl) to the senses (ibid., 62-3). Ibn Rashīk (d. 456/1063) considers this art a frame broad enough to contain almost the entirety of Arabic poetry; it differs from comparison despite evident analogies, the former being concerned with reality, the latter with an imaged (tamāq) and a figurative (mağāż) representation (al-ʿUmda, ii, 294-6).

Hāzim al-Karṣāqānī (d. 684/1285) likewise asserts
that wasf is predominant in rhyed discourse. This being the case, he distinguishes between four poetic genres: description, comparison, wisdom and history. To excel, the poet must be a good observer. He will thereby be capable of grasping the features of resemblance and the similitudes which exist between the afore-mentioned genres; and he will also need to be aware of the attributes (mu‘ād) of the notions, events and objects which he will be setting himself to describe.

On the level of the treatment of themes and not of forms, al-Karrādājī partially revoked the division established by Kudāma, beginning with wasf and taṣḥīḥ; the latter performs an integration between the sentiments of the poet, the diverse reflections of his nature, of his soul and of the sensibility of the object perceived. In the third place, he cites sapiential themes, including the meditations and the ideas of the poet, the fruit of his experience and of his awareness. The fourth category of poetry, designated by the term ta‘āth, concerns the role of memorialist, devoted to the poet (Muhammad Zāhūl Sallām, ii, 195-6). In the 8th/14th century, Ibn Khaldūn (d. 784/1382), defines poetry as "discourse founded on metaphor and descriptions". Everything in the kāsīda, he writes, belongs to description, including the nasb, the camel-section and the kātāb.

5. Description in poetry: between theory and practice

A. Archaic poetry

The pre-Islamic Bedouin poet was a great creator of images. He painted with words numerous details of his life and of his environment, and devoted a major portion of his discourse to serenading the lady whom he loved, and singing the praises of nature and of the animals among which he lived. This characteristic has always drawn the attention of theorists. For Ibn Khaldūn, description and the archaic kāsīda are inseparable. He declares this in a passage devoted to the evocation of major themes in the poem: wa-yasta'ārida min wasfī l-ḥukayḍī wa-l-ṭulūlī išā waṣṭī r-takhā bi awwa l-ḥayḍī awwa l-ṭayfī wa-maṣī wasfī t-mudādī ilā wasfī kawsīta wa-sāsikirbi "through well-arranged transitions, he moves from the description of the desert, of traces and of encampments to that of his caravan or of his horses, or that of the image of the loved one, who appears to him in a dream: praise of his patron leads on to that of his people and of his troops" (Ibn Khaldūn, Mukaddima, iii, 328, tr. De Slane, iii, 366, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 374-4).

Rather than setting out a catalogue of gāhīlī descriptions, it will be more worthwhile to identify the major features.

Major descriptive themes

The bestiary, a multidimensional one, predominates. At the time of the ṭabīl, the nocturnal journey, the poet confronts a space sown with dangers. In this section, it was accepted that the artist could, if he wished and did not deny himself the opportunity, proceed to descriptive developments. He evoked here the running of his camel, the desert, the darkness, the animals, malevolent spirits and excesses of the elements (storms and torrential rains: numerous descriptions in Abīd al-Abraṣ, Dīwān, Cairo 1937, 36-7, 43-4, 75-6 (the storm replacing the nasb), 89-90 (fragment of seven verses in kāmil muṣāfa dedicated to this theme), 128-9). In praising his camel, he did not hesitate to compare it to an antelope, or an onager, or both simultaneously, or to an ostrich. He could close this section by returning to his camel. It is worth noting that a certain functional division must have played a part; the description of the camel alone is attested in poems of personal or tribal boasting and in the poetry of war as in the work of Ḥātim, Tiṣ‘a, al-ṣuḥaylī, al-ʿAbdī, Imru‘ al-Kays, `Amīr b. al-Ṣuṣaylī, Bīghr b. Abī Khāzin al-ṣuḥaylī, etc. However, it is the multidimensional pattern which prevails. The descriptive deployments attested are as follows: camel—antelope—onager—war-horse—camel, with all possible combinations thereof. Numerous variants and additions are attested. The ostrich can replace the onager or the antelope (for references, see Arazi, La réalité et la fiction, 114-18, 130-3, 142-6, 152-3). As for additions, desert and storm seem to have been especially favoured by poets.

Birds, especially birds of prey, and the ibex, etc., are less often present and are retained for their symbolic value: the ḥaabā or likāw “eagle” in the works of Imru‘ al-Kays (Dīwān, Cairo, 1984, 142, vv. 44-5; 226-7, vv. 8-11), but especially in the works of Abīd al-Abraṣ, where it is the poet’s sworn enemy (Dīwān, 18-20, vv. 39-50, famous description), representing the destiny which swoops and brings death (al-ʿAṣāṣ, xvii, vv. 3 ff; al-Afwāḥ al-ʾAwfī, Dīwān, al-Tarāʿī l-ʾal-adūshyā, Cairo 1937, 20; al-Baladhūrī, Anṣāb, v, Jerusalem 1936, 241; al-Bakrī, Sīmī al-laʿālī’, Cairo 1936, ii, 965); the ibex means to express the vanity of any creature’s attempts to find an impregnable refuge as protection from his destiny.

Tendencies and significations

The audience of the time must have felt overwhelmed by this incessant whirlwind of successive images: barely installed in the world of the camel, the listener finds himself introduced, without warning, to that of the antelope, where he is confronted by a squall of unparalleled violence and forced to take shelter from lightning and from torrential rain; being given no more time, he is made to share the life of an onager, before returning to the point of departure. On more than one occasion, the poet leaves him in suspense, since the loop is not closed and there is no returning to the camel which set this process in motion. Rather than seeing this as punishment which is deserved on account of the poet’s obsession with excess, this multiplicity should be regarded as an attempt on the part of the artist to endow his poem with a rapid rhythm and thus gain the approval of the public.

This approval was forthcoming because of the tendency of ancient wasf towards idealisation. The poet aspired to transfigure everything that he had written with the aim of transcending the circumscribed reality of daily life in the desert. The public, clearly, had only to summon a precise portrait of a camel or a horse—emaciated, hungry, thirsty, covered with dust as these creatures generally were—and then call upon the poet to perform a process of sublimation on its behalf. The exemplary case is provided by the portrait of the lady in these texts. The mimiyya of Ḥātim al-Taʿāt includes a nasb of eleven verses, six of which evoke an unnamed woman laden with jewellery; her body is of perfect beauty (vv. 6-8) and her teeth “light up my dark tent to the furthest corner, when at night she shows a smile” (Dīwān, Cairo 1411/1990, 221). This notion of sparkling teeth shedding light may seem exaggerated, but it does not lack human resonances: by means of poetry, the woman is idealised. The ageing wife, worn out by hard work and frequent confinements, appears in the description as a creature richly endowed, all beauty and grace, thus erasing all the difficulties and compromises of a decidedly monotonous daily life. This tendency was required to respond to the expectation of the public; the latter testimony is supplied by the contest in which Imru‘ al-Kays
confronted ‘Alkama, the arbiter being Umm Djundub; both were required to describe a horse. The latter won the day on account of his success in having infused his verse with a perfect exemplar of equine power, according to the judgment of the arbiter. The erstwhile prince of the poets was deposed on account of a fatal error, that of having sinned by excess of realism. The descriptive register manifests great stability. In other words, it is subject to rigid conventions imposed by the public and fully accepted by the poet on the level of the sign and the signified. Themes, their infinite spaces, their caressing winds, and the breeze of early morning; but these are also the places where their infinite spaces, their caressing winds, and the breeze of early morning; but these are also the places where

themes, their deployments and tropes of comparison move within clearly defined limits. Thus conceived, this register is distinct from realism, since every convention signifies negation of realism. Of course, this is not a case of make-believe, but rather of a mimetic description. Nevertheless, a willingness is sensed on the part of the describer to restructure and interpret the real. The she-camel of Tarafa, given as a model of the genre, has no hump; her udders comprise four teats, but biologically, she can possess only two. Imam al-Kays commits the same infraction. The traits retained by Musayyab b. Alas, drawing a sketch of his camel, seem so contrary to reality that Tarafa is supposed to have exclaimed utamnsa l-gumala “the camel has changed into a she-camel”. The intensive use of comparative tropes, also of substantive adjectives and participles, makes it possible to avoid calling animals, feminine anatomy and topographical details, by their names, thus conferring a certain opacity on descriptive passages. The use of metaphor, more frequent than is generally thought, endows these verses with a fine artistic element. The gāhil poet Bishr b. Abī Khāzim, evoking “the hills clad in shining jewellery (lāsam)” of which the contextual, not the linguistic meaning, is mirage (Bishr, Diwān, Beirut-Aleppo 1995, 209). However, these codes experience a certain exhaustion on account of the uninterrupted repetition of the same tropes, substantive adjectives and allusive procedures in a fixed context.

Archaic poetry possesses an ambivalent character, being both description and narration. For the nasīb [q.v.] what is necessary has been said. For the bestiary, the sections dealing with the antelope and the onager are veritable dramas in miniature; the poet steps forward here as a first-rate narrator (examples and bibl. in Arazī, La réalité, 160-3).

This poetry, whether it describes nature, encampment remains or the bestiary, has an optimistic flavour. Life, but also the imprint of man, triumphs over all. The desert is traversed by roads and paths, human inscriptions in the body of this vast expanse of sand. In fact, the route, which is ma‘abhad (worn down by traffic) apud Ka‘b b. Zuhayr, or lāhib (clearly marked) with ‘ulāb (imprints) that are ineradicable on account of the compression exerted by travellers apud ‘Alkama (al-Tālik al-dhamin, 106, vv. 17-9), crosses the desert from one end to the other. Here, the archaic poet uses the term fa’akat “to pierce deeply” to show the extent to which the imprint of man and his agents (beats of burden) is here ineradicable. Ka‘b b. Zuhayr compares these paths to plains woven by industrious women (Divān, Krakow 1950, 21-3, vv. 23-7; 28-31, vv. 14-26, the poet gets the better of the desert; he is accompanied by a wolf and a raven; 51, vv. 12-13; 52-3, vv. 17-8). By virtue of his knowledge, man can pit himself on equal terms with this immensity. In the bestiary, the antelope, the onager and their pregnant partners, bearers of new life, escape death, despite the snares set by hunters, despite hunting dogs and sharpened arrows.

In the archaic period, the existence is noted of two descriptive approaches: dynamic description and static description. Poets of the school of Aww b. Ḥadżar (Zuhayr and his heir al-Ḥutay’a) are particularly distinctive in this first instance. Here, description has the rhythm of a beating drum. Very brief poetic phrases lay out propositions where prominence is given to verbs expressive of movement. There is recourse to an alternation of decelerated or accelerated movements, all in accordance with the requirements of the motif. This has enabled the poet to tackle, on a strongly structured basis, the essence of the kasida, eulogy, fadhār, or ḥuṣūq. A second descriptive approach is based on the static mode, more precisely on the freezing of movement, prolonged interminably, to the extent of enfolding the entire verse. Was it the poet’s intention to contrast movement that is frenetic and thus of limited duration with the stability that is synchronous with durability?

B. Post-gāhil description

With the triumph of Islam, a new dimension is perceptible in wasf: the cosmic dimension. The Kur’ān is slow off the mark in evoking the skies, stars, land and rivers as evidence of the power of the Creator and the submission of nature to His will. Naturally, the surviving poets of the Qabbāya, the muḥaddidim [q.v.], do not follow the movement, but with their disappearance, a period of transition begins. Over several decades, the mental revolution inspired by Islam becomes ripe in the popular mentality; movements of population with the mass exodus of the Bedouin of Arabia and the establishment of a new landscape, the urban landscape, deal a heavy blow to ancient descriptive art. Certainly, Bedouin poets and the conservatism inherent in all poetic language perpetuate the images of yesteryear, but this is merely a case of imitation imposed by a traditionalist attitude. The umbral cord which used to link the public, the poet and descriptive thought together is henceforward severed, except with the nasīb and its descriptive extensions. The major victim seems to be the range of animal and bird names, to a lesser degree, the desert and its thematic developments. The urban poets of Kūfā, al-Ukṣayḥār, Hunayn al-Ḥirī, ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zabīt al-Asadī, Ismā’īl b. ‘Ammār al-Asadī and ‘Ammār Dhihi Khināz, introduce images from the hybrid world of the taverns and courtesans of al-Ḥira. The Ḥiḍżāzī school offers us a full-blown introduction to the domain of women of high society. On the other hand, poets of the renewal of the 2nd/9th century continued to express the sentiment in their presentations. Mu‘t b. Īyās, with the two palm-trees of Hīwān, was to blaze a trail that is still being followed by the Arabic poetry of the present day. The 3rd/9th century was to channel this activity and guide it towards a new descriptive art that would be brought to its zenith in the two succeeding centuries. However, attention should be given to the descriptive activity of the Umayyad wa’dik poets (see s.‘iṣ). These highway bandits, members of tribes which maintained their Bedouin character, crowded the Pilgrimage routes. The poets among them, of whom there were many, advanced towards a three-fold description of the desert which they considered a watan or homeland, a refuge and a place of terror. They were full of nostalgia for their land. They never ceased painting the landscapes of their youth, with their infinite spaces, their caressing winds, and the breeze of early morning; but these are also the places where
tents are buffeted by tempestuous and icy winds in the winter (al-Kattal al-Kilabf, Diwdn, Baghdad 1968, 19-27, 33, 41, 45, 51, 68; al-Mubarrad, al-Kfmil, ed. Wright, i, 296; ’Abd al-'Aziz al-Halaf, Usbud al-sudjdn, Beirut 1963, 42-4, 78-80, 92-3, 96-7, 99-102; ’Abd al-Mu’în al-Mallâhî, Aqfdr al-lulus wa-akdhâmuhum, Damascus 1988, 20, 73). Other ǧâlîk placed emphasis in their verse on the solitude of these places and the wild animals which inhabit them: some portraits in this bestiary rank as genuine bravura pieces (as in ’Ubayd b. Ayyûb al-‘Amârî, see Husayn ‘Ayîân, al-Šâmî, ed. q.w., Beirut 1983, 131-9). Another category of poets, rather more placid and respectful of the law, also sang of the desert landscapes and the loves of youth, in a poetry impregnated with melancholy. There are both poets (al-Šîma al-Khâfi, al-Âg háni, vi, 1-8; Ibîn Kutayba, 340-5, 185-6; Abû Tammâm, al-Hamàyâ, index) and poetesses (Maystân bt. Bahâlîd, Hind bt. Alâm al-Sadúsîyya, Wâdîlha bt. Ws al-Dâbbîyya) producing treatises of hântîn ilâ l’asfâd. Nevertheless, these artists were regarded as marginal and seem to have played only a very limited role in the evolution of descriptive poetry in their time.

New frameworks

Under the ‘Abbâsids, the courtly poet fulfilled certain functions in addition to his role as eulogist. He was obliged to entertain his patron's guests and to constitute a poetic phrase; they could thus enjoy a liberty of expression that was not appreciated in the presence of the master of ceremonies (verses preceding contests and lullabies), aspires, and that of the imagination: a mural sculpture sets in motion a return to the past, as the sculpted scene comes to life and unfolds before our eyes a living and sumptuous spectacle (Dîdân, ed. al-Šârâyf, Cairo 1963, ii, 1152-62, 58 vv.). At the same time, Ibîn al-Rûmî was gathering together all these novelties and transforming them into systematically-employed poetic procedures. Furthermore, he is credited with two important transformations regarding the fragments and the role of the wasf genre in kasidas. The former were made to serve in the role of brief portraits, a few features thrown quickly together to give an impression, almost a sketch, of curious people (Ibîn al-Rûmî, 608, a fool; 641, the miser who breathes through only one nostril; 682, a glutton in the process of eating; cf. also 747, 762, 813). On the other hand, he replaces the ǧâlîk of animals and birds with descriptions of nature. In numerous instances, an opening eulogy leads to a long descriptive development on the basis of an analogy established between the patron and nature, in the space formerly reserved for the râhil (ibid., 489, vv. 31-9; 542-8, vv. 6-9; 604-7, vv. 4-11).

During the 4th/10th century, two eminent descriptive poets, Kusdjjâm and al-Sârî al-Râfî, introduced ǧâlîz [q.v.] into poems of the genre. The way in which this metre was used by them differed from its use in cynegetic poetry. The latter had imitated in this respect the Umayyad poets al-Kumayt, al-Tirimmâb, al-ʾAdjdjâm and Ru'bâ bt. al-ʾAdjdjâm; it opted for the urjdzn [see ǧâlîz], on account of its aptitude to accommodate rare words and phonemes of equally rare morphological construction (q.v.). In the work of these two descriptive poets, the ǧâlîz, resuming its role as attested in the improvised fragments (verses preceding contests and lullabies), aspires, by virtue of the facility of terms and the variety of feet (qâfîdî), to have recourse to a supple and comfortable poetic phrase; they could thus enjoy a liberty without hindrance or resistance; they could then make their verses flow, preoccupied only with the sense. Whatever the case, in the works of Kusdjjâm there are to be found fewer than 38 poems and fragments in ǧâlîz and in the work of al-Sârî, 19. Some poets produced the finest novelties in this domain.

Themes

The hymn to nature: The poet of this era showed a pronounced inclination towards nature domesticated by man—gardens full of colours, where greenery predominates, flowers and water enclosed in a lake or flowing freely. From the second half of the Umayyad period onward, this was the backdrop for libations evoked in bacchic poems. On the other hand, ʾudjwâjûsw (poetry singing of friendship), poetical missives often containing an invitation to a bacchic meeting, gave great prominence to the above-mentioned themes. Finally, celebrations of the nayruz [see Nawrûz] and mihãjûsw (q.v.) festivals, hymns dedicated to the glories of nature implanted in the customs of the time, and for centuries to come, not only a vivid attach-
ment to nature but also an obligation to integrate this love in verse. In these poems, the visual element plays the primary role: to the magic of colours and their blending, the poets give the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, are added olfactory and aural elements. In this connection, a fragment of al-Sari al-Rafl's supplies a fine illustration of the use of motifs relating to the integration of these three elements: the quatrains (Divân, Baghdîd 181, ii, 666) includes an invitation addressed to the sâlih to serve wine to the poet who is seated in a vineyard (harîsa, musla'rafdhî), soothed by the cooing of doves (tughanaka wa'itkh l-hamâlûmi), under a sky of branches (shâde) which hides the sun and prevents it from appearing, except in the form of scattered dirhams, and the reflection of the sun through the foliage and the white colour of the sil-ver. It is an image evocative of dreams; it is not lacking in beauty, and indicates a lively attention and an affectionate interest in all things relating to nature (similar cases in ibid., 50-2, 667, 721-2, 762-3, 775). The Andalusian poet Ibn Khâfdja seems to have been particularly distinguished in this domain (Divân, 42-3, vv. 1-20; 116, vv. 5-14; 144, vv. 21-36; 184, vv. 1-25; 195, vv. 1-14; 281, vv. 1-7). Ibn Khâldun informs us in this context that his mas- ters expressed deep reservations regarding the poet on account of this tendency towards excess of màdâni in a single verse, since this is liable to result in a cer-tain obscurity (Ibn Khâldun, iii, 328-9, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 573-5).

In parallel, these same poets endow nature with a soul, such that it takes on life of its own. Its birth is seen in spring; it is, by turns, imperious or dormant. Thus for Ibn Rûmî, a garden, at the time of sunset, is an invalid in pain: at twilight, the sun is languid and feeble (râmakô), it sprinkles (naffada, verb of motion) the horizon with yellow; thus it bids farewell to the world below, it is in the process of dying, in a new light, to discover it and regard it with love. It is an image evocative of dreams; it is not lacking in beauty, and indicates a lively attention and an affectionate interest in all things relating to nature (similar cases in ibid., 50-2, 667, 721-2, 762-3, 775). The Andalusian poet Ibn Khâfdja seems to have been particularly distinguished in this domain (Divân, 42-3, vv. 1-20; 116, vv. 5-14; 144, vv. 21-36; 184, vv. 1-25; 195, vv. 1-14; 281, vv. 1-7). Ibn Khâldun informs us in this context that his mas- ters expressed deep reservations regarding the poet on account of this tendency towards excess of màdâni in a single verse, since this is liable to result in a cer-tain obscurity (Ibn Khâldun, iii, 328-9, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 573-5).

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eloquent tongue; he is adored by beautiful women who never cease to embrace him; when his pulse is taken, he awakens: 76-7, 76, 235, 254-5, 356. This verbal imagery leads to a hermetic description. This is tolerable so long as the title supplies keys of the code used; otherwise, it remains incomprehensible (al-Sarî al-Râfî
d', ii, 585, the editor not having seen that it refers to a passive pedestal as is the general case and of the valid (sahih) contract (section 133, though the substance there is called 'asf, the very term used

From: Descriptive poetry continued its headlong progress under the Mamlûks: numerous poets of wa'sf are attested here [see ârûl. 1. In Arabic (a), V (1), in Vol. IX, 460].

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II. In law

Here wasf means form, external aspects, or incident, each one of these three as opposed to substance (asl). This Aristotelian dichotomy between form and substance appears frequently in Islamic law in providing solutions to legal problems. Thus a slave, after being sold to a new owner but before his delivery to this new master, injures a limb. Will the delivery of the slave with his injured limb be valid? Al-Sarâlî (q.v.) answers this question in the affirmative; the delivery will be valid because the injury of the limb affects only the wasf, meaning here the incident, not the substance (asl) of the slave, while "the price [of the slave] is for the substance (asl), not for the incident (wasf)" (Mâkidât, Cairo 1916, xiii, 171, lii 20-5). However, the same dichotomy is also, and perhaps mainly, used in obfuscating solutions to legal problems. The vitiated (âsíd, q.v.) contract is an example. This contract is non-existent between the parties to it, but quite valid with regard to third parties (Châfik Chehata, Le système de nullités en droit musulman hanéfite et en droit comparé, in Rapports généraux au VIe Congrès international de droit comparé, Hambourg 30 juillet-4 août 1962, ed. J. Lempens, Brussels 1964, 191-203, at 195). For al-Sarâlî (q.v.), the vitiated contract is valid in its substance but invalid in its incident (ibid., xiii, 24, lii 9-10), leaving it unexplained and unclear what are the effects of the contract that belong to the substance (asl), hence are valid, and what are the effects of the contract that belong to its incident, external aspect or form (wasf). Remarkably, this obfuscated definition of the vitiated contract was adopted by the Megdîl, the Ottoman re-statement of Islamic law, published during the third quarter of the 19th century [see MEGDLA] (section 109) and later by the 1976 Jordanian Civil Code (section 170) and the 1986 Civil Code of the United Arab Emirates (section 121). The 1951 Iraqi Civil Code, which ignores the vitiated contract, although it is one of the original features of the Islamic law of contract, maintains nevertheless the dichotomy between form and substance in its definitions of the non-existent or invalid (âbîlit, q.v.) contract (section 137) and of the valid (sîbit) contract (section 133, though the substance there is called âbîlit, the very term used...
previously by section 109 of the Med^elk, where both asl and dhdt appear. Moreover, even where Islamic law does indicate the effects of the contract belonging to its wasf, one may wonder whether they do not actually belong to the asl. A person buys a book by a certain author, but sees that the book bought is by another author. The sale of the book is valid because the identity of the author is purely incidental, not substantial (al-Fatâwi al-lâhdiyya, Cairo, ed. Maymûniyya, iii, 140-1, as cited by Nayla Comair-Obeid, Les contrats en droit musulman des affaires, Paris 1995, 112).

The widespread use of form and substance in Islamic law shows that, in its elements, this law is no different than any other modern system of law. Its specific character, like that of any other system of law, lies in its rearrangement of those elements.

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WASF — WASHKA 159

WAŚFI AL-TALL (1919-71), Jordanian politician and three times prime minister.

He was born in the Kurdish village of Arabkir in modern Turkey. Son of the Jordanian nationalist poet Muštafa Wahbî al-Tall and a Kurdish mother, Wasfî was raised in his father's native town of Irbid in northern Jordan. He received his secondary education in the town of al-Salñ, and, upon graduation in 1938, went on to study at the American University of Beirut. He graduated in 1941 in the sciences. Al-Tall joined the British army in Palestine in 1942 and later and 70 km/43 miles almost due west of Barbastro and Isuela River (Ar., Bansha) and lies among the foothills of the same name), a town of northern Spain. It is located on a hill amidst its huerta, irrigated by the Izuela River (Ar., Bangha) and lies among the foothills of the Pyrenees some 50 km/30 miles west of Barbastro (Barbatgutu [g.v.]) and 70 km/43 miles almost due north of Saragossa (Saratakta [g.v.]).

The date of Washka's conquest cannot be stated with precision, but it appears to have been undertaken by 95/714. According to al-Udbî's account, after a seven-year siege the defenders were granted amn under the condition that they pay the diqâya. Once conquered, Washka became the capital of an 'amal of the banâdî al-islâmî [see al-Mu'ta'âr, 2]. Although it was ruled by an appointee of the court at Cordova, its isolated frontier location and a high proportion of indigenous converts ensured that it remained independent in spirit and orientation. Only a short distance separated the outer hamlets and husun of Washka from the settlements of its Christian neighbours, with the mountains forming a natural frontier. Cross-border raiding was frequent. Up to the 4th/10th century, various governors of Washka rebelled and hatched anti-Cordovan alliances with their Christian neighbours. By the early 3rd/9th century the governorship had become essentially hereditary.

Washka is said by geographers to have been a centre of manufacturing and trade, producing copperware and weapons. Bananas and sugar-cane were reportedly raised in the densely populated and irrigated huerta, and there is evidence of considerable wheat production and viticulture. The strongly-walled town had several gates and was laid out in typical Islamic style; its sizable extramural suburbs were eventually enclosed by an outer earthen wall. Few Arabs and fewer Berbers settled in Washka and, if it was something of a cultural backwater with few notable figures associated with it, the persistence of the Arabic language after the Christian conquest attests to the area's deep Islamisation and Arabisation.

After the dissolution of the Umayyad caliphate and a brief independence, Washka came [see notes] under the domination of the Banû Hûd, the rulers of Saragossa. On the death of Salûyûm b. Hûd in 438/1046, his son Lubb took control of the city, but Ramîr I of Aragon became a player in the rivalries of the Banû Hûd and helped 'Abd al-Mukhtar bî 'llâh of Saragossa take the city from his brother. Under Sancho Ramírez, the Aragonese began to menace Washka, attacking various neighbouring territories between the 470s/1080s. In 487/1094 the king laid siege to the city, but this was abandoned following his fatal wounding during a skirmish. The task of conquest fell to his son Pedro I who, on 16 Djumada I 489/12 May 1096, laid a second siege to the city, now considerably weakened by raids. Responding to its call for help, al-Mustānî of Saragossa sent troops under his command and that of his Christian vassals. On 1 Dhu 'l-Hijja 489/19 November 1096 the opponents met on the field of Alcoraz just outside the city and the forces of al-Musta'în were routed; three days later the inhabitants sued for peace.

With Washka fallen, the lands of the upper Ebro lay open to the Aragonese. The conquest of the city did not, however, spell the end of the Islamic presence here, for many of the Andalusî inhabitants remained in the area. A Muslim population surviving in some form until the final expulsion of the Aragonese mudéjares [g.v.] was undertaken in 1018/1609.

Tattooing has been a long-established practice among women in the countryside and desert regions of the Arab Middle East, noted by many Western travellers from d’Arvieux in 1665 to the present. Its purpose is to enhance feminine beauty; poems quoted by Musil (190-1, 196, 251) comment favourably on tattoos. The practitioner pricks out the desired pattern on the body of the young girls and young married women who sought tattoos.

Tattoos may be decorative in themselves or imitate precious stones, rings, bracelets or belts. Decorative tattoos on the face, neck, chest, stomach, legs and arms are usually in patterns of dots, lines and crosses, although flower motifs and crescent moons are locally common. Motifs used on the back of hands include gazelles, palm trees, swords and twisted braids.

Specialist female practitioners, gypsies or Sulayb (q.w.) did the best and most elaborate tattoos. The operator has a repertoire of patterns and motifs from which the client chooses, and decides the position of the tattoo. The practitioner pricks out the desired pattern in the skin with a needle. She then dips the needle in dye obtained by burning indigo-dyed material, and goes over the pattern. The area is bandaged or covered with grease, removed after seven days when the skin is washed. If the pricking with the indigo dye is too deep, the pattern fades. In central Jordan, some gypsy women specialists used small wooden blocks to tattoo short words, like the girl’s name. Women tattoo each other with simple dots and patterns, using a needle and soot from the baking sheet mixed with butter; the scar is covered with butter mixed with turmeric.

The number of tattoos, their position and favoured motifs are affected by fashion, the availability of practitioners and the ability to pay in cash or to give gifts of wool or butter. Tattooing has become less elaborate and less common since the early to mid-20th century. It has virtually disappeared in villages, and in the bāḍiya, girls have only a line joining the eyebrows, a line down the lower lip and chin, and perhaps a flower on the cheek.

Dickson (164) says that, in the 1920s, every ‘Irākī tribe had special tattooing patterns that denoted women’s tribal membership. Women from Jordanian and northern Saudi tribes in the 1970s said only that different groups preferred different patterns, but this reflected the repertoire of tattooists as well as fashion. Authorities describe tattooing as varying between groups. Dickson (164), for ‘Irākī says the practice was less common among Bedouin women than among tribal women, but does not say how he distinguishes between these two groups. Bedouin tribeswomen in the north—Syria, Jordan, Palestine and Sinai—were generally tattooed. Further south, tattooing remained common, although those under Wahhābi influence tattooed less. Wellsted, travelling in ‘Umān in 1834-5, records tattooing as common among women (1,352).

At present, light tattooing is frequent among tribeswomen in the southwestern reaches of the Empty Quarter (Mauger, 89, 97, 99, 109).

Dickson says (164) that men never had tattoos, while Burckhardt (51) records that Syrian tribesmen did. In the northern bāḍiya, men consider tattooing as strengthening body parts after an injury.


WASHMÎR B. ZIYĀR [see WASHMÎR B. ZIYÂR, AL-WASHSHÂ, Abu l-Tayyib Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. Ḳāfik al-ʿArabī, in short al-Washha or Ibn al-Washshâ (born ca. 1055/669 or earlier in Baghdir, died there in 1325/937). Arabic man of letters, well-versed in grammar and lexicography, widely read and an authority on good manners. As a grammarian he was an eclectic, studying with both Ẓahālab and al-Mubarrad (q.w.). Abū ʿAṣīda, a teacher whom he often quotes (Sezgin, GÀ§, ix, 139), was a private tutor of princes. According to some sources, al-Washshâ also taught at the caliphal court. Others call him a schoolteacher, but this humble profession alone cannot account for his familiarity with high life. Besides, the only pupil of his that we know by name was a certain Munya al-Kātiba, a female slave of the caliph al-Mu’tamid.

Lists of his works are mentioned in Sezgin, GÀ§, ix, 165. Apart from a treatise on a question of orthography (K. al-Mudadd au ṭ-makṣûr, ed. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Cairo 1979), three books on adḥân have been preserved.

K. al-Fîlîl fi ṣifat al-adāb al-kāmil (10 ms., the oldest of which is Vienna, Nationalbibliothek 2014; uncritic ed. Y.Y. Maskûnî, Baghdir 1970-7) is on rhetoric and eloquence. A discussion of the relevant concepts in the first chapter is followed by a collection of anecdotes (al-ṭaḥrîr), with sermons and speeches, wise dicta, quick-witted repartees and eloquent improvisations both in prose and poetry, all of which are to serve as guidance for the right thing in every situation.

The K. al-ʿUwâdas (ed. from the unique Leiden ms. Or. 1440 by R.E. Brünnow, Leiden 1886; German tr. D. Bellmann, Ibn al-Wâsiṣ, Das Buch des buntestickten Klädes, Bremen 1984), is a handbook of the particular attitudes, manners and tastes which are cultivated by refined (ẓarîf) people. It deals with the concepts and expressions of civility (adḥân), manliness (munâra), and refinement (qafîz), which involve such things as eloquence, politeness, seriousness, chivalry, loyalty, piety and discretion. Special emphasis is laid on chaste love, as there is a natural connection between qafîz and unfilled passion (text, 47). There is also ample attention for the outward aspects of a refined lifestyle: clothes and perfumes, food and drink, toothpicks, bathing manners, suitable presents, flowers, fruits and correspondence (including love letters written on
apples; cf. A. Schippers, in JSS, xxxiii [1988], 221-3).

The author was in direct contact with Muslim authors and used a number of
quotes, and Ibn Dāwūd al-Ishābānī [q.v.], from whose
K. al-Zahra he took over clusters of poetry without
acknowledging it, including pieces by the author him-
self. Some of the maxims used by Ibn Dāwūd as
chapter headings appear in Mucn, 164, as signet ring
inscriptions of the refined. They are reminiscent of
the ring inscriptions ascribed to ancient philosophers
by Hunayn b. Iṣḥāq (Jāḥiṣ b. Tamīm) [q.v.] ed. A.R. Bawardi,
Kuwait 1985, 45-7; cf. W. Raven, Ibn Dāwūd al-Ishābānī

Tafsīr al-muhājī wa-sāvab al-wusāl tll al-farādī (ms.
Berlin 863; ed. Cairo 1900 not seen) is a letter writer for
zārīf lovers, and therefore an important source of
knowledge of refined lifestyle. After a description of
exquisite writing materials, it offers examples of letter
openings which express confessions and complaints of
love, requests and reproaches, answers as well as re-
quests for a reply. The larger part of the text contains
poetry to be quoted in letters. No names of authors or
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(W. Raven)

WAṢĪ (A., pls. waṣīyā, waṣīyyān), a theological
stance in Shiʿism variously rendered as legatee,
executor, successor or inheritor.

It was first used to designate 'Alī as the inheritor
of Muhammad's worldly possessions (such as his books
and weapons) and of his political and spiritual author-
ity. According to Imāmī doctrine, this inheritance
passed on to al-Ḥasan and the other umāmīs, all of
whom are waṣīyān. The Imāmīyyah hold that legates
existed from the beginning of human history. Their
function was to uphold the law laid down by Adam
and the five legislator prophets (alai 'l-tawā'īl); Noah,
Abraham, Moses, Jesus and Muhammad. The first
waṣī is sometimes identified with Ḥālib (Abel), but
more often with Shiḥb (Seth) [q.v.]. Lists of legates
are given in a number of 4th/10th-century sources,
e.g. the Iḥšāb al-waṣīyya attributed to al-Mas'ūdī and
the Iṭmāl/kāmil al-dīn of Ibn Bābawayh. The names of
the legates are for the most part drawn from the
Judaean-Christian tradition, though there are also lists
largely made up of names of Muhammad's Arab
ancestors. The total number of legates is given as
124,000, the same as the total number of prophets.
The 8th/14th-century scholar Ḥayderabad Amīl [q.v. in
Suppl.] on the mss. of the "K. al-^ahra" compiled a special
encyclopaedia according to his system, Adam and each of the legis-
ator prophets were followed by 12 legates responsible
for explicating the inner aspects (ta'wil) of the law
revealed by those prophets. These waṣīyyāt (72 in all)
hold a higher position than the other legates.

The identity of the 12 legates who were to suc-
ceed Muhammad was communicated to the Prophet
by various means, for instance, by a tablet inscribed
with their names and found in Fāṭima's house. Accord-
ing to a widespread account, the Prophet was informed
during the mā'ālim [q.v.]. that 'Alī was his waṣī. Another
version is connected with Kūrān, xxvi, 214 ("And
revealed, Muḥammad summoned the Banū Ḥāšim
and asked who would like to be his waṣī, only 'Alī,
the youngest person present, replied in the affirma-
tive. The Prophet sat in his mouth and between his
shoulders and his breast, filling him with wisdom and
knowledge. Muḥammad proclaimed 'Alī as his lega-
tee on various occasions, notably at Ṣaḥīfah Khumum
[q.v.]. He also referred to him as his waṣī (a term
that means much the same as waṣī), his guardian
(ṣāḥīb), brother and helper (or minister, wazzīr). In
Imāmī tradition, 'Alī is called sayyid al-waṣīyya, khāri al-waṣīyya
and waṣī al-waṣīyya (or al-waṣīyyah). The latter appella-
tion was also used by Dābir b. Dū'u'ī [q.v. in Suppl.]
when addressing Muḥammad al-Baktī [q.v.]. The title
khāṭāt al-waṣīyya (seal of the legates) normally refers
to the Twelfth Imām, but is also used when referring to
the Prophet, who was described as the waṣīyyah (or waṣīyya)
by 'Alī (and his companions), što says the Prophet:
"Xtūum at-tawā'īl, and initiated a series of imāms,
of whom the last became the nābiyy of the following
era. The waṣī is therefore called a founder (asā). At
times he is described as being himself the first imām,
while elsewhere this title is said to follow him.
The imāms are known as at-tawā'īl (sing, mutimm "com-
pleter"), since they complete the mission of the founder.
The duty of the believer to show loyalty (wazzīr)
to a waṣī and to dissociate himself (bārī) from a
nābiyyah (one who falsely claims to be a waṣī). The
expression (literally "inheritance") also denotes
the utterance by which a waṣī is appointed and, more
generally, an instruction of a legal or moral nature
[see WAZASIYA].

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WASI — WÄSIF


WASÍ ALÍSÍ (modern Turkish. Vasi Alisi), a member of the Ottoman 'ulamâ' and outstanding representative of the märjâ'î [see šâhîd] tradition in the period of Sultan Selim III [q.v.] and representative of the Ottoman 'ulamâ' [q.v.] tradition in the period of Suleyman Kanuni [q.v.]. He is also referred to as 'Ali Wâsi', 'Ali Celebi, 'Abd al-Wâsi 'Aliisi (or Celebi), Mawla (or 'Ala Allah) al-Wâsi, 'Abd al-Wâsi 'Ali (or Celebi) b. Khayr al-Dîn, and served as assistant to 'Abd al-Wâsi b. Khayr al-Dîn Khîdr. Under him he reached the rank of eyalet ýâlî, and was re-appointed in 1203/1789 for a third tenure. Dismissed again in 1206/1794, he was re-appointed in 1207/1793 for a fourth time in 1213/1799 (until 1219/1805). During his career, Wâsiî also held various administrative posts in the Ottoman central bureaucracy both in between and concurrently with his periods of office as wâk'a-nîwis, culminating in his promotion to re's ul-kiitâb [q.v.] in 1219/1805. Wâsiî died in Şa'bân 1221/December 1806. (For detailed biography and references, see Mücteba İlgürel, art. Vâsi, in I, xi, xii, 214-17; and Virginia A. Alson, An Ottoman statesman in war and peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700-1783, Leiden 1995, 111-14 and passim.)

Wâsiî's principal work as wâk'a-nîwis, prepared during his final tenure of the post, is Mâhânim al-dârâr wa bahkâ'îl al-akbbâr, a detailed chronicle of events from Muharram 1166/January 1752 to Redžib 1188/September 1774 (published Istanbul 1219/1805, Bûlûk 1243/ 1827 and 1246/1831). This work incorporated the unpublished histories, much reworked, of Wâsiî's predecessors Mehmed Hâkim, Čeşmi-zâde [q.v.], Musâzâde, Behşüfet and, particularly, Enverî, with additional material of his own for the period of the Ottoman-Russian war 1768-74. Although commissioned by Selim III to maintain the history up to 1217/1802, coverage of the period after 1774 is apparently incomplete and the textual history confusing. There exists an unpublished continuation covering the five years to 1193/1779 (Topkapı Sarayi Ms. Hazine 1460); a published history of events during Wâsiî's first period as wâk'a-nîwis, 1197/ 1783-1201/1787 (ed. İlgürel, Istanbul 1978, also under the title Mehânim al-dârâr); several manuscripts and notes for subsequent years (see İlgürel, op. cit., pp. xliii). Wâsiî was considered a good critical historian.
whose work went beyond detailed chronological narrative; his manuscripts were a principal source for Ahmed Djedid Pasha [q.v.]. He also compiled an account of his embassy to Spain, Ispanya sefernamesi, French tr. Barbier de Meynard, Ambassade de l'histoire turc Vasif Efendi en Espagne, 1787-1788, in JA, ser. 5, vol. xiv (1862), 507-23.

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WÂSİF ENDERÜNÎ, Özdem, Ottoman poet, born at an unknown date, d. in 1824.

As his name implies, he was educated in the Enderûn or Palace School, his mother being a niece of the commander of the Bostângâis [q.v.], Khalîl Pasha, who became Grand Vizier to Ahmed III. His life was spent filling various court offices, including for Selim III, to whom various of his poems are dedicated. At the accession of Mustâfa IV in 1807, he was promoted to the service of the Royal Chamber. In 1818 he retired from palace service and became administrator of the waqf of Suleyman Pasha at Bolâyûr, dying at Istanbul; his fellow-poet İzzet Mollâ [q.v.] wrote the epitaph on his gravestone.

Wâsiif seems to have been a bon viveur, with an amiable jolly character. He was one of the pre-Tanzimât [q.v.] poets who endeavoured to break away from the rigid rules and conventions of classical Ottoman poetry, writing instead in a simpler and more natural manner, successfully incorporating elements of colloquial language and dialect into his poems. His şârikât [q.v.] form the most important section of his waqfiyya, and in İbnîsâf Efendi the form al-wâsîf is found in Şâ'îd ibn-Andalûsî's (d. 462/1070 [q.v.]) Tahâkiât as-Sawî al-wâsîf, and in İbnîsâf Efendi, the form al-wâsîf is found in Şâ'îd ibn-Andalûsî's (d. 462/1070 [q.v.]) Tahâkiât as-Sawî al-wâsîf, and in İbnîsâf Efendi the form al-wâsîf is found in Şâ'îd ibn-Andalûsî's (d. 462/1070 [q.v.]) Tahâkiât as-Sawî al-wâsîf, and in İbnîsâf Efendi the form al-wâsîf is found in Şâ'îd ibn-Andalûsî's (d. 462/1070 [q.v.]) Tahâkiât as-Sawî al-wâsîf.

Opinions on the value of the book and the identification of its author have diverged widely in recent years. By some it is thought to be a "Hermetic history" rather than the national history of the Copts in early Islamic Egypt and the "picturesque "Ibrahim b. Wasîf Shah" is suspected to be "in fact a fanciful improvement of the more prosaic "Wasîf"" (cf. M. Cook, Pharaonic history in medieval Egypt, in SI, xvi [1983], 67-103; G. Schoeler, Verzeichnis der orientalischen Handschriften in Deutschland, Band XVII, Reihe B. Arabische Handschriften, Teil II, Stuttgart 1990, 364-70. Even the very historicity of Ibn Wasîf Shah/Al-Wasîf is debated (cf. U. Haarmann, Das Pharaonenbuch des Ibn Gafar el-İbrisi, Beirut 1991, 11, vii) and the Akhbâr al-zamân are considered to be a mystification of Spanish provenance, consciously created around the year 1000 (cf. idem, Das pharaonische Ägypten bei islamischen Autoren des Mittelalters, in Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, xlv [1990], 48).

As for the name, the son Ibrahim may derive from Ibrahim b. Kâmil, a member of the Kâmilîs (cf. after 418/1027-8 [see IBN AL-RUKH]), who made a makehtar of the K. "Aldîb al-kâhir of one Ibrahim b. Wasîf Shah, mentioned in the Nuwayrî's (d. 733/1333 [q.v.]) Nihayat as-salāh, with ample quotations from the book. "Shâīh" [q.v.] may indicate high esteem for a person thought to hail from the northern parts of the caliphate. The true name of our author would thus be "Ibn Wasîf", which is corroborated by the nisâh "al-Wasîf". On this person Abî Ubayd al-Bâkitî's (d. 487/1094 [q.v.] Al-Matûh wa l-mamâtlik, ed. A.P. van Leeuwen and A. Ferre, Tuni 1992) gives somewhat more detailed information; he is quoted in direct speech on his visits to Egypt, where he tested the magical efficacy of images and statues in temples and interviewed the locals ([895], 905-9, 908-13). The same is indicated by Abî Dja'far el-İbrisi (d. 640/1241 [see el-İbrisi]), when he says that al-Wasîf was an outstanding natural philosopher and an historian who had investigated the secrets of the temples and the knowledge of the ancient Egyptian natural philosophers (cf. Haarmann, Preamindenbuch, 99 [Arabic], 82 [German]). Ibn Wasîf's excerpt from a K. al-Matûhâtât of a certain Kânil in-Hâkim (cf. Sezgin, GAS, vii, 66) deals with talismans.

A Şâhîn origin is likely for a scholar with such interests, since for them Egypt continued to have a religious meaning even in Islamic times. On the one hand, the influence of the Copts, as for the name, the son Ibrahim Shah means to be derived from Ibrahim b. Kâmil, a member of the Kâmilîs (cf. after 418/1027-8 [see IBN AL-RUKH]), who made a makehtar of the K. "Aldîb al-kâhir of one Ibrahim b. Wasîf Shah, mentioned in the Nuwayrî's (d. 733/1333 [q.v.]) Nihayat as-salâh, with ample quotations from the book. "Shâīh" [q.v.] may indicate high esteem for a person thought to hail from the northern parts of the caliphate. The true name of our author would thus be "Ibn Wasîf", which is corroborated by the nisâh "al-Wasîf". On this person Abî Ubayd al-Bâkitî's (d. 487/1094 [q.v.] Al-Matûh wa l-mamâtlik, ed. A.P. van Leeuwen and A. Ferre, Tuni 1992) gives somewhat more detailed information; he is quoted in direct speech on his visits to Egypt, where he tested the magical efficacy of images and statues in temples and interviewed the locals ([895], 905-9, 908-13). The same is indicated by Abî Dja'far el-İbrisi (d. 640/1241 [see el-İbrisi]), when he says that al-Wasîf was an outstanding natural philosopher and an historian who had investigated the secrets of the temples and the knowledge of the ancient Egyptian natural philosophers (cf. Haarmann, Preamindenbuch, 99 [Arabic], 82 [German]). Ibn Wasîf's excerpt from a K. al-Matûhâtât of a certain Kânil in-Hâkim (cf. Sezgin, GAS, vii, 66) deals with talismans.

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Amsterdam 1965, index). Given the likely lifetime of our author, he might reasonably be identified with the Baghdadi ophthalmologist (Abd al-) Ibn Wasif al-Sabi'. His active period was probably between the middle of the 4th century of the Hijra (A.D. 970 at the latest) (cf. Ibn Djuljul [q.v.], Tabakât al-atîbâh, Cairo 1955, 81-2; composed in 377/987). Between 330/941-2 and 340/951-2 he taught students of Harrânian descent hailing from Spain. For this reason, he became well known in Spain early on, as a physician named Ibn Wasif, and as an authority on ancient Egypt, quoted as Wasif. He is quoted without attribution by the author of the Picares (composed between 443/1051-2 and 448/1056, cf. Sezgin, GâS, iv, 295, and AL-MASRâF). Ibn Wasif's books have not been preserved independently and their precise titles are unknown. The relevant manuscripts represent (a) a longer version, which has been shown to be two parts of [K. Aghlîh al-zamân wa-huna] al-Kâtib al-Ausat (composed before 332/943) by al-Mas'ûdî, who lifted large sections dealing with ancient Egypt from Ibn Wasif, and (b) a shorter version (muktaasar) also attributable to al-Mas'ûdî, entitled K. al-'Agâ'îb, which is the version edited by al-Sâwî. Carra de Vaux' translation contains sections from both versions (cf. Ursula Sezgin, Al-Mas'ûdî, Idrîbîn b. Wasifîlî and das Kitâb al-'Agâ'îb, in ZGAH, viii [1965], 1-72; edited by Pharamische Wundererze bei Ibn Wasif al-Sâbî' and al-Mas'ûdî, I, in ZGAH, ix [1994], 229-43).

Although the Egyptologist G. Maspero, on the basis of Carra de Vaux' translation as well, had written in 1899 that the text contained memories of all stages of Egyptian history after the downfall of its indigenous dynasties, the study of its contents and its place within the intellectual history of its time is still at its beginning.

In 1899 M. Berthelot, on the basis of Carra de Vaux' translation, had shown that several of the 'Agâ'îb, apparently magical objects, mentioned were traceable to the work of Alexandrian scholars. With the help of sources and studies in the history of technology (sometimes by assuming a Syriac intermediary source) and furthermore with pictorial representations and archaeological finds, it was possible to garner detailed evidence that these wondrous and miraculous objects were trick vessels, waterclocks and the like. They form a link in a tradition that straddles different linguistic and cultural areas, and they live on in mediaeval Western literature and, as display-pieces, in the cabinets of curiosities of pre-modern princes. In the al-Wâsîfî corpus, however, they were meant to serve the posthumous glory of Egyptian rulers; in this context traditions of Greek and Coptic provenance can be discerned (cf. U. Sezgin, Pharamische Wundererze, I [and] II, in ZGAH, ix [1994], 229-91, xi [1997] 189-249; III and Addenda, in preparation).

Judging by the detailed and scarcely exploited quotations in Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrî, with all their clearly gnostic elements of Coptic provenance, one can guess how severe the loss of Ibn Wasif's extensive writings was for the intellectual and religious history of Egypt in the last centuries before and the first centuries after the rise of Islam. They enjoyed wider distribution and availability obviously only as excerpts and quotations in the works of other historians.

the situation was to be compared to the procedure of ʾān (q.v.): when both litigants appear together, the culprit not being known, their ʾaddāl is suspended.

In order to show this idea, Wasil, in his ʾaddāl, had used the Başra Kədərəyə as a power-base. He achieved this purpose by winning over ʿAmr b. Ubayd, who acted as the successor of al-Ḥasan al-Brəstī after the death of Ḵāṭāb d. Drāma (ca. 117/735 [q.v.]). But he had to persuade ʿAmr to accept another one of his basic tenets: the manzila ʾabān al-manṣalatāyn (q.v.). ʿAmr originally followed the tradition of al-Ḥasan al-Brəstī, who had said that the grave sinner is a manṣaf (q.v.) who, in spite of having accepted Islam, will end up in Ḥell. By means of a disputation, Wāṣil managed to demonstrate to him that this word, which had been used all the time in the early theological discussions, was now worn out and should be replaced by a new term, namely, fiṣik, which could equally be found in the ʿKurān but allowed much more easily for the conclusion that the grave sinner, even when a Muslim, would be punished in Ḥell eternally. The opposition of this doctrine suspected that Wasil had learned this rigour from the Khrādījītes, but it was simply a consequence of his asceticism (which he had in common with ʿAmr b. Ubayd and al-Ḥasan al-Brəstī). His main innovation pertained rather to the level of what was called later on ʿamal-ʾadīn wa ʾl-ḥākâm, sc. the formation of a special category between believer and unbeliever. The afore-mentioned political attitude, though also representing a “middle-course”, has to be clearly differentiated from this.

None of Wāṣil’s writings has been preserved, not even in fragments. But several titles are mentioned, though some of them are attributed to his disciples rather than to himself. There was a report about his disputation with ʿAmr b. Ubayd, but he is also said to have written separately about his concept of manzila ʾabān al-manṣalatāyn. His ġuḥa in front of the governor “without the letter ṡāʾ” was obviously circular already by al-Maddāʾi (q.v.), but we now have two completely different versions of it. In a treatise “on penitence” (fi ʾl-tawba) Wāṣil may have expounded his idea that repentance has always to be universal in order to be valid. His epistemological criteria are emphasized in two closely-related mythical summaries; if these ideas really do go back to him, we may deduce already by al-MadāʾinT that remains is a monumental entrance gate flanked by two minarets on the north-east side of the site. This was obviously a part to the various archaeological excavations which were carried out from 1936-42 (F. Safar, Wasit, the sixth season’s excavations; Cairo 1945, 8-11). The ruins of historic Wāṣit have now been definitively established following an exact geographical position fixed at lat. 32° 11’ N. and long. 46° 18’ E., partly thanks to the descriptions of the site by European travellers of the 19th-early 20th centuries, and partly to the various archaeological excavations which were carried out from 1936-42 (F. Safar, Wāṣit, the sixth season’s excavations; Cairo 1945, 8-11). The ruins of historic Wāṣit are situated today 25 km/15 miles north-east of the town of al-Hayy, and about 70 km/ 45 miles south-east of the town of al-Kūt, where the Tigris branches off to its present-day easterly course. These ruins are known as al-Manār, referring to a building from the 7th/13th century, of which all that remains is a monumental entrance gate flanked by two minarets on the north-east side of the site (Safar, op. cit., 6). They extend for an area of three km² to the east and to the west of the dry bed of the Dudiɣayla, the principal branch of the mediaeval Tigris, 200 m wide today. Between 1936 and 1942 the Iraq Department of Antiquities conducted six archaeological excavations (K.A.C. Creswell, Early Muslim architecture, Oxford 1969, 1/2, 132-3), the last of which was directed by F. Safar (op. cit., 33-4) in 1942 and led to the discovery on the west of the site of the mosque of al-Hadjdjadj. It was built onto the city in central 'Irāk during the mediaeval period, the existence of which is attested from the later years of the 1st/7th century or the beginning of the 7th century or opening years of the 8th century, until the beginning of the 12th century/town of the 17th-18th centuries (according to M. Dāwād, Khrānīb Wāṣit, in Lughat al-'Arab, x (1931), 617 until ca. 1007/1695-6). From its foundation by the Umayyad governor of 'Irāk, al-Ḥajdjdād, (73-95/684-713 [q.v.]), the city was the administrative and political capital of that province under the first Marwanids (65-95 or 65-105/684-713 or 684-723). The Arabs continued their policy of urban experience there which they had begun by founding the two large fortified camps, amārār (see MIR. B.), of the Sawād, Başra and Kūfā (q.v.), which predated it and were its political rivals. On the other hand, its appearance symbolised the desire of the Umayyad power to display its munificence, and thus it served as a prelude in its architectural form to the founding of Baghdađ (q.v.) by al-Maṣūn in 1456/1723-3 (J. Lassner, The shaping of the Abbasid rule, Princeton 1980, 180-1).

1. Situation and site.

Locating the town on the mediaeval course of the Tigris in the ancient Sāsānīd province of Sūrīstān, which was situated in the centre of Lower Mesopotamia or the Sawād, poses one of the most difficult problems of the historical geography of mediaeval Babylonia (M. Streak, EP art. Wāṣit). Indeed, from the middle or the end of the 9th/15th century the branch of the Tigris which crosses Wāṣit began gradually to change its course, veering towards its present easterly direction during the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries passing through al-Kūt, and then through the town of al-Kurna, where it rejoins the waters of the Euphrates to form the estuary of the Siyyar al-ʿArāb (q.v.). The location of Wāṣit has now been definitively established following an exact geographical position fixed at lat. 32° 11’ N. and long. 46° 18’ E., partly thanks to the descriptions of the site by European travellers of the 19th-early 20th centuries, and partly to the various archaeological excavations which were carried out from 1936-42 (F. Safar, Wāṣit, the sixth season’s excavations; Cairo 1945, 8-11). The ruins of historic Wāṣit are situated today 25 km/15 miles north-east of the town of al-Hayy, and about 70 km/ 45 miles south-east of the town of al-Kūt, where the Tigris branches off to its present-day easterly course. These ruins are known as al-Manār, referring to a building from the 7th/13th century, of which all that remains is a monumental entrance gate flanked by two minarets on the north-east side of the site (Safar, op. cit., 6). They extend for an area of three km² to the east and to the west of the dry bed of the Dudiɣayla, the principal branch of the mediaeval Tigris, 200 m wide today. Between 1936 and 1942 the Iraq Department of Antiquities conducted six archaeological excavations (K.A.C. Creswell, Early Muslim architecture, Oxford 1969, 1/2, 132-3), the last of which was directed by F. Safar (op. cit., 33-4) in 1942 and led to the discovery on the west of the site of the mosque of al-Hadjdjadj. It was built onto the
south wall of the palace or Dār al-İmāra, constructed in 83/702, and brought confirmation of the existence of three other mosques superimposed on the first; one was probably constructed between 400/1009 and 550/1155 (Mosque II); another around 550/1155 (Mosque III), and a third in the Il-khānīd [q.v.] period, 656-736/1258-1335 (Mosque IV). The reconstruction and restoration work of the archaeological remains of Wāṣīt took place from 1937 to 1965, with a view in particular to exploiting tourist interest in this historical site.

Where the city is situated also has semantic significance. The name Wāṣīt, which is found in mediaeval sources with about twenty other variants (including Wāṣīt al-Ḥadhīdāḏ, Wāṣīt al-Uṣmā [Great Wāṣīt] and Wāṣīt al-Irāk) would have been used to denote the approximate relative position of the town "in the middle" or "centrally" between al-Ḳūfa, Başra, al-Madīnāt al-Carsīph (Ibn al-Hārīma [q.v.]) and al-Ḥawwāz, the capital of Khūṭūṣī-tān [q.v.].

Wāṣīt was established after the division of the two towns by the Tigrīs (see below, 2). The site of the town founded by al-Ḥadhīdāḏ on the west bank was a plain (ṣāḥīl) to the north of the Bātḩa [q.v.], the marshes where the soil was said to be saline (arḍ ʿābbah) and the land was easily subject to flooding, composed of alternating steppes and reed-beds (kabāh, from which was derived another name, Wāṣīt al-Ḵaṣbāl). To the west, al-ghār, the site opened out broadly on to an arid zone, half steppe and half desert, known in 6th-century A.D. sources as the desert of Kaskar, qualified by bārīyya or faḍḵā. This situation perhaps justified the description of the climate of Wāṣīt as healthy, saḥīh, as the town was at some distance from the Bātḩa, which was humid and hot and infested with mosquitoes. The climate of Wāṣīt was also described as being like that of Başra, capricious and changeable, mutakallim, as the site lay in the path of the burning winds, samʿūm, coming from the Persian Gulf to the south, and those from the north which tempered the effect.

2. Foundation.

The date of the foundation of Wāṣīt is a matter of some debate among scholars because of the disparate traditions. The oldest of these, cited by Bahshāl [d. between 260-92/92-901] in Baghdād [1387/1667, 43] goes back to Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakām b. ‘Awānā al-Kalbī (2nd/8th century) and is revived by Ibn al-Diwawz, al-Dhahabī and Ibn Taqīrūbdī. This places the foundation of Wāṣīt between 75/694 and 78/697, but does not tally with the course of events during the governorship of al-Ḥadhīdāḏ in Irāk. The chronological details available on Wāṣīt place the beginning of the building of the principal monuments of the town (the palace-mosque complex, the town’s battlements) in 83/702 or 84/703, after the revolt by Ibn al-Asbāth [82-3/701-2 [q.v.]) had been quelled, and the completion of the lāmmār in 86/705. On the other hand, Wāṣīt had been established right from its foundation as a double city. The new town, al-Madīnā al-Ḡarbiyya, created by al-Ḥadhīdāḏ on the west bank of the Tigrīs, was juxtaposed to a pre-existing town, the east bank al-Madīnā al-Sharībya called Kaskar or Kaskar [q.v.]. The two towns, connected as they were from the outset by a bridge of boats (ğir), finished by forming two parts of the same city, where the new Wāṣīt progressively absorbed the ancient Kaskar and gave it its name.

3. Wāṣīt through the centuries.

Up to the death of al-Ḥadhīdāḏ in 95/713, Wāṣīt remained the seat of Umayyad government in Irāk, but from 97/715 onwards the town ceased to be the residence of the governor of this province, who was obliged to transfer to Khuŗāsān [q.v.], incorporated by the caliph Sulaymān b. al-Ṯāʾir into Irāk. ‘Umar II (99-101/717-20) divided this vast territory into three governorates, Küfā, Başra and Khuŗāsān, all with separate governors; and at the same time he demilitarised Wāṣīt, which was emptied of its Syrian occupation forces (M.A. Shahan, Islamic history. A new interpretation, Cambridge 1971, i, 132-3). This was returned to Wāṣīt during the short reign of Yazīd II (101-5/719-23) under the governorships of Maslama b. Abī al-Malik (102/720), and then of ‘Umar b. Hubayyra (103-5/721-3). From the rule of the latter to that of Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayyra (129-32/746-50), Wāṣīt was no longer the exclusive seat of government or residence of the Umayyad governors of Irāk, who moved between Wāṣīt, Küfā and al-Ḥirā [q.v.] (H. Dājī, Al-Kīfa, naissance de la ville islamique, Paris 1986, 271), in particular under Yūsuf b. ‘Umar (120-6/737-43), and from the creation of autonomous power for the Mashrik (Khuŗāsān) by the caliph Hīšām (105-25/724-43). The town survived the revolt stirred up by Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, the governor of Irāk after al-Ḥadhīdāḏ, in 102/721, and played a political role in the Shi’ī revolt of Zayd b. ‘Alī (122/739), who found partisans there. The troubles that marked the end of the Umayyad period in Irāk, on account of the struggles between the governors to assert their power as well as to seek among the Khāridjītī Shūrāt, took place principally at Wāṣīt. The town was exhausted and numbed and the last Umayyad governor of Irāk, Yazīd b. ‘Umar b. Hubayyra, reconquered it in 129/746 at the expense of Abī Allāh b. ‘Umar II, the ‘āmil of the Khāridjītīs. Soon afterwards, in 132/750, it had to suffer the trials of a siege by the ‘Abbāsīds. The governorship of Khālid al-Ḳasrī (103-20/737-39) marked an upsurge in the economy and an expansion in the agriculture of the Sawād to what it had been in the time of al-Ḥadhīdāḏ. This change came about in Wāṣīt by a modification in urban fabric. The territory of Wāṣīt, corresponding to the kūra [q.v.] (district) of Kaskar in the administrative division of Lower Irāk, kept its autonomy from earliest times throughout the Umayyad period in Irāk, as witnessed by the collections preserved by numerous museums across the world (U.S.L. Welin, Wāṣīt the mint town, in Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lamard [1954-5], 121-49, and 4, below).

At the time of the conquest of Irāk by the ‘Abbāsīds in 132/750, Wāṣīt was besieged by them. It symbolised the last pocket of resistance of Irāk to the new power. In a final convulsion, it supported the Ḥasanīd revolt of 145/762. The establishment of the ‘Abbāsīd regime and the founding of Baghdād reduced Başra, Küfā and Wāṣīt to an inferior rank. Wāṣīt, which was demilitarised, became nothing more than a local administrative centre.

The new dynasty inherited Umayyad landed property in Wāṣīt and the surrounding region, and, particularly under al-Manṣūr (136-58/754-75) and al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85), attracted much agricultural development, as happened also around Başra, Baghdād and Anbār. The khāridjī [q.v.] of the kūra of Kaskar, already specified in the first fiscal inventory available to us referring to the year 172/788, reveals the prosperity of the region of Wāṣīt during the reign of al-RaḥĪd.
Approximate map
of the present hydrographic system
of lower IRAQ
and the location of the ruins of WASIT

LEGEND

◆ ruins of Wasit
○ existing city
✓ dry bed of Dadjylia and of Shatt al-Abbass
✓ present-day course of the Tigris, the Euphrates
and the Gharruf (or Shatt al-Hay)
✓ present-day road system
WASIT

(170-93/786-808), which was characterised by a favourable combination of circumstances, due in part to demographic growth from the middle of the 2nd/8th centuries onwards.

The progressive disintegration of the 'Abbāsid state in the course of the second half of the 3rd/9th and in the 4th/10th centuries was marked by the weakening of agricultural production in 'Irāk, the central province of the empire, and also by a diminution of the fiscal returns and an increase in the power of military elements after the reign of al-Ma'mūn (198-218/813-33). Consequently, because of its resources and tax income, Wāsiṭ and its surrounding region acquired particular importance for the power of Baghdād, which explains the appearance under al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42) in the district of Kaskar of the ikṭāʾ [q.v.], which assigned to the army generals the levying of fiscal rights of the state on the land. However, the period of instability and of the weakening of the authority of the Saljuqs following the death of Malik Shāh (465-85/1063-92) was characterised by economic and social depression, a decline in the towns of 'Irāk and its depopulation. The tax-farming of Wāsiṭ and the ikṭāʾ of the whole region became the subject of fratricidal quarrels among the princes of the Saljuq family on the one hand, and aroused the jealousy of the Mazyadids of Hilla on the other. The town continued until 501/1107 to be a permanent ikṭāʾ of these last, granted by the sultan Muḥammad (498-511/1105-18).

During the period of the renaissance of the caliphate, which was inaugurated by al-Mustarshīd (512-29/1118-35) in order to throw off the tutelage of the Saljuqs, Wāsiṭ underwent numerous sieges in the struggles between the caliphs and the Saljuqs, whose control over 'Irāk at that time hardly extended beyond the central and southern regions because of the power of the Mazyadids of Hilla.

The attempts by the caliphs al-Rāshīd (529-30/1135-6) and al-Muktaṣir (530-55/1136-60) [q.v.] to extend their power over 'Irāk by depriving the sultans of Baghdad of the authority of the sultans brought on the town much pillaging and destruction (535/1140, 549/1154, 551/1156 and 553/1158). From that time onwards, Lower 'Irāk became the caliphs' domain and their firm territorial base. Wāsiṭ seems to have enjoyed relative peace and to have preserved the traces of its former prosperity when Ḥikīṭ visited it (622/1225). The period after the Saljuqs, which extended from the reign of al-Nāṣir (575-622/1180-1225) to that of the last caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (640-56/1242-58), was a time of new and rapid expansion in Wāsiṭ. Nearly a century of peace had restored life to the town, and al-Mustaṣim made an excursion there (muṣāfa) in 646/1248, a decade before the Mongol invasion.

Hūlūkī (Hulegu) appeared outside Wāsiṭ on 17 Sāfar, after his entry into Baḏgād on 4 Sāfar 656/10 February 1058. The town put up some resistance, as seen in the loss of about 40,000 inhabitants (probably an overestimate) and by the destruction suffered. This was the beginning of the power of the Il-Khānīds (656-736/1258-1335), who annexed Wāsiṭ to Baghdād, which was governed by 'Aṣrāl Malik al-Duwaysīn (657-81/1258-82). He was represented locally by the Saḥm Majdī al-Dīn Saḥīḥ. Under the Il-Khānīds, the town had relative prosperity and was partly reconstructed. Its urban framework underwent modifications, including the total ruin or disappearance of the eastern side as a result of the Mongol raids.

Under the Djalāyīris (740-813/1339-1410 [q.v.]), Wāsiṭ continued to figure among the centres where coins were minted. Its strategic importance was evident in the campaigns of Timūr, who placed a powerful garrison there in 787/1385 and 808/1405. Wāsiṭ began its slow agony under the Turco-Mongol [Kara Koyunlu (813-72/1410-67) [q.v.], especially because of the blows struck by the Shīʿī movement of the Muḥaṣṣaḥā [q.v.]. The founder of this movement, Sayyid Muḥammad b. Fālāḥ, attacked the town after 842/1438, and again in 844/1440 and 846/1442.

The attack led by his son and successor 'Alī in 857/1453 or 858/1454 completed the ruin of the town, when it was abandoned by its inhabitants. The death of 'Alī al-Muṣḥaṣṣā in 861/1456 allowed...
the fugitives from Wāṣīt to go back to their decimated town. Some of them probably settled in the hamlet (the second Wāṣīt) which they founded not far from the town. This hamlet did not disappear, for its existence on the banks of the Tigris, which still ran through it, is attested in 941/1534, the year it was taken by the Ottomans, and even as late as 961/1553. Wāṣīt was described in the middle of the 11th/17th century by Ḥāđīḍī Khālīfah as being situated on a dry river bed (the Đūḍjaḍja) in the middle of the desert. The Tigris had just abandoned its meandering course for the present one, which is situated further east. The town of al-Haḍḍiḍiḍ had disappeared.

Bibliography: See the references given in the article. There is no special monograph on Wāṣīt nor any interest on the part of the akhbārīyyūn. The material for its history remains very scattered and heterogeneous.

1. The historical and topographical introd. of the Taʾrīkh Wāṣīt of Aslam b. Sahl al-Razzāz al-Wāṣīṭī, called Bathalīḥ, ed. Kūrīkāt ʿAwāwād, Baghdād 1387/1967, cited in the article, remains basic. The sources which flesh out this work, cited by the editor (introd., 11-12) are all lost: Ibn al-Maḥāzīlīlī al-Ḏuḻḻīḻī (d. 483/1090), al-Ḏuḻḻīḻī al-Ḏuḻḻīḻī Wāṣīt; al-Ḏubayṭī (d. 637/1239), Taʾrīkh Wāṣīt; al-Ḏīṣṭānī, (beginning of 10th/16th century or even before), Taʾrīkh Wāṣīt; and Ibn al-Muḥādārī Ṭabārī, ʿAḥārīb Wāṣīt.


3. Geographical sources, ribāḥīt, ziyarāt. These include the classic works, plus Ibn al-Fakhrī, Balīḍūn (new ed., announced by Yūṣuf al-Hāḍīḍī, incorporating the Maghādī ms., in which Wāṣīt figures); Shabābīṭī, Dāyātī, Baghdād 1951; Mustawfī, Naṣāḥ, ed. and tr. G. Lestrange, London 1919.

4. Adab works. These are very useful: Dāḥīẓī, Ḥaṣānīyah; Ibn Ḥuṭayṭa, Maʿārīf; idem, ʿUyān al-akbār; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbīh, ḫaṣaṣṣ, Tāḥīth, Nāṣūrī al-muḥābārī ūlām, d. 637/1239, Baghdād 1952; Ibn al-Fakhrī, Ṭabārī, al-Ḏuḻḻīḻī Āḥārīb al-wāḥābīt, d. 637/1239, Baghdād 1953.

5. Fīsh works, and those on fiscal and administrative history. These include Ibn Yūṣūf, K. al-Ḥaḍārat; ʿAbū ʿUbayd b. Sallānt, K. al-Muḥādārī, Ṣūdāma dī ḍīfaqar, K. al-Ḥaḍārat.


to Wasit in 83/702, he closed all the other mints under his control. Between the years 84/703 and 89/708 all the coinage in the east was confined to Wasit. The minting monopoly granted to al-Hajjaj ruled over the money supply, a valuable advantage at a time of political unrest. However, after 85/704, when al-Hajjaj became the full master over Khuršān, this monopoly and the consequent shortage of cash probably acted as a severe brake on trade and commercial activity.

In 90/709 al-Hajjaj reversed his centralisation of mint control by re-opening mints in Khuzistān, Dijbāl, Fārs, Khuršān and Sidjistān while maintaining Wasit as the main mint in ʿIrāk. After his death in Ramadān 95/June 714, there was a brief flurry of renewed minting activity in ʿIrāk, but this ended early in the reign of the caliph Sulaymān. During the years 98/716–17 and 99/717–18, the mints in Khuzistān, Dijbāl and Fārs were closed down once again. While minting activity continued for a time in Khuršān, this wholesale closure effectively restored Wasit’s monopoly of coinage in the east.

Upon his accession as caliph in 99/717, ʿUmar II repudiated the administrative legacy of al-Hajjaj by appointing governors to both al-Kūfah and al-ʿBaṣra, re-opening their mints and closing that of Wasit. No coinage is known to have been struck there in the year 100/718–19. After ʿUmar’s death in 101, the Wasit mint was briefly re-opened, but it is not known to have produced any coinage in 102. From the following year, 103/721–2, until the downfall of the Umayyad dynasty in 132/750, the Wasit mint continued, year by year, to supply most of the dirham coinage for the east. Elsewhere in the Umayyad state, dirham mints were active in Spain (al-Andalus), North Africa (Ifrīqiya), Syria (Durbiya), the North Armeīya, Al/cppharbāyān and al-Bāb (Darbāyān) and Khuršān (Balḵ, Balḵ al-Baydd and al-Mubārakah).

The most useful research on the Umayyad mint of Wasit was published by De Shazo and Bates in The Umayyad Governors of al-ʿIrāq and the changing annulet patterns on their dirhams. Here the authors point out that the annulet patterns of the dirhams change when the provincial governors change, and each pattern is, in general, characteristic for a single governor. They then provide a table listing the governors and their associated annulet patterns from 99 until 132. The significant fact which emerges from this study is that the annulet patterns are related to governors rather than to caliphs. Control of the coinage in ʿIrāk thus lay in the hands of its governors rather than in any centralised mint administration under direct caliphal control. Presumably the annulet patterns were placed on the coins for ease of identification at a time when few could read the unpointed Kufic script with which they were inscribed. The placing of coinage under gubernatorial control was established by al-Hajjaj b. Yūsuf and continued until the end of Umayyad rule.

Marcel Jungfleisch tells a curious tale of the Wasit mint in his Conjectures about how Byzantine mints frequently struck coinages for one another. He states that coinages from the Constantinian and post-Constantinian era bore mint signatures such as ALE and ANT which did not necessarily imply that they were actually struck in Alexandria or Antioch, but “pour le compte” of these mints. He then goes on to offer, as evidence for the same practice in the Muslim world, de Morgan’s excavations at Wasit. When digging up the former Arab mint, de Morgan reportedly found a considerable number of newly-struck dirhams ready to be placed in circulation bearing the inscriptions durba bi ʿl-Andalus and durba bi-Ifrīqiya. Jungfleisch adds that these coins probably bore distinguishing marks proper to the mint of Wasit.

Commenting on this report, G.C. Miles stated, “I have not been able to locate de Morgan’s account of this very interesting discovery, nor is the reference available in Jungfleisch”. He concludes by saying, “I have oftentimes suspected that the manufacture of many Umayyad dies was centralized, but the actual striking of al-Andalus dirhams in southern Iraq would seem an extraordinary phenomenon”. Concerning an excavation report prepared by M. Fuad Safar in 1945 in Wāṣīt, the mint town, Ulla Linder-Welin states that “nothing is told of this previous excursion of M. de Morgan or of the supposed or excavated site of the workshop of the Wāṣīt mint”, and she provided a table listing all the dates, with references, for the coinage struck in Wāṣīt. The present author agrees with Miles’ judgement that Wāṣīt was a likely centre for Umayyad die production, in particular after 103 when the same crisp, elegant calligraphy of the Wāṣīt mint is encountered elsewhere, e.g. on the coinages of al-Bāb and al-Mubārakā. In conclusion, it is true to say that the Umayyad mint of Wāṣīt was one of the most prolific the Islamic world has ever seen and its presence was felt throughout the Islamic world years after its closure.

The fall of the Umayyads brought about the immediate end of the Wāṣīt mint and the re-opening of those of al-Kūfah in 132/750 and al-ʿBaṣra one year later. These towns continued to be the main centres of coinage production in ʿIrāk until the ʿAbbāsid mints of Madīnat al-Salām and al-Muḥammadīya became fully operational in 148/765. This division of mint production continued substantially unchanged until the struggle for power between al-ʿAmin and al-ʿAmmun affected the entire functioning of the ʿAbbāsid state. In the aftermath of al-ʿAmin’s defeat in Bagdād in 198/813 and during the subsequent revolts in ʿIrāk, the Wāṣīt mint was briefly re-opened for the second time in 200 with a dirham citing al-Ḥasan (b. Sahl) and Dhu ʿl-Riyyāsātayn, followed by a second dirham issue dated 203 citing al-ʿIrāq and Dhu ʿl-Riyyāsātayn. Both coins are notably rare, which suggests that the mint may have been reactivated in these years to make emergency payments to the caliphal army commanded by al-Ḥasan b. Sahl, the brother and deputy of al-Faḍl b. Sahl, Dhu ʿl-Riyyāsātayn, the vizier of al-ʿAmmun. By the time this conflict had ended, the concept of one or two pre-eminent mints had vanished, leaving a system of several regional mints in their place. The number of these mints gradually increased during the caliphates of al-Muʿtaṣim, al-Wāṭihu and al-Mutawakkil, and during the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim the mint of Wāṣīt was re-opened for the third time. It is known to have struck its first dirhams in 253/867 and dinārs followed in 254. For the next century, the Wāṣīt mint reflected the town’s prosperity and was one of the more active in ʿIrāk, striking both dirhams and occasional dinārs on standard ʿAbbāsid and Būyids patterns. After the Būyids seized control of ʿIrāk in 334/945, the coinage records become increasingly irregular and gradually draw to a close in the 360s and 370s with the rise in importance of the trading cities of al-ʿBaṣra and Sūk al-Ahwāz. Finally, the Wāṣīt mint ceased activity and went into a sleep which lasted for over three hundred years.

Wāṣīt’s fourth and last period of coinage activity began with Rashīd al-Dīn [†], Ghazan’s naqṣ, brought about the reform of the ʿIrāqī khād mint.
in 698/1298-9. The Il-Khanids re-opened several 'Iraki mints, including Wāsīt, Hilla and al-Baṣra, while Bagdād retained its traditional position as the main mint of the province. Wāsīt and Bagdād, however, shared the distinction of being the only 'Iraki mints to issue silver dinārs valued at six dinārs. The dinār was the apex of the Il-Khanid monetary system, with 10,000 forming the tūmān [g.x.], the Il-Khanid unit of account. It is possible that the elaborately decorated dies for these large coins were prepared at the instigation of Rāshld al-Dān, in his role as a historian, to acknowledge the importance enjoyed by both, Wāsīt and Madīnat al-Salām/Bagdad in the history of Islamic coinage production (see B.M. cat., vi, 129).

Wāsīt thus became part of the extensive Il-Khanid mint system under Ghazān, Oldjeytu and Abū Sa‘īd, and its position was maintained by the later Il-Khanids and the Djalayirids, their successors in 'Irāq. The occupation of 'Irāq 787-808/1385-1405, probably brought an end to minting activity in Wāsīt, as no coins are known from that time onwards. The demise of the city itself, brought about by the shifting of the course of the Tigris during the 9th/15th century, has precluded any revival of its former importance.


(R. Darley-Doran)

WĀSĪTA (A.), a Fātimid administrative term. It denoted an intermediary between the Fātimid ruler—the Inām—and the ruling establishment and people. The title of wāsīta conferred on chief administrators implied more limited powers and lower rank than that of vizier. The terms wāsīta/sensātā are attested in 5th/11th-century literary and documentary sources. The first person upon whom it was bestowed was the Kutāmī chief Ibn 'Ammār, at the time of al-Ḥākim's coronation. Several administrators during the rule of al-Ḥākim (386-411/996-1021) and al-Zāhir (411-27/1021-36) were appointed as wāsītas. However, the term disappears from the historical records around the second half of the 5th/11th century, following the militarisation of Fātimid politics and the rise of military viziers who wielded absolute political power in the state.


WĀSĪYYA (A.), in Islamic law, bequest, last will and testament. In fīkh, wasīyya refers to two related notions: (1) that of bequest or legacy (defined as the transfer of the corpus or the usufruct [manā'a] of a thing after one's death without a consideration); and (2) that of appointing a testamentary executor or guardian over minor children. The term wasīyya is sometimes translated as last will or testament, since for both legal acts a testamentary dispositive position is required.

1. Historical background

Several Kurānīc verses mention or refer to bequests. From XXXVI, 50, it appears that making a bequest was usual among the Meccan merchants. In II, 180, those who have property are ordered to make bequests to their parents and close relatives. Making a provi-sion to widows by bequest is commanded in II, 240. Finally, V, 106, requires the presence of witnesses when making a bequest. From these verses and other sources it is clear that the wasīyya was known in pre-Islamic Arabia and was used to give the spouse relict and non-agnatic relatives a part of the estate at the expense of the male agnates. II, 180 and II, 240, are traditionally seen as the beginning of the Islamic law of succession, since they command the making of bequests, without limitations on close relatives and spouses, who would be excluded under the pre-Islamic rules of agnatic succession. However, around the year 3/625 these verses are supposed to have been abrogated by the verses of inheritance (IV, 11, 12 and 176) that assign precise fractional shares to some of these relatives and to the spouse relict, whereas at the same time the Prophetic Sunnah imposed two important restrictions, namely, that bequests were limited to one-third of the estate and that they could not be made in favour of existing heirs.

Recently, D.S. Powers (Studies, 143-89) has proposed a new theory on the development of the wasīyya. He argues that the abrogation of the bequest verses did not become the accepted doctrine until some time after Muḥammad's death. During the first stage of the development of the Islamic law of succession there was much freedom in testamentation. A person could designate affinal relatives (wife, daughter-in-law) as such, certain relatives who would have inherited in the absence of such a provision were compensated with a share in the estate. Finally, one could make bequests, but not exceeding the value of one-third of the estate. Only later, during the 1st century A.H., was the classical doctrine generally accepted. Although Powers' theory is attractive, since it offers some explanations to certain issues that are as yet unclear, it is not uncontested. His main argument is a new and controversial vocalisation and reading of Kurān, IV, 12. Further, he maintains that of the two basic restrictions on making bequests, both laid down in hadīth, one, the limitation to one-third of the estate, dates from the Prophet's lifetime, whereas the other, the nullity of bequests to heirs, is of much later date.

2. Classical legal doctrine

(a) Bequests. In Islamic law, it is only possible to designate an heir by testament in the exceptional case that one does not have other heirs. Otherwise, testa-ments can only be used for the transfer of property by way of bequest or legacy. There are no formal requirements for the making of a bequest: it may be done in writing, but also orally or even through intelligible signs. In both cases witnesses must be present
in order to prove it. The testator, of course, must be of full legal capacity. The making of a bequest is regarded as an offer, which needs to be accepted in order to become binding and irrevocable. Since a basic principle of the law of bequests is that the testator can revoke a bequest during his lifetime, acceptance cannot take place before the testator's death. The Shi‘a hold that bequests can only be revoked expressly. According to the Sunni law schools, implied revocation, for instance if the testator alienates or destroys the property bequeathed, is also valid. If after the testator's death, the legatee declared his acceptance or refusal, the right to accept passes to his heirs. After the testator's death, the ownership of the property is suspended until acceptance by the legatee. There is some difference of opinion about when exactly the ownership is transferred. According to most legal schools, the ownership is regarded to have been passed retroactively to the legatee from the moment of the testator's death. The Mālikis and Hanbalis, however, hold that the ownership is transferred at the moment of acceptance.

For a bequest to a specific person to be valid, he must be alive at the time of making the bequest and of the testator's death. The first condition, however, does not apply if the legatees are generic, e.g. the children of X. If the legatee predeceases the testator, the bequest fails. Under Shi‘i law, however, it is valid and devolves to the legatee's heirs. If the testator and legatee die in the same event, the rules with regard to inheritance apply. Contrary to intestate succession, difference of religion constitutes no bar for bequests, except, under Hanafi and Shī‘ī law, if the legatee lives outside the Dīr al-Īṣām. With regard to the case in which the legatee has killed the testator, opinions differ. The Hanafis and Shi‘is compare bequests with succession and, consequently, consider such killing an impediment. The other legal schools regard bequests more like gifts, for which no such bar exists.

The object of a bequest can be specific or generic. Specific bequests are gifts of the corpus or the usufruct of particular items of property or the manumission of a slave. Such bequests are only valid if these items are owned by the testator at the time of his making the bequest. Generic bequests are gifts of certain quantities of fungible goods or of money, or gifts of a share of the testator's property. Regarding this type, it is not necessary that the testator should own the goods bequeathed at the time of making the bequest.

Bequests are subject to two restrictions: together they may not exceed one-third of the value of the estate and they may not be made in favour of an existing heir. Bequests made contrary to these rules are ultra vires and null unless they are ratified (idāţa) by the heirs, but only after the testator's death. If some heirs approve and others do not, the ratification holds good proportionally to the shares of the heirs who have approved.

With regard to the restriction to one-third of the estate, opinions differ as to when the value of the estate must be calculated. Most legal schools take the moment of the testator's death as the crucial time. The Hanafis and Mālikis, however, calculate the value of the estate at the moment the bequest becomes complete and binding, i.e. at the moment of acceptance for the Mālikis and of actual transfer of ownership for the Hanafis. This is, of course, important in cases when the value of the estate has changed after the testator's death. If a bequest exceeds the value of one-third of the estate, it is valid for the part not exceeding this limit but fails for the surplus.

If there are more bequests, together taking up more than the third of the estate, the situation becomes more complicated. The Sunni law schools apply a pro rata abatement, whereas the Shi‘is use chronology as a yardstick: the earlier bequests have priority over the more recent ones. If there are no heirs, bequests may exceed one-third of the estate, except according to the Mālikis, because they regard the Public Treasury as an heir whose interests are protected in the same way as the other heirs. The second restriction operating with regard to bequests is the provision that bequests may not be made in favour of an existing heir. This rule is not accepted by the Shi‘is. The moment for determining who counts as an heir is, of course, the moment of the testator's death.

(b) Last illness (marāţ al-mawt). Although a person is free during his or her lifetime to dispose of his or her property as he or she pleases, this freedom ends as soon as the process of dying sets in. During the last illness, or under comparable circumstances in which death seems imminent (e.g. a shipwreck, a flood or a fire) a person is put under a limited interdiction (bad‘) in order to protect the interests of his or her heirs: by any dispositions—liberal acts such as gifts, waqfs, manumission, suretyship, or generosity in trade or hiring—such a person may not diminish the value of his or her estate for more than one-third of the property. Under these circumstances, such acts are equated with bequests. Disadvantageous dispositions exceeding the limit of one-third of the estate may therefore be nullified by the heirs after the testator's death.

The last illness, in order to be invoked by the heirs, must have effectively ended with death. Establishing whether a certain legal act was performed during one's last illness is a retrospective activity. There are three criteria for determining whether an illness or certain circumstances can count as the last illness. (1) Was the gravity of the condition or circumstances sufficiently serious for apprehending death? (2) Was the apprehension of impending death uninterrupted? (3) Was the death the result of the illness or circumstances?

(c) Appointment of a testamentary executor or guardian. One may appoint by testament an executor (wa‘iz) to take care, after one's death, of the settlement and the recovery of debts, the payment of bequests and the division of the estate among the heirs or a guardian (also called wa‘iz) over minor children. If the deceased has failed to do so, the kādi must appoint an executor to administer and liquidate the estate if the value of the debts exceeds the value of the estate, or if there are minors or missing persons among the heirs.

3. Recent developments

For recent reforms in the law of bequests, see MI'RATH. 2.


WASL (A.), a term of Arabic grammar broadly denoting juncture, i.e. a syntactic or phonological "connecting"; it is thus the antonym of both interruption (kaf [q.v.]) and pause (waqf [q.v.]).
Its origin is probably in Kurān recitation, where the choice of proceeding to the next word without a break depends mainly on syntactic or semantic considerations. In the text-liturgical tradition and elsewhere, it is still a non-canonical syllable beginning with signs for optional, preferable or compulsory wasl.

The term occurs most commonly in the phrase alif al-wasl, alternately, but less transparently, hamzat al-wasl, referring to the prosthetic alif found before word-initial consonant clusters and creating an artificial syllable (‘e-, ‘i- or ‘u-, according to context), whose purpose is to split the consonant cluster and thereby avoid a non-canonical syllable beginning with two consonants, hence *ktul (CCVC) becomes *uk-tul (CVC-CVC) etc. (in foreign loan words and names, this same process leads to hamzat al-kaf, e.g. Plato > Πλάτων, Aram. Khtla > *iklil “crown”). Although this feature of Arabic is well known, the rationale behind the false syllable hamzat al-wasl is obscure (a mere formal contrast with hamzat al-kaf) in writing? since the true consonantal hamza (q.v.) is unaffected by wasl.

The alif al-wasl arose orthographically, when words were dictated slowly enough to be spelt as if in isolation, with the alif still having its historical value of hamzat al-kaf’. In juncture this hamza is elided, for which situation the wasla sign was later invented, viz. a small sād (from the root waslā) over the alif indicating that it was to be ignored. Interestingly, this alif and the wasla sign are retained as if in isolation before words already beginning with alif al-wasl, e.g. *uk-tul for saw-khtul (but note the exceptional phonetic spelling in such very common phrases as bismi illahi etc.). The same spelling convention implies that the definite article al, whose first letter is itself an alif al-wasl, was also dictated as if in isolation before the definite article does not acquire hamzat al-kaf’. In mediaeval poetry, the hamzat al-wasl sometimes becomes hamzat al-kaf for metric reasons, but it is too early to say whether the new spelling will prevail in the surviving classical metres, in which case contemporary and mediaeval prosody will become incompatible on that point.

The notion of wasl in syntax is less well defined. Various forms of stems I and IV of the root *sā-l are used by Sibawayhi [q.v.] to represent the connection between verbs and their objects (Troupeau, entries rendered “parvenir à”), and wasl is an occasional synonym of sīla [q.v.] (appended clause, especially relative clause). We may also include here the cognate wasila, one of a group of terms for referential and copulative elements mostly called *a‘d but also ḥālī(a) and ṭaqī. Finally, stem VIII provides a term for such widely differing phenomena as bound pronouns (damir mutafsīl, opposite, damir mutāfasil “separate, independent pronoun”) and excessive sentences of the type (ma) kama l-kaqumu lālā za‘id (“za‘id”) (istiqāda mutafsīl, opposite, istiqāda munakki ‘in; e.g. ma lālā za‘id; al-wasl “lālā za‘id”)


**WASM** (‘a.), pl. wasāt, brand. Bedouins have branded their camels since ancient times (G. Jacob, Altarabisches Beduinenleben, Berlin 1897, 71). A Bedouin will normally be able to identify each of his camels without the aid of a brand; but the brand is helpful when camels belonging to many different owners are gathered in one place (e.g. at a water-source). Camels often stray and sometimes are stolen; a branded camel can usually be described so fully by its owner that another Bedouin will be able to identify it with assurance on the basis of the description alone (author’s observations in Sinai; cf. F. Beslay, Les Régiments, Paris 1984, 58).

One wasm is distinguished from another not only by its appearance but also by its location on the animal’s body (e.g. right cheek). The signs that make up the brand have individual names, e.g. matrik “stick”, ḥālī “crecent”. Such signs are actually signs used through-out the Arab world; but in North Africa some tribes, especially maraboutic ones, instead use letters or even whole words, e.g. Muhammad, Allāh, Makka (P. Kahle, Die Auß-Arbeit der Libyschen Wesste, in Is., iv [1913], 367; L. Borgne, Vocabulaire technique du chameau en Mauritanie (dialecte hassanya), in BIFAO, xv [1953], 365).

The several signs making up a brand may signify respectively the tribe, a group within the tribe, and even a sub-group of that group. Among the Rashaayda of the Sudan, each man adds his own individual sign to the mark of the group (W.C. Young, The Rashaayda Beduoin, Fort Worth, Texas 1996, 86-8); much more commonly, however, a group shares a brand, though where this is the general practice men of great wealth may still have their individual wasm (H.R.P. Dickson, The Arab of the desert, London 1951, 420-1).

Brands are sometimes placed on animals other than camels, e.g. cattle, water-buffalo, donkeys (but not horses), and even sheep (though ear-clipping is a more usual way of marking small stock). Wasm also often appear on things other than animals, e.g. tombs, rocks, wells or trees. Sometimes, at least, they indicate that the object so marked is in the territory of, or is protected by, the group whose sign it bears. The Muzayna of Sinai place the wasm of their descent group “on hut doors for good luck and on storage boxes for identification”; and sometimes they tattoo their brand on members of the group—on the foreheads of women, and on the backs of the hands of both men and women (Smadar Lavie, The poetics of military occupation, Berkeley 1990, 14-15). In northern Palestine, in contrast, tribesmen used to mark a cattle thief by burning the wasm on his thigh (J. Sonnen, Die Beduinen am See Genesareth, Cologne 1922, 162).

Bibliography: The only general study is the excellent, though now rather outdated, article by A. van Gennep, Les “wasm”, ou marques de propriété des arables, in Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie, xv (1902), 85-98. Among the many other works which contain relevant information may be mentioned H.A. MacMichael, Brands used by the chief camel-owning tribes of Kordofn, Cambridge 1913; O. Bates, Ethnographic notes from the Rashaayda, in JEA, xliii (1957), 717-39; ‘Arif al-‘Arif, al-Kadda/ bayn el-bad, Jerusalem 1933, 157-67.
WASMAF (in full, WASMAF AL-HADRADI "the court panegyrist"π; nom-de-plume of Shahb ad-Din ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIzz ad-Dīn Fadl Allāh Shāhraz, chronicler and poet of Mongol Persia in the early 8th/14th century. He was the author of the Tārīḫ-i Waṣṣaf (more precisely: Tārīḫī al-arbuʿ as-suqāfīyya al-sarīf "The allocation of cities and the population of epochs"); a history of the Il-Khāns [q.v.] from 658/1260 in five volumes, designed as a sequel to the Tārīḫ-i Lughān-ghārī of Djuwaynlī [q.v.]. The preface is dated Shāb ʿAyn 699/April-May 1300 (Tārīḫ-i Waṣṣaf, 6). Through the instrumentality of the viziers Rāshd al-Dīn Fadl Allāh [q.v.] and Saʿīd al-Dīn, the author and his historical work were presented at ʿĀnā on 13 Rajab 702/3 March 1303 to the Il-Khānī Ghazān [q.v.], who showed him great favour and allotted him a pension (ibid., 405-5). Four volumes were completed by 24 Muharram 712/1 June 1312, when his patron Rāshīd al-Dīn enabled Waṣṣaf to submit them in person to Ghazān's successor ʿOldjeytu [q.v.]. (Oldjātī; ibid., 544). The fifth volume was finished much later, the current year being variously given as 727 and 728 (see Barthold, Turkestan, i, 77; c). From 1260, Waṣṣaf received various appointments in the Mongol state in Central Asia ruled by Kaydu and Karzm (ibid., 93-5, 1269/1853, abridged_ and simplified version by I. Cunnison, Estudios saharianos, Timore 1952; J. Caro Baroja, Kasas y campamentos, Madrid 1955, 88-90; I. Cunnison, The Baggara Arabs, Madrid 1955, 88-90; I. Cunnison, The Baggara Arabs, Oxford 1966, 205-8). (F.H. STEWART)

WAṢṢAF (in full, Waṣṣaf al-Hadrat "the court panegyrist") — nom-de-plume of Shahbād al-Dīn ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿIzz al-Dīn Fadl Allāh Shāhraz, chronicler and poet of Mongol Persia in the early 8th/14th century. He was the author of the Tārīḫ-i Waṣṣaf (more precisely: Tārīḫī al-arbuʿ as-suqāfīyya al-sarīf "The allocation of cities and the population of epochs"); a history of the Il-Khāns [q.v.] from 658/1260 in five volumes, designed as a sequel to the Tārīḫ-i Lughān-ghārī of Djuwaynlī [q.v.]. The preface is dated Shāb ʿAyn 699/April-May 1300 (Tārīḫ-i Waṣṣaf, 6). Through the instrumentality of the viziers Rāshīd al-Dīn Fadl Allāh [q.v.] and Saʿīd al-Dīn, the author and his historical work were presented at ʿĀnā on 13 Rajab 702/3 March 1303 to the Il-Khānī Ghazān [q.v.], who showed him great favour and allotted him a pension (ibid., 405-7). Four volumes were completed by 24 Muharram 712/1 June 1312, when his patron Rāshīd al-Dīn enabled Waṣṣaf to submit them in person to Ghazān's successor ʿOldjeytu [q.v.]. (Oldjātī; ibid., 544). The fifth volume was finished much later, the current year being variously given as 727 and 728 (see Barthold, Turkestan, i, 77; c). From 1260, Waṣṣaf received various appointments in the Mongol state in Central Asia ruled by Kaydu and Karzm (ibid., 93-5, 1269/1853, abridged_ and simplified version by I. Cunnison, Estudios saharianos, Timore 1952; J. Caro Baroja, Kasas y campamentos, Madrid 1955, 88-90; I. Cunnison, The Baggara Arabs, Madrid 1955, 88-90; I. Cunnison, The Baggara Arabs, Oxford 1966, 205-8). (F.H. STEWART)

WATAN (a.), "homeland, fatherland", an Arabic near-equivalent of the term patria of the Latin Middle Ages in most of its shades. As we learn from normative lexicographical entries and actual usage in literary and historical texts alike, watan or maṭṣaf was, in the beginning, a wholly apotthetical term denoting simply the place of birth or stay (LAr, Beirut ed., xiii, 451a, l. 8). In al-Shārīf al-Durджānī's (d. 816/1413) Book of definitions (Kitāb al-ṣaribīf, 237, ll. 18-20) we find the meaning "watan split into "permanent residence" and "temporary and transitory sojourn (of at least a formnight)"); the Indian encyclopaedist Muhammad b. ʿAli al-Tahānawi (18th century) differentiates between the place of origin in whose selection one does not have any influence (al-watan al-asl, al-watan al-ahlī), and a chosen place of stay of a shorter or longer duration (watan al-fīra wa l-karma, watan al-khāmna wa l-safīr) (Kashshāf ışīlhalāt al-funūn, ed. A. Sprenger, ii, 1519-20). In Prophetic tradition, watan stands side-by-side—and thus in rough equivalence—with the general terms dar "house" and bilad "land". Elsewhere we find it in the restricted sense of equalling mašhād "battlefield" (LAr, xiii, 451b, ll. 3 ff.), i.e. of the place where the collective self is defended against outsiders. Battlefields are known to have served as important focuses of national sentiment also in the mediaeval West.

Fidelity to one's maṭṣaf in the sense of home is axiomatic. Every human is imbued with it. According to al-Djāhiṣī, it is the ambiance, i.e. for all practical purposes what is meant by watan, that shapes man. The sentiment of longing for the homeland (al-hanān išā l-ʿaṭātīn), also the title of one of al-Djāhiṣī's famous short epistles (ed. Abū al-Salām Ḥārūn, in Rasāʿīl, ii, Cairo 1384/1964, 383-412), encompasses also, and even with particular intensity, the itinerant nomadic tribesman who roams around in the steppes and who—in spite of or even because of his lifestyle—feels so strongly attached to his home sites. Al-Djāhiṣī's treatise on the merits of the Turks (Rasāʿīl, ii, 5-86) abundantly testifies to this philosophy. "The country of a man is his wetnurse and his house is his cradle" (al-Hanān, 386, l. 3), "The nature of man is kneaded from love for one's homeland" (ibid., 387, l. 5), and "If a bird longs for his nest, how much more is man entitled to yearn for his homeland" (ibid., 386, ll. 7-8), are some of al-Djāhiṣī's patent sayings on the natural attachment of man to his home. The Western equivalent to this primordial sentiment is the amor soli naturalis which we find invoked by the Dominican master Humbert of Romans (d. 1277) as a lamentable impediment to the Crusading spirit.

Like the Latin dulcis patria, watan (or maṭṣaf) has also a more abstract, figurative meaning that sheds the distinctly local connotations by signifying the place where one comes to rest. Watan shares this metonymic meaning with al-ṭālāt ("traces of an abandoned encampment") and al-manāẓīl wa l-ṭāṣār ("camp sites and houses"); for Averroes (d. 1198), who had long enough struggled with the boring details of Mālikī law, philosophy became the watan proper of the intellect. The mystics, in particular, liked the term waṭan and implemented it in various meanings. For the anonymous author of the Şūfi manual Ādāb al-mulkāt of the
4th/10th century, the “houses of God”, i.e. the mosques, were the real home (ed. B. Radtke, ... various branches of the Eastern national movement), although less common than wataniyya and its derivatives, kawmiyya (

... “movement of national liberation”). It is most often applied to a limited territory, but sometimes enlarged to encompass the Arab world (nîdâl al-arab al-watani, hurrîyydt al-arab al-wataniyya, in the context of their struggle or their freedom). But both the adjective and the substantive can denote the positive sense and the pejorative sense of the term, for example, al-wataniyya al-fâkdîyya and al-wataniyya al-isti'mârîyya (fascist nationalism, colonialist nationalism). It is not until the eve of the Second World War that a precise distinction is drawn, in ideological terms, between wataniyya and kawmiyya. The first refers to a territory, the second to the inhabitants of the latter, to the people, with the same convergent nuance as is attested elsewhere. Then in 1936, in reference to the national sentiment of Abyssinians confronted by the Italian conquest, the expression ḥuṣûr watani kasmî is encountered. But it is not always a case of redundancy, or of distinguishing oneself, as in Morocco, by dancing, or of distinguishing oneself, as in Morocco, by dressing in a particular way. The mystic al-

... “loving his state and where he settles down”, c. abd (watan al-

... “movement of national liberation”). It is most often applied to a limited territory, but sometimes enlarged to encompass the Arab world (nîdâl al-arab al-watani, hurrîyydt al-arab al-wataniyya, in the context of their struggle or their freedom). But both the adjective and the substantive can denote the positive sense and the pejorative sense of the term, for example, al-wataniyya al-fâkdîyya and al-wataniyya al-isti'mârîyya (fascist nationalism, colonialist nationalism). It is not until the eve of the Second World War that a precise distinction is drawn, in ideological terms, between wataniyya and kawmiyya. The first refers to a territory, the second to the inhabitants of the latter, to the people, with the same convergent nuance as is attested elsewhere. Then in 1936, in reference to the national sentiment of Abyssinians confronted by the Italian conquest, the expression ḥuṣûr watani kasmî is encountered. But it is not always a case of redundancy, or of distinguishing oneself, as in Morocco, by dressing in a particular way. The mystic al-

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A transfERENCE of the principal connotation to that of “nationalism” [see Kawmiyya. I] is first observed in resistance to the financial and political control exercised by the European creditors of the Egyptian debt (1876-82). Egyptian officers of established local families (wataniyyun), opposed from the outset to the ascendency of Turko-Circassians, sought to operate in conjunction with constitutionalist elements. A Ḥamṣîyya Wataniyya (later known as the National Party) represented their claims, from April 1879 onwards. Composite and unstable, this movement was part of the episode known as the “Urabi Pasha” [p. 478] revolution”. Its defeat was sealed by the British military occupation of Egypt. For decades to come, wataniyya was applied to the nationalist form of Egyptian patriotism, in the sense of a demand for return of Egypt to the Egyptians, a national movement for liberation from British domination. This found its expression in political platforms, the subject of competition; for example, before the First World War, the “national” Party (al-Hizb al-Watani), was the rival of Ḥizb al-Umma (“party of the nation”). Elsewhere, in the Maghrib as in the Maghrib, while trade union and other organisations describe themselves as national (wataniyya), in reference to territory produced by colonial dismemberment, wataniyya denotes the conceptual and practical aspects of what was known since the 1920s as ḥarakat al-ta"ārif al-watani (”movement of national liberation”). It is most often applied to a limited territory, but sometimes enlarged to encompass the Arab world (nîdâl al-arab al-watani, hurrîyydt al-arab al-wataniyya, in the context of their struggle or their freedom). But both the adjective and the substantive can denote the positive sense and the pejorative sense of the term, for example, al-wataniyya al-fâkdîyya and al-wataniyya al-isti'mârîyya (fascist nationalism, colonialist nationalism). It is not until the eve of the Second World War that a precise distinction is drawn, in ideological terms, between wataniyya and kawmiyya. The first refers to a territory, the second to the inhabitants of the latter, to the people, with the same convergent nuance as is attested elsewhere. Then in 1936, in reference to the national sentiment of Abyssinians confronted by the Italian conquest, the expression ḥuṣûr watani kasmî is encountered. But it is not always a case of redundancy, or of distinguishing oneself, as in Morocco, by using a term equivalent to that retained by an adversary or competitor. After 1933, but especially from 1936 onwards, in the columns of the Libano-Syrian journal al-Tal’a (a platform shared by the various branches of the Eastern national movement), although less common than wataniyya and its derivatives, kawmiyya...
and its derivatives made their appearance and their meaning is made precise, independently of territorial, national or regional extension, by reference to the German concept of Volksstum; rather than the concept of territory, it is that of the people, in the ethnographic sense, in the blood line, that holds sway.

Differences are to be noted from the 1940s onwards. Begun by Syria and Lebanon, accession to political independence without limitations imposed by treaty became the norm. The formation of the League of Arab States (1945) gave credibility to elements favouring Arab unity, the successors of those who in the 1920s had opposed the Anglo-French partition of "natural" Syria. The party of Arab rebirth, Hizb al-Bdt al-'Arabi, the proponents of Nasserism, then the movement of Arab nationalists (harakat al-kawmiyyin al-'arabi) drew a clear distinction between kawmiyya (Arab nationalism, Pan-Arabism) and umamiyya (the latter being out of favour as denoting narrow, national patriotism. Ba'athist ideology developed the terms iklimiyyat/wataniyya "regionalism" as a means of denouncing these tendencies. Marxist tendencies were most often the target, iklimiyyat/kutriyya "internationalism") is criticised as limited to an "Arab socialism". Their reference to umamiyya (the Arab unity, in whatever form, have placed the writer's supervision) reveals, however, a preponderance here of "internationalism" (the equivalent here of "internationalism") is criticised as a consequence of their umamiyya/kutriyya, limited to "class" and irrespective of the Arab umma. Lexical and conceptual analysis of the principal charters and of the congresses of the 1960s and the 1970s of the Arab world (an exercise previously in progress, in academic studies and in seminars under the present writer's supervision) reveals, however, a preponderance in this field for derivatives of the root w-t-n over derivatives of the root k-t-m.

In fact, successive failures of experiments aimed at Arab unity, in whatever form, have placed the kawmiyya on the "territorial" plain where they criticised the wataniyyan for their self-cantonnement, and recent debates. In particular, an inter-Arab seminar held in Damascus at the end of 1996, made it clear that, despite the need to display realism and commitment to the preservation of the democratic achievements of each country, these wataniyyan have not neglected to adopt a position favourable to the notion of Arab unity under the basis of shared patronage and shared destiny.


WATHANIYYA (A.), idolatry. In classical Arabic it is the phrase 'abdat al-an'am (or al-auqhad) that denotes idolatry, while idolaters are called 'abdat al-an'am (or al-auqhad). The term wathaniyya, still absent from the Lisn al-'Arab of Ibn Manzur (d. 711/1311), figures in the Raahidy (1516), compiled in 1158/1745 by al-Tahanawi. According to him, the term denotes: "A group of unbelievers who worship idols while asserting that God is one. They are counted among the associators because they profess the plurality of that which deserves to be worshipped, not because they profess the plurality of the Necessary Being in itself; they do not give idols the attributes of divinity, although they apply the name to them. In fact, they take them to be the statues of prophets, ascetics, angels or stars that are taken as objects of veneration, with the aim of approaching through them that which is a god in reality (tawafsii 'ibadat la, mana huma idhri hadari).* This is the meaning that is conveyed by the Sharh al-Masakif (of al-Dhurdjani, d. 816/1413) and the gloss on it supplied by [Hasan] al-Celebi in the study of taqahid."

It is appropriate to examine (1) the vocabulary of idols in the Kur'an and in hadsas; (2) the various categories of idolaters known to Muslims; (3) opinions regarding the origin of idolatry; and (4) idolatry in the context of taqahid (and its refutation).

In the Kur'an, idols are explicitly mentioned with the use of two words: sanam [g.v.] five times, always in the plural asam, and wathan, three times, always in the plural awthdn. Of these eight instances, six relate to Abraham, while VII, 138 (asam) anticipates a passage dealing with the Golden Calf, and XXII, 30 warns against defilement by idols (auqhad) of the pre-Islamic pilgrimage. Scholars are divided as to the difference in meaning between the two terms. Al-Tabari, xiii, 229 (of Kur'an, XIV, 35) cites Mughdhit, according to whom the sanam is "a fashioned simulacrum" (al-tamãthãl al-musawwar) which would distinguish it from the simple wathan. This is the meaning that is followed by Ibn al-Kalbi (d. ca. 204/820), al-Afnan, 47d (cf. 29d): "If it is worked in wood, in gold or in silver in the likeness of man, it is a sanam."

But according to one of the views conveyed by the LA in its two entries (and followed by al-Tahanawi, loc. cit.), on the contrary, it is the wathan which is characterised by the representation of a body (jihatahu); in fact, in the Kur'an, two instances of auqhad refer to the idols smashed by Abraham, which are clearly statues (tamãthãl, according to XXI, 52). In another passage of al-Tabari, vii, 244 (of Kur'an, VI, 74), the two words seem to be regarded as equivalents. Among many authors, they are interchangeable. This seems already to be the case in canonical hadith, where one or the other term is used quite regularly.

Alongside these idols, i.e. tri-dimensional representations of animate beings addressed by a cult, there were also sacred stones (see NUSUB). These are mentioned three times in the Kur'an, in V, 3, in LXX, 43 and (in the plural anab) in V, 90, and there are several other references in the canonical traditions. These fundamental texts, where they are not speaking of biblical characters, attribute idolatry to the pre-Islamic Arabs. The Muslim authors who follow echo this trend, and many of them devote long articles, or entire works, to the subject. Thus Ibn al-Kalbi, not only in his well-known Al-Afnan, but also in his lost book Afnan al-'Arab and doubtless in Mathàiib al-'Arab, which survives in manuscript form. Al-Djâbi, for his part, wrote an Afnan al-'Arab and an Al-Afnan. Unfortunately they are lost, as is a work by 'Ali b. al-Husayn b. Fudayl (end of 3rd/9th century), al-Afnan wa-ma kânat al-'Arab wa-y'Afnan ta'btha min dunî 'ilâm (according to Fihrist, ed. Tadjaddud, Tehran 1391 A.H./1350 A.H.S./1971, 138). Such writings give information, which can be checked and complemented by other means, regarding the traditional religion of Central Arabia and its divinities (see HUBAL; ISAF WA-NUŠUB; AL-ŠÀR). But Islam, born in the midst of idolaters, soon encountered others in India, whose immense numbers and intense fervour intrigued writers such as al-Djâbi or Abu Zayd al-Balbhi. The Hindu cult of images could not fail to strike, and to offend, Muslims with its sumptuousness and alien nature. These "idols" were described in the Kihat fihi milal al-Hind wa-yâdhnh, composed as early as 180/880, on his return from India, by an envoy of the vizier Yahyâ b. Khâlid al-Barmakî.
The work is lost, but is said to be the basis of all subsequent works. The latter often mention the... (ed.), Scholarly approaches to religion. Interreligious perceptions and Islam, Berne 1995, 245-9. (G. Monnot)

from the Indian subcontinent, it had taken firm root in the eastern half of the Iranian world and was present there on the arrival of Islam [see Sumaniya].

On the other hand, Muslim authors drew attention to accounts available to them concerning the idols of ancient Persia before the introduction of the cult of fire (Marāḏ, ed. Pellat, §§ 1373, 1400, 1403; al-Shahrastānī, Milāṭ, ii, 1224, tr. ii, 494). They were even more interested in the intriguing "Sabians" who are mentioned three times in the Kurʾān, and whose name the inhabitants of Harrān appropriated, in 218/993 or just before, in order to benefit from the ḥizyā [see ṣainā'] These last-named followers of Hellenistic cults are persistently credited by the Muslims with a veneration of the stars that would finally be corrupted into the worship of idols. The most remarkable presentation and refutation of this real or alleged religion are to be found in the Milāṭ of al-Shahrastānī. According to him, the "primitive Sabians" addressed their cult only to the Spiritual beings (rūḥānīyāt) as the natural intercessors in the presence of the Lord of lords, but the need of visible intermediaries subsequently introduced the cult of stars as Dwellings (baarāʾ), to which the Spiritual beings were charged as representations (aḥkām) of these Dwellings.

Furthermore, African cults are occasionally mentioned by Arab geographers and historians. Fetishes first appear in the work of Ibn Ḥazm with the name dakkūr, pl. dakkākira, then in the work of others in the form dakkūr, pl. dakkāk (cf. Monnot 1986, 115).

Over and above the strangeness and the provocation inherent in the idolatrous cults, these posed a problem for the doctrine of Islam according to which monotheism is inherent in the original nature (ḥifra [q.s.]) of man, that is, in the disposition imprinted upon him by the Creator. How then did idolatry come into being? The most thorough answer is proposed by Abū Zayd al-Balḫī (d. 322/934) in al-Radd ʿalā ḍabād al-ʿamār. This refutation of idolaters is lost, but fortunately a long quotation from it has been preserved by al-Rāzī in his Taǧṣīr, xxx, 143 (tr. Monnot 1986, 215-18). As for the origins of idolatry in the world, Abū Zayd offers no fewer than seven possibilities. According to the first, "Idolatry is nothing other than a consequence of the doctrine according to which God is a localised entity": the ṭaḏīm of God and of His angels is responsible for it. This explanation (reproduced for example in al-Maṣūdī, Marāḏ, § 1370) is explicitly attributed to Abū Maḥṣar, as is confirmed by other authors (cf. Monnot 1986, 226). The second interpretation is that the Sabians "introduced the cult of idols with the aim of establishing a cult for the stars" (cf. Marāḏ, loc. cit.); this is the most widely held view. The third reckons to have found the origin of talismans in judicial astrology. The fourth interpretation is that idols were initially the statues of righteous individuals, venerated for having won the favour of God in their lifetimes. The fifth interpretation, closely related to the previous one, consists in what is known in the West as euhemerism: the desire to preserve the memory and a sense of presence of great ancestors degenerating into worship of their images. The five Noachic idols of Kurʾān, LXXI, 23-4, are thus said to have originally represented five sons of Adam (cf. in a similar sense, al-Bukhārī, Sahīh, Taifīr, loc. cit.). The sixth interpretation is that the existence of extraordinary properties in a body is explained by the inherence (ḥulūl) of a god in it. Finally, according to the seventh interpretation, idols are said simply to serve as a murūḥ for the worship of God.

In al-Rāzī, iii, 36 (revised and abridged by al-Ṭahānawī, 771), the first two general interpretations are found in reverse order, complemented by a third, this being that idols represent the angels appointed by God to govern various elements and phenomena of nature. As for the introduction of idolatry among the Arabs, the explanation currently in favour places the responsibility on 'Amr b. Luḥayy; he allegedly brought back to Mecca from al-Balḵā, in Syria, an idol of Hubal. Kurʾān, VI, 81, or XXII, 30, accuse the idolaters of giving associates to God [see gīna], and Muslims like al-Rāzī (ii, 112; iii, 35) make them one of the four or five categories of associates. However, according to Abū Zayd and others following his lead, idolatry is not directly opposed to ṭaḏīm, since no one would be stupid enough to identify the Creator with a piece of wood. But the error of the idolaters, motivated by the desire for a presence (cf. Milāṭ, 129), is twofold. First, they suppose that God has a form, which enables them to make an image of Him; this amounts to assimilation (tašābih) on the prohibition of images of animate beings, see ʿṣūra). Furthermore, they imagine that they can address their appeals to these objects, whether through attributing to them the role of intermediary (see Milāṭ, 770-2) or at the very least through directing prayer physically towards them (see Abū Zayd, seventh interpretation; Muḥānāt, v, 158; Milāṭ, 655). This is inadmissible without revealed indication (Milāṭ, 1295), and the worship of intermediaries is even contrary to reason, according to 'Abd al-Djabbār (Muḥānāt, v, 158). In any case, the fundamental argument, even when it is left implicit, is without doubt that of the Kurʾān (XXI, 66; cf. VI, 74; XXVI, 72), amply propounded by al-Shahrastānī in his refutation of the Sabians: idols, which neither benefit nor cause harm, are powerless and pointless.


AL-WATHIK BI 'LLAH, ABU DJA'FAR HARUN B. AL-MUTASIM, 'Abbasid caliph. He was given the name Hārūn after his grandfather Hārūn al-Rāšīd; his mother was a Greek slave called Karatls. Ibn al-Athir states that his real name was Harūn after his grandfather Harūn al-Rāšīd; his mother was a Greek slave named Kartalas.

On the day that his father al-Mu'tasim bi 'llāh [q.v.] died (18 Rabi' I 227/5 January 842), al-Wathik was proclaimed his successor. Before al-Mu'tasim's death, an alleged descendant of the Umayyads, named Abū Harb, usually called al-Mubārka [q.v.] “the veiled one” from the veil that he always wore, had provoked a dangerous rising in Palestine, and Radja b. Ayyub al-Hidarf, whom al-Mu'tasim had sent against him, could at first make no progress. Soon after the accession of al-Wathik, Damascus also became the scene of a great rising; the rebels shut the governor up in the citadel and encamped on the plain of Marjāl ṫāḥit not far east of the town, but they were very soon routed by Radja' who had been recalled from Palestine to meet the danger. He next turned his attention to al-Mubārka'. After a section of the latter's followers had left him because the sowing season was approaching, Radja' succeeded in defeating and capturing him.

The Bedouin around Medina also gave the caliph trouble. When the Banū Sulaym plundered the market places of the Hijāz, the governor of Medina sent a large army under Ḥammād b. Ḍārīr al-Tabarī against them; but he was defeated and slain, so that al-Wathik had to turn to the tried general Bughā al-Kābi [q.v.]. In Shābān 230/April-May 845, Bughā entered Medina and, after defeating the Banū Sulaym and taking the prisoners back to Medina, performed the Pilgrimage to Mecca, and then turned his attention to the Banū Hīlāl, who had also taken part in the uprising. The most guilty were imprisoned in Medina and the others pardoned. Bughā now marched against the Banū Muṭṭa and the Banū Fazara, who had seized the town of Fadak [q.v.], but as soon as he appeared they abandoned the town and took flight (231/845-6). In the meanwhile, the prisoners escaped from Medina and killed their warders, but were cut down by the citizens of the town with the help of the many black slaves in Medina. In the following year, Bughā had also to fight against the Banū Nūmār in al-Yāmāma and only subdued them after much difficulty. There were also troubles among the Khārijīs and the Kūfīs. The Stratagem mentions that al-Wathik, meanwhile, meditated an expedition against Constantinople [see Dhu 'l-Ḥimmā].

Al-Wathik died on 23 Dhu 'l-Ḥijja 1232/10 August 847 at the age of 32, or according to others, 34 or 36. He had not the gifts of a great ruler, and his brief reign was not distinguished by remarkable events. The caliph's character also was not such as to make him beloved. It is true that he was conventionally liberal to the poor in Mecca and Medina, and he also treated the 'Ailids with great benevolence and took a considerable interest in poetry and singing, being a musician and composer himself. He favoured the singer Mukhrīk [q.v.], but was disappointed when the latter altered the notes of songs. For the rest, he is described as covetous, intolerant and devoted to sensual pleasures. At his accession, he confirmed the Bayān piroğlu poet al-Dāhīlāk al-Bāhīlī [q.v.], nicknamed al-Khaṭṭīb, the debauched one, as court poet. He also extorted huge sums of money from high officials. Al-Wathik was also an ardent Mu'tazilī. The well-respected Ahmad b. Naṣr b. Mālik al-Khuzayfī prepared a plot to dethrone the caliph and put a check on the arrogance of his Turkish commanders. By accident, the signal was given too soon (Shabān 231/April 856), so that the authorities were able to uncover the conspiracy without difficulty. When brought before the caliph, Ahmad b. Naṣr was questioned not about the plot but about the Kur'ān. His answers enraged the caliph to such an extent that the latter personally oversaw his decapitation. Later, however, al-Wathik's original enthusiasm for the Mu'tazila seems to have evaporated.

The vizier all through al-Wathik's reign was Ibn al-Zayyāt, against whom al-Wathik had sworn vengeance during his father's reign; but once acceded to power, he seems to have found him indispensable. The period of Ibn al-Zayyāt's second vizierate thus began, in which he showed himself cruel and avaricious, inventing a spiked iron cylinder (innārī) for torturing his victims, in which however he was himself to die when al-Mutawakkil came to the throne in 232/847 [see Ibn al-Zayyāt]. Ibn al-Zayyāt had quarrelled with the Chief Kādī Ahmad b. Abī Du'ād [q.v.], but had attempted to restrain the ambitions of Turkish generals like Ayyūbīs [see Ayyūbī AL-TURK]. In general, one can say that the administrative and religious policies of the previous reign were continued with little change.

Interesting episodes reported from al-Wathik's reign relate to his apparent intellectual curiosity. In 225/840 the Turkish people of the Kırığı [q.v.] who nomadised to the north of Lake Baikal, attacked the Uygurs [q.v.] and drove them from the region of the Ḫırkhan and Selenga rivers in Mongolia into eastern Turkestan (the later Chinese province of Sinkiang [q.v.]) (see W. Samolin, East Turkistan to the twelfth century. A political history, The Hague 1964, 69-70). These population movements in Inner Asia may have caused al-Wathik to “dream” that the barrier (sadd) of Dhu 'l-Karnayn [see Iskandar] had been breached. Ibn Khurraḍādhībīhī, 162 ff., relates that Sallām al-Tārjumān was sent by the caliph to investigate the story of Dhu 'l-Karnayn's barrier and that Sallām told him about his adventures in search of it and showed him the report which he had drawn up for the caliph [see Sallām AL-TARJUMĀN, in Suppl.]. Ibn Khurraḍādhhībī also relates (106-7) that al-Wathik sent the celebrated astronomer and mathematician Muhammad b. Mūsa al-Khā'ārzamī [q.v.] to the land of Rūm in order to investigate the story of the “Men of al-Rākim”; i.e. the Seven Sleepers of the Cave (Ashāb al-Kāfīr).
AL-WATHIKI, ABU MUHAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH b. 'Uṯmān, poet and political claimant of the second half of the 4th/10th and the first years of the 5th/11th centuries, who claimed descent from the 'Abbadīd caliph al-Wathiq [q.v.]. His younger contemporary al-Thālibī gives specimens of his verses plus biographical information (Ṭā'īma, ed. 'Abd al-Hamīd, iv, 192-3). Al-Wathiqi began his career in 'Irāq and al-Dījazira as a court witness and preacher, but became involved in political intrigues. He fled eastwards to the Transoxanian lands of the Karakhanids [see ILEK-KHANS], where he produced for the Khan a forged document stating that the caliph al-Kādir [q.v.] had appointed him as his wa'all al-'adī or heir, and he subsequently expressed intentions of marching on Baḥrān to claim his rights or heir, and he subsequently expressed intentions of marching on Baḥrān to claim his rights

**Bibliography:** The main sources are Thālibī (see above) and the extant fragment of Hilāl al-Ṣābi’s history. These are used in C.E. Bosworth, *Notes on the lives of some ‘Abbadīd princes and descendants, in The Maghreb Review, xix/3-4 (1994) (= Hommage à André Miquel), 281-2 (also in *The Arabs, Byzantium and Iran. Studies in early Islamic history and culture*, Variorum, London 1996, no. V); cf. also Barthold, *Turkestana down to the Mongol invasion*, 258.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

WATHIMA b. MUSĀ b. al-Furāt al-Fārist al-Fasawf (in addition, in the heading of his book, al-Munabbih, and others, whose material he would have found mainly in Egypt, specifically in the private library of the judge of the country, ‘Abd Allāh b. Lahi’ā. Since those involved were Egyptian informants, disciples of the judge or settlers in Egypt, they conveyed primary information to Wathima in a very accurate fashion, and he supplemented it with other data in such a way that we have primary sources, such as those of Wahb b. Munabbīh, which can be reconstructed almost entirely by these means (with successive additions being closely followed; see an edition of this text, with a monograph analysing all the strata of inādās in the book, in R.G. Khoury, *Les légendes prophétique dans l'Islam*, 158 ff.). This accuracy of the written transmission has made it possible to obtain a complete version of the damaged pages of Wahb’s *Ubuntu Dīawād “Story of David”*, in which there were only fragments, sometimes just a few lines or words, as the papyrus edition of Wahb, 34 ff., shows very clearly (see Khoury, *Les légendes prophétique*, 164 and n. 289, and WABH B. MUNABBĪH).

Thus the *K. ft al-khāl* assumes a capital importance and remains, despite some criticism directed at Wathima the muhaddith, "the best that has ever been composed in this discipline", min aslāhā ma carīfā fi dhikra 'l-fā'ī (Ibn Hadjar, *Lisdn al-mizdān*, vi, 217), since it dates back to the first sources and thus rescues from oblivion the most ancient versions of biblical or prophetic stories in Islam. It enlarges the primary data, such as that contained in the Heidelberg papyrus on David, but without altering the original which it conserves very accurately. Hence its immense value for the study of the archaic literature of the three first centuries of the Hijrā.

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(R.G. Khoury)

WATHTHÂB b. SÂBIK AL-NUMAYRÎ, head of the section of the Banû Numayr [q.v.] dominating part of Diyar Mudar and the town of Harrân, d. 410/1020 (Ibn al-Athîr, ix, 312, 413, 443, x, 443). The texts give few details on his origins and most do not even give his father's name; nevertheless, his descendants can clearly be pinpointed in northern Syria and Diyar Mudar and played an important role. It is this line which is mainly dealt with here.

Some of the Numayr are already mentioned in central Syria around Damascus at the time of the great revolt of Abu l-Haythâm in the time of Harrûn al-Rashîd (Ibn 'Asikîr, T. Dimashq, 'Asîm-‘Aîdî, ed. Shâtîr Faysal, Damascus 1977, 402). At the opening of the 4th/10th century they were among the tribes accompanying the Carmathians in the attack on the Mawdîd of the Carmathians. In the middle of the century they were in the regions of Sinjâr and Mawîlî, opposing, in company with other tribes such as the Kilâb, Kushâyîr, 'Ukayl, Hilâl, Sulaym and Kays 'Aylâyîn, the two Šâhânî princes [see Šâhânîs] Nâžîr al-Dawlâ (attack on Mawîlî, 359/970) and Šâfî al-Dawlâ of Aleppo. Less vigorous in the Kilâb, they were expelled from Diyar Rabî'a towards the Syrian Desert and thence by Šâfî al-Dawlâ north of the Euphrates into Diyar Mudar. In 380/990, being largely Šâ‘îli in faith, they supported an abortive attempt to restore the Šâhânîs in Mawîlî. In 395/1005, several thousand cavalrymen of Numayr and Kilâb, led by the ruler in Sarût, Waththâb b. Da‘far (perhaps = Waththâb b. Sâbîk al-Numayrî) supported the qâṣâf Asfâr of Taghlib against the Byzantines (for details of all these, see Th. Bianquis, Danas et la Syrie sous la domination flâmîde, Damascus 1987, i, 310 n. 1). At the end of the century, the 'Umaylîs of Diyar Mudar, Sâbîk constituted a principality in Diyar Mudar around Harrân [q.v.]. Like the Kilâb in northern Syria, the Mawdînîs in Diyar Bakr and the 'Ukaylîs in Diyar Rabî'a, they chose to protect and administer for their own advantage the sedentary lands and towns rather than to pillage them, as did at this time the Banu l-'Qurarî, a Transjordanian section of the Yamanîs [q.v.]. Depending on the precise location of several towns of the region such as Sarût, al-Ruha'î/Edessa, Rakka and Râfîka. Having gathered together "Arabs", Waththâb sought Byzantine help in order to attack the Kurd Našr al-Dawlâ Ibn Marwân [q.v.] in Diyar Bakr, which he raided and then pillaged.

The latter, with help from his 'Ukaylî ally, the amir of Mawîlî Kârîwâlî b. Mâkâlî, repelled him and obtained apologies from the Byzantines (H. Kenedy, Les enjeux de Murât, in Acta des III Congres de la U.E.A.I, Malaga n.d.). On Waththâb's death in 410/1019, his son Šâbib succeeded him, and his descendants, the Banû Waththâb, continued to hold the region. In 417-22/1026-31 there was a fresh conflict with Našr al-Dawlâ Ibn Marwân over Edessa. Each clan chief of the Numayr formed a mini-principality around a stronghold rather than in the main town, leaving this last to be governed by a deputy. There was much internecine strife amongst these clans. Thus e.g. the lord of Edessa, 'Utârîr al Numayrî, refused to reside there but left it to a deputy, whose assassination he eventually procured and then was in turn himself killed. The two main Arabic sources, Yahyâ al-Anâfî, Laylî, tr. F. Micheau and G. Troupeau, in PO, xlviii/4, no. 212, iii [151], Tournai 1997, and Ibn al-Athîr, see index), recount these events differently, notably the actions of the Šârîfî and ûdâhî of the city and the lengthy internal combats of Muslims and Christians fortified within the towers and religious buildings of Edessa (for an account, based on Byzantine sources, see AL-RUHA'). The Numayr resorted to arbitration by the Kilâb of Aleppo, and Šâbib divided the city between the two Numayrîs Ibn 'Utârîr and Ibn Ilhâm Šâbib, each holding a tower in the city. The Byzantines in the end seized the city, and the Emperor Romanus III is said to have bought Ibn 'Utârîr's shârîf and access to his tower for 20,000 dinârs and a certain number of villages. Šâbib's forces took to flight, the Muslim inhabitants were reportedly killed and the mosques razed. On the other hand, in 421/1030 a clan of the Numayr, Kâtan, inflicted a terrible defeat on the Byzantines at 'Aş'kû and gained a great booty in gold coinage. But after the Byzantine riposte under the enuch Nicola in 423/1032, the Numayr led by Šâbib rallied to the Byzantines, and both sides accepted a delineation of the frontier leaving Edessa to the Greeks and Diyar Mudar to its south to the Numayr. These last took part, with all the princes of the region, in the general negotiations at Constantinople to define the Graeco-Muslim frontiers in northern Syria and in al-Djazîra, negotiations which went on until Romanus III's death in 425/1034, leaving a result still imprecise, since the end of Yahyâ's manuscript has not survived. The two Numayrîs chief Šâbibî and Ibn 'Utârîr, former ruler of Edessa, attacked the Byzantines there in 427-9/1037-9, but after some successes, they ended in abandoning the city to the Byzantines. This check is explicable by the feebleness of their ally, the Kilâbî principality of
Aleppo. Shabib’s sister, the very beautiful and intelligent al-Sayyida, had married the Kilab prince there, Naṣr b. Shābīl b. Mirdās, who was killed by his own Dīzbin in 439/1049. This Turkish general, the Fātimid governor in Syria, managed to occupy Aleppo and eject Naṣr's brother Thīmāl and his brother-in-law Shabīb, but could not conquer Rakka and Raḥba in the eastern part of the principality. On Shabib’s death, his brother Mut'ā december 186 and took over the principality except for Rakka and Raḥba, left to al-Sayyida al-'Alawiyya. The latter, now a widow, married Emma b. Dār al-Ukhaylī, who promoted Shi'iism there. Whilst Muslim besieged Damascus in 346, Harrān was retaken by a Hanbalī kādi, Abū Dālajah, who wished to hand over the town to Yahyā and the former Watthāḥib control. The town was taken over by Yahyā and Ibn 'Aṭīyya al-Numayrī, but retaken in the same year by Muslim, who executed the kādi and his sons and over a hundred of the city’s dead husband's brother Thīmāl. Al-Dīzbin endeavoured to make a military and matrimonial alliance with the Marwānī Naṣr al-Dawla against the Numayrī-Kilab alliance which controlled all northern Syria and much of western al-Djazīra. However, the Fātimid authorities in Cairo were suspicious of al-Dīzbin’s too personal policy in Syria, and he was brutally dismissed and died in humiliating circumstances in the citadel of Aleppo in 433/1042. Thīmāl was able to return to Aleppo with his Numayrī spouse, who was to play on various occasions an important role in the politics of the city [see MIRDĀS, BANĪ]. The Numayrī now made a rapprochement with Naṣr al-Dawla Ibn Marwān, and ca. 439/1048 they both countered the efforts of a number of identical isms found in children on both sides, such as Waththab, Mukallad, and Safīd; and these also found among the 'Ukaylīs, increasing even further the historians’ confusion. In 462/1070, in dramatic circumstances, the Shī‘ī princess again intervened personally to deflect the Sunni Saljuq sultan Alp Arslan from his siege of Aleppo and to try to avoid the humiliation of her son there, Māḥmūd, having to kiss the sultan’s carpet. But she could achieve nothing, and the overwhelming defeat of the Byzantines at Manzikert [see MAZIRA] a few months later definitively deprived the Numayrī and Kilab of Byzantine protection.

In 471/1079 a coalition of Arabs, including the Numayrī, and led by the 'Ukaylī ruler of Mawṣūl, Shāraf al-Dawla Muslim b. Kurayshī, defeated a Turkmen force, but in the following months the Saljuq prince Tūrānī [q.v.] and his Turkmen ravaged all northern Syria. Three years later, Shāraf al-Dawla had to intervene in Aleppo, where the last three Kilābī princes Sābīk, Waththāḥib and Shabībī, sons of Māḥmūd, ended up losing their power through drunkenness and political incapacity. In 461/1078 Muslim b. Kurayshī, now ruler of Mawṣūl and Aleppo, formed a coalition of several Kaysī and Yamnī tribes of Syria, including the Numayrī, against the Kurds of al-Djazīra and other Arab tribal groups, including other clans of Numayrī and 'Ukaylī. Thanks to support from Yahyā b. al-Shārīr, a retainer of Ibn ‘Uṭayr who administered the town for a child, ‘Alī b. Waththāḥib, Shārāf al-Dawla Muslim had occupied Harrān in 474/1081 and installed a governor, Dīzbin al-Ukhaylī, who promoted Shi‘ism there. Whilst Muslim besieged Damascus in 346, Harrān was retaken by a Hanbalī kādi, Abū Dālajah, who wished to hand over the town to Yahyā and the former Watthāḥib control. The town was taken over by Yahyā and Ibn ‘Aṭīyya al-Numayrī, but retaken in the same year by Muslim, who executed the kādi and his sons and over a hundred of the city’s dead husband's brother Thīmāl. Al-Dīzbin endeavoured to make a military and matrimonial alliance with the Marwānī Naṣr al-Dawla against the Numayrī-Kilab alliance which controlled all northern Syria and much of western al-Djazīra. However, the Fātimid authorities in Cairo were suspicious of al-Dīzbin’s too personal policy in Syria, and he was brutally dismissed and died in humiliating circumstances in the citadel of Aleppo in 433/1042. Thīmāl was able to return to Aleppo with his Numayrī spouse, who was to play on various occasions an important role in the politics of the city [see MIRDĀS, BANĪ]. The Numayrī now made a rapprochement with Naṣr al-Dawla Ibn Marwān, and ca. 439/1048 they both countered the efforts of a number of identical isms found in children on both sides, such as Waththab, Mukallad, and Safīd; and these also found among the 'Ukaylīs, increasing even further the historians’ confusion. In 462/1070, in dramatic circumstances, the Shī‘ī princess again intervened personally to deflect the Sunni Saljuq sultan Alp Arslan from his siege of Aleppo and to try to avoid the humiliation of her son there, Māḥmūd, having to kiss the sultan’s carpet. But she could achieve nothing, and the overwhelming defeat of the Byzantines at Manzikert [see MAZIRA] a few months later definitively deprived the Numayrī and Kilab of Byzantine protection.

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part of the Moroccan Rif. In 622/1293, during the reign of the Marinid Abu Ya’qub Yusuf, their chief ‘Umar b. Yahyā b. al-Marrāq took temporary control of the fortress of Taẓūta which belonged to the Marinids; however, this did not prevent the Banū Watāṣids from occupying posts and enjoying privileges in the administration of the ruling Banū Marīn. Thus it was that on the death of the Marinid sultan Abū ‘Inān in 795/1395, effective power was exercised by various members of the Banū Watāṣ. When the sultan Abū Sa’d al-‘Uthmān was assassinated in 829/1429, the Watāṣids were able to assert their authority, already at work in the South, to secure the throne for Abū Muhammad ʿAbd al-Ḥākṣ, the son of the deceased but still a minor, and rule the country with the title of vizier; the reign of the Banū Watāṣ had thus begun.

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā I (Abū Zekri) had to confront anarchy which had become rife throughout Morocco: the marabouts were calling for a ‘dhūd against the Portuguese who had occupied Ceuta [see SABTA] in 1415, in the countryside the Arabs were agitating and taking to pillage, and the Ḥafṣid sultan of Tunis even invaded, reaching as far as Fās. As a result of the efforts of the young sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥākṣ, the Portuguese were unable to take Tangier [see TANDJA] in 1413 and forced to leave the ifrīd Don Fernando as a hostage in Fās against a hypothetical restitution of Ceuta, which did not in fact take place; the ifrīd died in 1443, still a captive.

Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā was assassinated in 832/1448 by Arabs whose rebellion he had suppressed. He was succeeded in the vizierate, or rather in the regency, by one of his kinsmen, ʿAlī b. Yaṣūf, who died ten years later in 863/1458-9, likewise in the process of suppressing an Arab revolt. The Marinid sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥākṣ had long since attained the age of majority, and when a third Watāṣid, Yaḥyā II, son of Abū Zakariyyā, succeeded ʿAlī b. Yaṣūf, ʿAbd al-Ḥākṣ had him assassinated with all the members of his family. Fās was virtually immune from the authority of the sultan, and the city was ruled by Idrīṣī ʿṢaḥḥā′ [see ṢURARRA]; one of them, Abū ʿAlī Muhāmmad al-Ṣaḥḥī, was proclaimed sovereign in 869/1465. He captured ʿAbd al-Ḥākṣ and had him killed, thereby pushing his dynasty to the end.

Two brothers of the vizier Yaḥyā II had succeeded in escaping the massacre of the Banū Watāṣ. One of them, Muhāmmad al-Shaykh, took refuge at Arzila. He was unable to prevent the Portuguese occupying the city in 1471 (a twenty-years’ truce was signed), and then Tangier in the same year. In 1472, after a long siege, Fās capitulated, the Idrīṣī ʿṢaḥḥā′ fled to Tunis and Muhāmmad al-Shaykh was able to enter Fās, where he was proclaimed sovereign, thus inaugurating the rule of the Banū Watāṣ.

The reign of the new sultan lasted until 909/1502 (or 912/1505); his foreign policy was dominated by his struggle against the intrigues of the Portuguese on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. Although he was unable to prevent their installation at Safi, Azemmour and Mazagan, he succeeded in forcing them to abandon Graciosa, a fortress which they had begun to build on an island of the Loukkos; a treaty was signed at Tchemmich on 26 Dżumādā I 894/30 April 1489.

Muhāmmad al-Shaykh was far from being recognised as sovereign throughout Morocco: in the north, Chechaouen (Ṣafḥāshāwān) and Tetouan (Ṭīṭwān) were virtually independent principalities, whilst in the south the Ḥintāṭa āmīn were masters of Marrakech (Marrāḵūh), and at Debdoa a Marinid amirate had been constituted. The Watāṣid sultan was in fact only the “king” of Fās. The successor to Muhāmmad al-Shaykh was his son Muhāmmad al-Burtukālī (he had been sent to Portugal in 1471), who attempted to pursue his father’s policy against the Portuguese. But in the south a new power had emerged, that of the Sa’dīan ʿṢhīr. Al-Burtukālī invited to him both of the sons of the ʿṣāḥf ʿAbd Abī Allāḥ Muhāmmad, but being soon recalled by their father, the two princes returned to the south, and in 1522 took control of Marrakech; a kingdom distinct from that of Fās was thus constituted.

In 1526 the Banū Watāṣids were succeeded by his brother ‘Alī Abī Ḥassān, and in September of the same year the latter was deposed by his nephew Ahmad al-Watāṣī, whose policy differed fundamentally from that of his predecessors. The enemy to be fought was not the Portuguese, but the new arrivals on the scene, the Sa’dīans [see SA’UD], who, for their part, sought to oppose the Christian invaders and in addition to subdue the Banū Watāṣ of northern Morocco. And when in 952/1549, the sultan of Fās was captured near Wadī Derman by the Sa’dīan ʿṢaḥḥ Muhāmmad al-Shaykh al-Mahdī, he was obliged to cede to him Meknès and the Ḥarb in order to secure his liberation two years later. In 956/1549 Fās was seized by the same ʿṣāḥf and Ahmad al-Watāṣī was captured for the second time. Taken to Marrakech, he was executed in 1551. His son Muhammad al-Ḳaṣfī, who had held power during his father’s first period of imprisonment, suffered the same fate.

The only remaining claimant to the throne of Fās was ‘Alī Abī Ḥassān, the temporary sultan of 932/1526, who had withdrawn to Velez de la Gomera. After the capture of Fās, he made his way to Spain, where he had an audience with the Emperor Charles V and appealed for the support of the king of Portugal in his bid to return to Morocco; he even went to Algiers in the quest for military assistance from the Turkish Pasha, which in fact enabled him to take control of Fās on 9 January 1554. His second reign was as brief as his first since, in the course of his campaign against the ʿṣāḥf, he was killed on 21 September at Musallama. His sons sought refuge in Spain. One of them, al-Ṭāhid, succeeded in returning to Morocco and rallying a few partisans, but to no avail. Numerous Watāṣīd princes remained in Spain, their haven of refuge, some even converting to Christianity. Thus the Banū Watāṣ came to an end in 961/1554, and the last Berber monarchy of Morocco had disappeared. With the Sa’dīans, a new history began in the Maghrib al-Aksa and the ʿṢhīr succeeded in an objective which had eluded the Banū Watāṣī, sc. the ejection of the Portuguese from Morocco.
In the orthography of the Kurān, and in general in old manuscripts, long ā is represented by the letter "wa' in the words salāt, sālahī, ḥālahī, ghrādirāt, or perhaps better read as ā, an existing kāfā, mighālī, and in the name of the goddess Manāt (q.v.) (who occurs also in Nabataean-Aramaic inscriptions as mnuw, with -w). Similarly, rīnas, hūnas, and ʾalāhī for the determined al-lība. Sibawayh (ed. Derenbourg, ii, 452) says that the first three of these words, at least, in the dialect of Ḥādżā were pronounced with alif al-tağhīkh, that is to say, a sound intermediate between alif and waaw (presumably some sort of ā), but some of the later grammarians express doubts as to whether these spellings really represent a phonetic, and not merely an orthographic feature. Modern scholars have noted that some of these words are borrowings, e.g. slātī from Aramaic slāthā, where the Arabic spelling with waaw might be regarded as having been influenced by Aramaic orthography, but this does not account for all of the mentioned words. It seems thus that some dialects of ancient Arabic really did have an ā-like allophone not only in certain loanwords, but also in some Arabic derivates of roots with ā as their third radical.

The personal name ʿAmr is written مَرُ in the nominative ('Ammī) and genitive ('Amī), and مَرُ or مَرُ in the accusative ('Amrī), retaining a spelling current in Nabataean Aramaic, thus preventing confusion with the name ʿUmar مَرُ. For a discussion, see most recently de Blois, Who is King Amr?, in Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy, vi (1995), 196-8.

In Persian, waaw has all of these same uses in Arabic loanwords. In native words it stands (in classical Persian) for the semivowel ā, and for two different long vowels, ā and ā, which the indigenous lexicographers distinguish as waaw-i maʿrafa ("the waaw known [in Arabic]") and waaw-i madkhālī ("unknown waaw") respectively. Classical poets generally avoid rhymes between ā and ū, but in modern Western Persian classical ā and ū merge as [u], and classical waaw is realised as a fricative [v], except in the diphthong aw, which is realised as [aw]. The older pronunciation of these phonemes is retained, however, in many dialects of Afghanistan and Tajikistan. The digraph wā stands (in classical Persian) for the labialized consonant [w̠], which has merged with [k] in Western Persian, but is partially retained in Afghan Persian.

Wādī stands ostensibly for short ū in du (“two”), tu (“thou”) and the postclitic particle -u ("and"), but in early Persian they could also be pronounced as dō, tō and -ū, and it is these that are represented by the orthography.

In Urdu wāw stands for the consonant v, the vowels ū and ū and the ex-diphthong aw (= Sanskrit au, but in Urdu realised as /ow/). In Turkish languages it is used for the consonant variously realised as v or u, and for the vowels o, ū and Ŧu.

Bibliography (for the spelling of words like salāt): G. Bergsträsser, in Gesch. des Quorns, iii, 41; A. Spita- ler, Die Schreibung des Typus in der Kurān, in W.Z.A.M., lvi (1960), 212-26 (misguided); H. Fleisch, Traité de phonologie arabes, i, Beirut 1961, 216; W. Diem, Untersuchungen zur früh Geschichte der arabischen Orthographie, i. Die Schreibung der Vokale, in Orientalia, N.S. xlviii (1979), 207-57, esp. 242-5; A. Roman, Étude de la phonologie et de la morphologie de la koine arabe, i, Aix en Provence 1983, 454-60. (For Persian ū and ū: P. Horn, in Gr.In.Ph., i/2, 31-2, 35-7; A. Farhādī, Le persan parlé en Afghanistan, Paris 1955, 9, 12; F. Meier, Ausdrachfragen des älteren neupersischen, in...

AL-WA’WA’ AL-DIMASHKI, Abu l-Faraj al-Muhammad b. Ahmad (or Muhammad al-Ghassanî, 4th/10th century Syrian poet, d. between 370/980-1 and 390/1000. Originally a fruit-seller in the market-place at Damascus, he may have acquired there his nickname (“the Crier” or “Howler”). His reputation as a poet was established after he was “discovered” by the šufrî Abu l-Kâbir al-Akki, on whom he had made an ode. He addressed some panegyric poems to Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.], but he is better known for his short poems in the more lyric genres: love, wine and nature. In some of these (e.g. Dīzan, ed. Kratschkowski, nos. 14, 220, 238) he turns the traditional opening motif of the “abandoned encampment” into a metaphor, speaking of, or addressing, the desolate abode of his love or of his suffering. His verse is mostly smooth, polished and, the longer panegyrical poems excepted, easy of diction. A certain impersonality is partly the result of the absence of personal names and of descriptions of specific incidents, but this enhances the quotability. Particularly famous and admired by critics (first by Abû Hilal al-’Askari, al-Sinâ’at al-Maṣūr, Cairo 1971, 257) for its condensed series of metaphors, or rather comparisons according to many rhetoricians, is a line on a weeping girl (Dīzan, ed. Kratschkowski, 47): “She let pearls <tears> rain from narcissi <eyes>, watered the roses <cheeks>, and bit on jujubes <henna-stained fingers> with hailstones <teeth>”; see e.g. al-Harîrî’s Makâma Huwâizmiya and ‘Abd al-Kâbir al-Djurdjani, Dalâ’il al-‘igāz, Cairo 1984, 449-51, where the literary history of this motif is sketched.


(G.J.H. van Gelder)

WAYHIND, the form found in mediaeval Indo-Muslim sources for a town of north-western India, in the 12th century geography of Kashmir by Kalhana in the 12th century geography of Kashmir by Kalhana (cf. 62, cf. 59, that of an extra, fixed payment, made by the ‘amfil or tax collector, on top of the land-tax collected; Lokkegaard compared it to the Hellenistic-Roman annona and the ekstraordinaria of the Egyptian papyri, Islamic taxation in the classic period, Copenhagen 1950, 126-8; C.E. Bosworth, ‘Abd al-Salâm al-Khârizmi al-Wâfî al-Mashishiyya, in JESHO, xii [1969], 132, 139. Wayhinda also came subsequently to mean the “financial allowance, stipend” paid to an official or as a reward for someone who had pleased a ruler or governor, such as a panegyric poet, and, by extension, the official post or function itself (see the examples in Dozy, op. cit., ii, 621), a meaning which it retains in modern Arabic (cf. mas’ûf or ‘mas’ûf, “official employee”).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. Bosworth)

2. As a term of Islamic mysticism.

In this context, waṣīfa is a devotional text or litany recited by the members of some Sûfî orders as one of the elements of their assignment of daily devotions, and also as part of the liturgy of a hadra [q.v.] or communal gîhâr ritual. A waṣīfa normally consists of a sequence of prayer formulas, invocations, and verses from the Qur’ân. Contents differ according to Sûfî order, and are often explained or justified in conjunction with Prophetic traditions or special events in the life of the composer of the waṣīfa. The recitation of a waṣīfa is always prescribed for specific times of the day (generally in conjunction with the fajr and maghrib prayers), and is governed by special conditions, such as ritual purity, and facing the kibla. In some of the commentaries on waṣīfî, or in the instructions for recitation in the published versions of the various waṣīfî, the text is endowed with protective qualities and recommended for reading in times of danger or distress. In some orders, the term waṣīfa is used to denote devotional texts or phrase-patterned devotions, which in Arabic are called hizb and urd [q.v.]. In other orders, use of these three terms as synonyms is not uncommon, and is understandable in view of the fact that an order’s waṣīfa may overlap with or be part of its urd and hizb, whereas urd and hizb are a waṣīfa in the literal sense of “a duty”. An example of a waṣīfa as a devotional text in its own right, and never part of urd or hizb, is the waṣīfî al-Mashishiyya, also known as al-Salawât al-Mashishiyya, after ‘Abd al-Salâm b. Mashîkh [q.v.]. This text, which is in fact identical with the longer version of Salawât Ibn Mashîkh (numerous editions; for an accurate one, see e.g. ‘Abd al-Kâdir Zakî, K. al-Nâfi’ al-alâ’iya fi urd al-Shâdâhiyya, Cairo 1321, 18 ff.), is widely known and recited by the members of many of the branches of the Shâdâhiyya. The fact that so many of these have the recitation of this text as part of their daily devotions may explain why it has simply become known as al-Wâfî al-Shâdâhiyya. The name of its composer is not mentioned anywhere in some of the manuals of present-day Shâdâhiyya branches, and awareness of the author’s identity seems to be disappearing. Many orders prescribe their members to recite this waṣīfa at least once daily, and at the beginning of the hadra.

Another example of a waṣīfa as a text in its own right is the Waṣīfî al-Zarrûkîyya, known after Ahmad
b. Zarruk to whom it was allegedly dictated by the Prophet when Ahmad was sitting on Muhammad’s tomb at Medina, and widely known and recited by many branches of the Shadhiliyya, see Ali F. Khussain, Zarruk the Sufi, A guide in the Way and a leader to the Truth, A biographical and critical study of a mystic from North Africa, Tripoli (Libya) 1976, 134-8.

The wazifa of the Tijaniyya [q.v.] order is an example of a text which incorporates much of its own word, combining phrase-patterned devotions with a core text, known as the Saldat al-fdtih and another devotional text of the order, the Qhanarat al-kamal (see Jamil M. Abun-Nasr, The Tijantiyya. A Sufi order in the Islamic world, Oxford 1965, 187, and 51-2 for the Arabic text and an English tr.). The Saldat al-fdtih is said to have been delivered to Ahmad al-Tijani from Heaven on a tablet of light, whilst Ahmad claimed that the Prophet taught him the Qhanarat al-kamal directly. Tijani adherents have to recite the wazifa at least once every day, either individually or communally. Conflicting opinions concerning the number of times the Qhanarat al-kamal should be recited contributed to the emergence of the schismatic movement of the Hamaliyya or Hamaliyya [q.v.] in West Africa.

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(WAZIR) (A.), vizier or chief minister.

1. In the Arab World

1. The ‘Abbasids.

Eymology

The term wazir occurs in the Kur’ān (XXV, 35: “We gave Moses the book and made his brother Aaron a wazir with him”), where it has the sense of “helper”, a meaning well attested in early Islamic poetry (for examples, see Goitein, The origin of the vizierate, 170-1). Though several scholars have proposed Persian origins for the term and for the institution, there is no compelling reason to doubt the Arabic provenance of the term or an Arab-Islamic origin and evolution of the institution of the wazir (cf. Goitein, op. cit.; Sourdel, Vizirat, i, 40-61). The use of the term wazir in the sense of “helper” is well illustrated in the early Shi‘i revolt of al-Mukhār [q.v.] in Kūfā. Claiming to be acting on behalf of Muhammad Ibn al-Hanafiyya [q.v.], a son of ‘Abi Iḥbān Abī Tālib, al-Mukhār had styled himself the “helper of the family of Muhammad” (wazir al-Muhammād) (Goitein, op. cit., Appendix, 194-6). The same title was later to be adopted by Abī Salama [q.v.], the leader of the clandestine Shi‘i movement in Kūfā at the time of the fall of the Umayyad dynasty (al-Da‘shahyi‘ārī, 84-7). From its original meaning of “helper”, the term wazir came to acquire the sense of “representative” or “deputy”, and, under the ‘Abbasids, designated the highest-ranking civil functionary of the state next to the caliph.

History of the institution

The institution of the wazir seems to have its origins both in the position of the secretary (kāthīb [q.v.]) as well as in that of the royal counsellor, as pointed out by Goitein (Origins, 175 ff.). At least some of the officials of the early ‘Abbasid administration who are characterised as wazirs in the Arabic historical sources are likely only to have been especially influential counsellors rather than the holders of a position with a more distinct institutional identity. Such an institutional identity may, however, have developed by the time of the caliph al-Mahdi (58-69/775-85). Inter alia, this development is suggested by a list of secretaries in al-Ṭabarî’s Ta’rîkh, in which Ya‘kūb b. Dāwūd, who served under the caliph al-Mahdi, is the first to be characterised as a wazir (ii, 836-43, esp. 841; cf. Goitein, Origins, 181-2). It is worth noting, however, that even in later for an English translation, see Ali F. Khussain, Zarruk the Sufi, A guide in the Way and a leader to the Truth, A biographical and critical study of a mystic from North Africa, Tripoli (Libya) 1976, 134-8.

The most famous family of secretaries and wazirs under the early ‘Abbasids were the Barmakids, who served in the ‘Abbasid administration until their dramatic fall from favour during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd [see BARMĀKĪ]. Kha‘līd b. Barmak had participated in the ‘Abbasid revolution and later served the caliphs al-Sa‘dī and al-Ma‘mūn as adviser, secretary and governor. His son Yahyā served as the tutor of Hārūn and later as his wazir. According to al-Da‘shahyi‘ārī, Yahyā was the first wazir to be also given the military rank of amīr (‘al-Wuzara‘ wa ‘l-kuttāb, 177). Yahyā’s son al-Fadl also served as Hārūn’s wazir, for some time apparently together with his father. The ascendancy of the Barmaṭids (their dawāa‘ and sultān, as al-Ma‘ṣūdī puts it, Muruğ, ed. Pellat, iv, 252, § 2602) continued for more than seventeen years, during which time they enjoyed unprecedented power and distinguished themselves as much for their administration as for their splendour, generosity and the scale of their patronage. As the caliph asserted greater personal control over the administration in his later years, their influence seems to have begun to decline. But their downfall was dramatic: Yahyā’s son Dža‘far, a close companion and confidant of the caliph was executed in 817/803 while Yahyā and al-Fadl were imprisoned, and their property was confiscated. The circumstances behind this tragic end have attracted much comment from both mediaeval and modern historians, and there is little agreement on precisely what precipitated it. The caliph’s perception that his power was overshadowed by that of the Barmakids may have had some role to play in bringing about their end, and, as Kennedy has suggested, the caliph may have wanted to ensure a smoother succession for his elder son Muhammad (al-Amm of al-Ma‘mūn) by eliminating a family too closely tied in its interests with the other son, the future Al-Ma‘mūn (H. Kennedy, The Prophet and the age of the Caliphates, London 1986, 143-4).

Wazirs played an important role during the struggle for power and the civil war between Hārūn’s sons al-Amm and Al-Ma‘mūn. Al-Faḍl b. Rabī‘ [q.v.], the wazir of Hārūn after the fall of the Barmaṭids and later the wazir of Al-Amm, was influential in persuading Al-Amm to contravene the terms of succession stipulated by Hārūn and to remove Al-Ma‘mūn as his heir-apparent. This measure precipitated the civil war between the two brothers, which culminated in the death of Al-Amm. Al-Ma‘mūn, who then acceded to the caliphate, was for his part greatly assisted during the course of this struggle by his wazir al-Faḍl b. Sahl [q.v.], who had been a protege of the Barmakids and had converted from Zoroastrianism to Islam at the hands of Al-Ma‘mūn (al-Da‘shahyi‘ārī, 230-1). On Al-Ma‘mūn’s accession, al-Faḍl was given the title Dhu ’l-Ri‘āsātan “the person with the two headships”, which appeared on coins and which signalled his control of both the civil and the military administrations under the caliph.

The extent of the power which had been wielded by the Barmakids, and later by al-Faḍl b. Sahl until
his assassination in 202/818, was not enjoyed by the latter's successors. Indeed, in his last testament, in a somewhat ambiguous reference to his sometime #kādī and adviser Yaḥyā b. Ṭabḥām #q.v., al-Ma'mūn instructed his successor al-Mu'tasim to follow the advice of the chief #kādī Ahmad b. ʿAbī Duʿād #q.v. rather than that of any #wazīr #q.v. (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1139; cf. Sourdel, i, 238-9). During the period of the Mūṣāhā #q.v., the inquisition which was instituted towards the end of al-Ma'mūn's caliphate on the doctrine of the creation of the Qurʾān and which remained in effect during the regime of his two successors, the chief #kādī exercised unprecedented influence over the 'Abbāsīd administration. The #wazīr of this time, in particular Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. al-Zayyāt #q.v., were hardly inconsequential figures, though they had to share their power with that of the chief #kādī, which often led to considerable rivalry between the two. #q.v. Sourdel, i, 245-70.

As the Turkish troops grew in influence during the Sāmarrāʾ period of 'Abbāsīd history (218-47/833-61), and as the financial difficulties of the empire multiplied, there were frequent struggles between Turkish troops and 'Abbāsīd #wazīr over the exercise of power and, especially, over the control of the revenues. On occasion, Turkish generals themselves served as #wazīr, though the position was more commonly held by individuals with a secretarial background and with greater expertise in matters of financial administration (for an outline of the events of this chaotic period, see Kennedy, op. cit., 158-99). The financial straits of the empire led eventually to the rise of two distinguished families of secretaries and #wazīr, the Banū 'l-Furāt and the Banū 'l-Djarrah, who dominated the 'Abbāsīd administration from 296/908 until the emergence of the new position of the amīr al-'umār #q.v. in 324/936. Unlike the preceding decades, the #wazīr enjoyed very considerable power and prominence during these years, a period which Sourdel calls the "grande époque" in the history of the vizierate (Sourdel, i, 375, 387 ff.).

The most famous member of the Banū 'l-Furāt was Abu ʿl-Ḥasan 'Ali b. Muḥammad b. al-Furāt #q.v., who served as #wazīr three times during the caliphate of al-Mu'ākkir (295-310/908-32). Entwined with this position of 'Abbasid resuscitation from its fiscal troubles, Ibn al-Furāt's own reputation for financial corruption, together with his failure to deal effectively with the military challenges facing the state (in particular the depredations of the Karmats #q.v. [see KARMAṬ] plus an increasingly brutal and extortionate style of administration, led eventually to his execution in 312/924. The great rival of the Banū 'l-Furāt was the Banū 'l-Djarrah, whose most distinguished member was 'Ali b. ʿĪsā #q.v. These two families had, in fact, become the symbols of two factions in the 'Abbāsīd bureaucracy, and the ascendency or fall of a #wazīr from one family signalled the downfall of practically all the lesser secretaries associated with the fact he represented. The downfall of a faction also meant the systematic and brutal effort, on the part of the dominant faction, to extort money from others of the fallen group (see Muṣābāra). Unlike Ibn al-Furāt, however, 'Ali b. ʿĪsā's image in the Arabic historical tradition is a largely positive one; he is remembered as "the good vizier" (he served in this capacity on two occasions) who strove mightily, but ultimately unsuccessfully, to reduce expenditure, reform the finances and restore order in the realm.

The rivalry of the Banū 'l-Furāt and the Banū 'l-Djarrah was not, however, merely over the control of lucrative positions and the consequent ability to squeeze out wealth from the other faction. Notwithstanding the many shared interests of the secretarial classes (cf. R.P. Mottahedeh, Loyalty and leadership in an early Islamic society, Princeton 1980, 108 ff.), this rivalry was apparently also based on differences of ideology and policy. The Banū 'l-Furāt were Shiʿī while the Banū 'l-Djarrah were Sunnī, a fact which may also have been involved in the positive image of 'Ali b. ʿĪsā. As a Sunnī, 'Ali probably had a greater stake in the effort to reform and sustain the 'Abbāsīd empire. The gradual decline in agricultural revenues, the excessive expenditure of the royal household and the army and the military challenges confronting the state all imposed severe constraints on the ability of any #wazīr effectively to overhaul the administration of the state. The situation was greatly aggravated by the notorious corruption of many officials in the administration and the extortionate practices of the rival bureaucratic factions (on the financial state of the empire at this time, see Kennedy, op. cit., 186 ff.). All this led not only to the severe weakening of the 'Abbāsīd state but also to the eclipse of the 'Abbāsīd ʿawālīf as well.

In 324/936, the caliph al-Rādī's appointment of Muhammad b. Rāʾīk #q.v. as the amīr al-'umār #q.v. or the military overlord, whose position combined the powers of the #wazīr with those of military commander, marked the end of the old order and with it the appearance of the new position of the amīr al-'umār #q.v. as Abu ʿl-Fadl b. ʿAlī 'Abd al-Malik b. ʿAmīd and the Sahlī ibn ʿAbbād, and the Sahlīq ʿawālīf Nizām al-Mulk #q.v., falls outside the scope of this article. The 'Abbāsīds did continue to have their own #wazīr, and when the authority of the Sahlīq sultans in ʿIrāk began to wane after Malik ʿṢaḥḥāʾ's death, a limited but distinct revival of the caliphs' political and military authority took place, at least within the circumscribed region of ʿIrāk and, at times, in western Persia. Concomitant with this was the rise of certain influential ʿawālīf in the course of the 6th/12th century, such as ʿAwān al-Dīn Ibn Hubayra #q.v., who served al-Muqtadī and al-Muṣtafiḍ in the middle decades of the century, and his son ʿĪzz al-Dīn, ʿawārī to the latter caliph also. Towards the end of the century, circumstances enabled the caliph al-Nāṣir (r. 575-622/1180-1225 #q.v.) to achieve a prestige and authority unequalled by any caliph for some three centuries, but among his viziers, only ʿNāṣir al-Dīn Nāṣir b. Mahdī al-ʿAlawī, who held office 592-604/1195-1207, had serious ambitions to rule and made himself an effective force in the state (see H. Mason, Two statesmen of mediæval Islam, Vizir Ibn Hubayra (499-560 AH/1105-1165 AD) and Caliph an-Nāṣir li Dīn Allāh (533-622 AH/1148-1125 AD), The Hague and Paris, 1972).

The #wazīr in constitutional theory
Al-Akhām al-sulṭānīyya of the ʿṢaḥḥījī jurist al-Mawārdī (d. 450/1058) as well as the similarly-entered work of the Hanbali Abū Yaḥyā Ibn al-Farrāṭ (d. 458/1065) give considerable attention to the types, qualifications and functions of the #wazīr. Al-Mawārdī also devoted a separate work, Adīb al-ʿawālīr, to this institution. The #wazīr al-ulqīd, one of the two kinds he delineates, is described as the holder of extensive civil and military powers delegated (mawṣūfa) to him by the caliph. These
powers and functions are similar to the caliph's own, except that the wazir cannot remove the caliph, nor appoint a successor to the caliph, nor even remove an official appointed by the caliph (al-Mawardi, 'Abd al-Sattar Ahmad, 24). In view of the scope of his powers and the importance of his position, the qualifications for this office are said to be the same as those for the position of the caliph itself, with the exception of membership in the tribe of Kuraysh which is required for the latter but not for the former. A wazir al-tajwid must be a free, male Muslim and a mu'tahid must be well versed in the 'Ulama' to the extent of being a mu'allim (al-Mawardi, 'Abd al-Sattar Ahmad, 21, 26). Besides other civil and military functions, al-Mawardi assigns to the wazir al-tajwid the function of presiding over the mazdlim [q.v.] of the tribe of Kuraysh which is required for the latter (ibid., 194-96; R.A. Kimber, The early Abbasid vizierate, 268-91, and Appendix. On the origin of the term vizier, in ibid., 194-96). Wazirs often played important roles in shaping or carrying out the religious policies of the state; indeed, such accusations may have been presented by the wazirs to emphasise their religious commitments more emphatically. For instance, it was on al-Fadl b. Sahl's initiative that al-Ma'mun, while he was pitted in a struggle over the caliphate against his brother, publicly proclaimed his commitment to upholding and acting according to the stipulations of the "Kur'an and the sunna of the Prophet" (cf. al-Dajjashiyari, 278-9; for al-Ma'mun's public recognition of al-Fadl's own services to him, see Madelung, New documents). Wazirs not only presided over the mazdlim courts, as already noted, but they also contributed to shaping the legal practice of the realm by their influence on, and often sole responsibility for, the appointment of the kadfs. They were also among important patrons of jurists and the schools of law, and some of them were jurists in their own right. For instance, Ibn Hubayra (d. 560/1163 [vp.]), who, as noted above, served as wazir under al-Muktasfi and al-Mustandijid, was himself a scholar of Hanbali law, as well as the author of a multi-volume commentary on the Sahih hadith collections of al-Bukhari and Muslim.

The position of the wazir was one of the most important and powerful offices of the 'Abbasid administration. Though theoretically subservient to the caliph, the wazir, as the recipient of the latter's good pleasure, the power of the wazir could, at times, rival and even surpass that of the caliph. But even when neither the 'Abbasid caliph nor his wazir any longer enjoyed much effective political power, the caliph's wazir often continued to play a considerable role as a patron of culture and of intellectual and religious life in the 'Abbasid realm.

1. Sources. All major chronicles of the 'Abbasid period contain important information on individual wazirs, their actions and political fortunes. Major biographical dictionaries also devote notices to prominent wazirs in addition to much incidental information. A number of works specifically about the wazirs were also written during the 'Abbasid period, but most of these are not extant (on these works see Ibn al-Nadlr al-Fihrist, ed. R. Tagjddud, Beirut 1988, 142, 143, 150, 168. Two major authors whose works on the wazirs have, however, come down to us are al-Dajjashiyari and Hilal al-Sahi). See al-Dajjashiyari, al-Wuzur wa 'l-kutub, ed. M. al-Sakkah et al., Cairo 1938; Nasr d'ala min kitab al-wuzur wa 'l-kutub li-Muhammad b. 'Abdus al-Dajjashiyari, ed. M. 'Awwad, Beirut 1964; al-Sahl, 'al-Wuzur' wa tufafat al-asmar fi 'arab al-wuzur', ed. Abd al-Sattar Ahmad Farradji, Cairo 1958; idem, Rusum dnr al-khalifa, ed. M. 'Awwad, Baghdad 1964. On the position of the wazir in juridical theory, see al-Mawardi, al-Ahkmd al-sultaniyya, Cairo 1298/1881, Eng. tr. Wafaa H. Wahba, The ordinances of government, Reading 1996; idem, Abad al-wazir, Cairo 1929; Abu Ya'la Muham mad b. al-Husayn al-Farral, al-Ahkmd al-sultaniyya, ed. Muhammad Hamish al-Fik, Cairo 1357.

2. Studies. The most important work on the wazirs of the pre-Buyid period is D. Sourde, Le vizirat 'abbasides de 479 à 936 (132 à 324 de l'hégire), 2 vols. Damascus 1959-60. Other works which shed light on various aspects of the history of the wazirs under the 'Abbasids include: S.D. Goitein, The origins of the vizirate and its true character, in idem, Studies in Islamic history and institutions, Leiden 1968, 168-91, and Appendix. On the origin of the term vizier, in ibid., 194-96; R.A. Kimber, The early Abbasid vizirate,

[Muhammad Qasim Zaman]

2. The Fatimid caliphate.

Here, the office was created for Yusuf b. Killis, probably in 368/979, and apart from a few interruptions, there were holders of the office until Salih al-Din [q.v.], the last vizier, who ended the dynasty in 567/1171. The vizir directed the civil administration directly under the caliph's authority until 466/1074; the supreme dignity continued to belong to the caliph after that date, but it was a military man, the commander-in-chief (amir al-duyush), generally also bearing the title of vizier, who held the reality of political decision-making.

The events, personalities and institutions of the Fatimid caliphate from 297/909-10 to 567/1171 have been covered in detail in the article fatimids and in the individual articles on prominent persons [see the Index]. Here, only the main features of the vizier's functioning and the variations over the course of time in its responsibilities, will be treated. A large part of what has been written on the functioning of the vizierate in the eastern lands of the Islamic world, under the 'Abbasids, Buyids and Salgus, is equally valid for the Fatimid vizierate (see D. Sourdil, Le vizirat 'abbaside... , 2 vols. Damascus 1959-60; Y. Essid, al-Tadobî/Oko nomie, une critique des origines de la pensee economique arabo-musulmane, Tunis 1993, Eng. tr., idem, A critique of the origins of Islamic economic thought, Leiden 1995). On the opposition between hajjib and wazir, see J.-C. Garcin et alii, Etats, societes et cultures du monde musulman medieval, X-XIVe siecle, ii, Paris 2000. For the Fatimid vizierate, the main source remains Ibn al-Šayrafl, al-šarâ‘a ší‘a man nala al-wazara, ed. 'A.A. Mokhli, Cairo 1923, 49-111; of modern studies, see G. Wiet, L'Egypte arabe. Histoire de la nation egyptienne, iv, Paris 1937, 297-310; M.H. al-Munâwi, al-Wazara wa l-wazara li l-fattâmi, Cairo 1970. For a description of the institution and a complete bibl. of the sources, see A.F. Sayyid, al-Dawla al-fattâmiyya fi Misr, tafsir djamâ‘, Beirut 1413/1992, 250-4, 433-54. See also Garcin, op. cit., i, Paris 1995, Bibl. on the Fatimids at pp. XXIII-7, Events 81-117; Camb. hist. of Egypt, forthcoming. For everything concerning coinage, tax systems, customs duties and the financial organisation of agriculture, see C. Cahen, Makhlúmât: Etudes sur l'histoire économique et financière de l'Egypte médiévale, Leiden 1977. A list of Fatimid viziers is difficult to establish with precision, since some persons only held office for a few days, whilst others were appointed and re-appointed on various occasions (a useful list, despite some errors of detail, can be found in L.S. Imad, The Fatimid vizierate, 969-1172, Berlin 1990, 160-70).

The successive stages of the stripping of the caliphs' power

During the reigns of the dynasty's first century, from the rise to power of al-Mahdi in Ifrikiya in 297/910, till the disappearance of al-Hakim in 411/1021, the caliphs involved themselves personally in the direction of politics and administrative matters. In the succeeding century, the son and grandson of al-Hakim, al-Zahir [d. 427/1035-6] and al-Mustansir [d. 487/1094 [q.v.]], in the first half of his reign, still played a certain political role, albeit within a system that they no longer controlled. It was during the reign of the latter, in 466/1074, that the civilian vizierate was replaced by a military one, the amir al-duyush, exercising all political power within the hands of the amir al-duyush Badr al-Qama. After al-Mustansir's death, the Fatimid caliphs of the 6th/12th century, with the sole exception of al-Hafiz, all raised to the imamate whilst still children, were only puppets manipulated by their entourages. Parallel to this decline of the imamates, the influence of the amir al-duyush grew notably; also bearing the title of wazir, when such a person existed, he himself alone exercised the reality of power.

The tradition of the vizier in Egypt

The sources as preserved seem to show that the office of vizier did not exist amongst the Fatimids in Ifrikiya before 362/973, nor in Egypt before the accession to the imamate of the fifth caliph al-ʿAzīz, the second to have reigned in Cairo. Probably under the influence of local tradition, with viziers in effect often existing at Mṣr-Fustat since Ahmad b. Tulun [q.v.], al-ʿAzīz appointed to this office, apparently in 368/979 (on the dates, variously given in the sources, see Th. Bianquis, Damsas et la Syrie sous la domination fâtimide, Damascus 1987-9, i, 168), Yūsuf b. Kīlls [q.v.], al-Muʿizz's main tax-farmer since 364/974. The new vizier, following in the previous administrative tradition, which had fallen into bad ways at the time of the disorders at the end of Kafur's [q.v.], re-organised an agrarian tax policy and an efficient agricultural administration. Likewise, two centuries later, al-Ḵaḍr al-Faḍl [q.v.], who had entered the Fatimid dīvān al-ʿīndh in 544/1149 and had been secretary successively to the Fatimid viziers Tālā‘ī b. Ruzzīk, Shīwār and Shūrkh [q.v.], remained after 567/1171 in Śālāt al-Dīn's service and then in that of the Ayyūbids, for whom, after finishing his missive on the reorganisation of the civil administration in Egypt on the Fatimid model, retiring in 591/1195. The continuity in administration during a period when political life was fluid, makes medieval Egypt a special case in the Islamic East.

Public administration and private interests

The first Fatimid wazīr, Ibn Killis, of Širāz Jewish origin, had a long career of private and public service behind him when he was appointed. After failing as a private commercial agent in Palestine, he entered the service of the master of Egypt, Kāfūr, as director of the latter's personal estates in Syria and Egypt, and then with the task of overseeing the public finances. He made a public conversion to Sunnī Islam, but his hopes of becoming vizier were at that time unrealised. After Kāfūr's death, he became an Imāmī fī and in Ifrikiya joined al-Muʾizz, who was preparing for the invasion of Egypt, and placed at the Imām's disposal his complete knowledge of the fiscal system of that country, notably of the cadastral survey of agricultural land and of the territorial basis of the tax burden which he had to recalculate precisely on the alluvial soil left each year after the Nile waters had subsided. Having returned to Egypt with his master, he was then the main architect of fiscal
and administrative continuity between the régimes of the Ikhshidids and Kafur and the Fātimids. At the same time as dealing with the state’s finances, Ibn Killis always pursued important personal financial interests in Egypt as well as in Syria. He strengthened a method of procedure, already begun under his predecessors, which was to be perpetuated by his successors. The main dīwān of the state were traditionally headed by civilian officials who were at the same time powerful private financiers, whether as tax-farmers or as high-level merchants (see A.L. Udovitch, Merchants and amirs: Government and trade in eleventh century Egypt, in Asian and African Studies, xxii [1988], 53-72; Y. Lev, State and society in Fatimid Egypt, Leiden 1991; Bianquis, op. cit., i, 103, 156-71; idem, Le fonctionnement financier des dīwān centraux fātimides au début de l’IVe siècle, in AI, xxvi [1992], 46-61). The vizierate’s field of action Ibn Killis was a great statesman in the various aspects of his duties, tax policies, modernisation of the army through the purchase of Turkish ghulāms and prudent actions in Syria in face of the Byzantines. During his lifetime, he was an adviser to whom the caliph always listened, even if his personal greed led to his being mulcted in 373/983-4 of 100,000 or 500,000 dinārs, arrested and dismissed, all three penalties reversed shortly afterwards. However, the caliph al-ʿAzīz, who was so attached to his vizier, abandoned his wise counsels in favour of a foreign policy in northern Syria, about which Ibn Killis complained on his deathbed. Al-Ḥākim, al-ʿAzīz’s son and successor, created a gap in the vizierate, probably in 409/1018, and replaced it by the wasāṭa, a function which involved interposing and interfering between the Imām and the ethnic factions of the palace and the army, and by the sīḥa, an office in which all these groups were represented, two institutions which the caliph had created at the beginning of his reign. During the reign of his son al-Ẓāhir, the vizierate was re-established in 418/1027 for the ʿIrākī kāṭib Abuʾl-ʿKāsim al-Dījardjāʾrī [see al-Dījardjāʾrī’], representing the interests of the merchant importers (Bianquis, Damas et la Syrie, ii, 593-7, 791, index s.v. wazir). The offices of the wasāṭa and the sīḥa continued to be filled irregularly till the end of the dynasty by persons with a lower rank than that of the vizier, sometimes by someone who later became a vizier (Ibn Ṣafir, Al-afdal al-duwal al-munkaṭa, ed. A. Ferré, Cairo 1972, 88). The civilian successors of Ibn Killis were often Sunnīs, Jews or Christians, converted to a more or less sincere Islamism and often from ʿIrāk or Syria, provinces which enjoyed, at that time, a higher cultural level than Egypt. With the exception of al-Dījardjāʾrī, the best civilian vizier of the dynasty, they were generally mediocre. The need for economy, distrust of the ambitions of commanders stationed in Damascus and the fear of getting the Fātimid army too deeply engaged in continental Syria, marked the actions of the civilian viziers and the ensemble of the financial dīwāns until the final loss of the Syrian territories in 468/1076. Conscious of the freeliness of the Fātimid army vis-à-vis the Turkmen and Seldijs, it was the first military vizier, Badr al-Dījamlī, who had to decide on the abandoning of the Syrian interior, whose importance had been preached in vain by most of his civilian predecessors; he retained within the province only ports, places where customs dues were levied and a coastal band of territory (Garcin, op. cit., i, 94-5, 107-9; M. Yared-Riachi, La politique extérieure de la principauté de Damas, 1075-1154, Damascus 1997, 87-8). Unlike the ʿAbbāsīd vizier or that of the Seldijs in ʿIrāk and Persia, the vizier in Cairo often exercised, after 440/1050, other functions in parallel. As supreme judge, abāʾi, he decided on the law in cases of last resort, and as chief missionary for the Fātimid doctrine, dīv al-duʿāʾ, he watched over the training of the Imāmī missionaries sent all over the Islamic world, keeping up a continued correspondence with each of them. In Cairo, the Fātimid vizier drew his legitimacy from the divine light, nīr Allāh, which, since the time of Muhammad and ʿAbd allāh, had perpetually illuminated the Imām; arising from this fact, the distinction between the military, political, administrative, judicial and ideological domains was less obvious than in an ʿIrākī Sunni context, which was under the guiding principle of the memory of the foundations, both in Holy Writ and also transmitted orally, of fikr, a guidance exercised by the ‘ulamā’. The installation of the military vizierate The main break in the continuity of the institution comes from the time of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ẓāhir. In order to end the very serious crisis which had been threatening the very existence of the régime since 457/1065, the caliph in 464/1072-3 appealed to a general of Armenian origin, Badr al-Djamallī, governor of Acre in Syria. On arrival in Egypt, Badr, henceforth called amīr al-ṣalṭa waṣīl, was accorded full powers, which he exercised till his death. The civilian vizierate of execution, taṣfiḍ, in which the political conduct of affairs was the responsibility of the caliph who put his decisions into action through his vizier, became transformed into a military vizierate of delegation, taṣfiḍ, in which a great military officer, here the commander-in-chief, legitimised by a real or fictitious act of delegation from the caliph, now exercised supreme political and military authority (al-Makrlzī, Iltāsq, ed. M.H.M. Ahmad, Cairo 1971, ii, 329-30; see in al-Imad, op. cit., 61-8, the theoretical texts of al-Mawardī, describing the situation in ʿIrāk but applicable here also). Born on the occasion of this crisis, the system became self-perpetuating until the end of the Fātimid power in 1171 by the last military vizier of the dynasty, the Sunnī Kurd Sālāb al-Dīm. A reform and a complete updating of the cadaster and the taxation system were achieved, under the stimulus of the future vizier al-Baṭābīdī, by al-ʿAbdāl, acting on behalf of his father, the waṣīl, and amīr al-ṣalṭa al-Djmālī, thereby asserting the Fātimid state of revenues at a higher level than the end of the 5th/11th century and during the next than had obtained in the time of the civilian vizierate (Cahan, op. cit., 165-7, 174). The personal enrichment of the military viziers was, moreover, on a greater scale than under their civilian predecessors (an extraordinary inventory of al-ʿAbdāl’s possessions, made after his death, without taking into account six million dinārs, is given in Ibn Ṣafir, op. cit., 91-2; see also ʿalī Ṣafir’ b. ʿruzziṣ). During this second period of about a century, the title of amīr al-ṣalṭa waṣīl was most often placed before that of waṣīl, which usage was even omitted on various occasions (al-Imad, op. cit., 169). This military title is to be considered in parallel to those borne by the military amīrs of the second period of the ‘Abbāsīd caliphate. The first, Ibn Rāʾiṣ [q.v.], was in 324/936 appointed in Baghdad by the caliph al-Rāḍī as amīr al-umāra, a title resumed by the Būyids in 334/945 under al-Mustakfi, who had lost all personal authority, but the Būyid amīr al-umāra was now enriched by lakabs and the Arabo-Persian titles of malik, shāh
or شاهنشاه, which one finds as a regnal name under the Seljuk, which after 447/1055, when Toghril Beg had taken the caliph 'Abd al-Karim under his protection, the Seljuk consolidated their pre-eminence by using the Arabic titleسلطان [q.v.]. The Arab caliph, as a civilian, retained only his moral authority, and he shrank into the background everywhere, to the profit of a military direction within the state, with supreme political authority in future held by a great commander who was a non-Arab (see al-Subki, Tabakat al-shaytfina, v. 314-16).

In practice, the sphere of competence of the military vizier, the amir al-djuyush, who appeared in Cairo less than twenty years after the proclamation of the Seljuk sultanate in Bagdad, was much wider than that of his civilian predecessors, notably in the domains of application of the law and the execution of justice, as well as the defence and the diffusion of Fatimid doctrine. Now most of Badr’s successors were not Imamis; amongst them were several Sunnis and Twelver Shiites and even one or two Christians. It is easy to understand how, in the 6th/12th century, the Yemeni Taysiib subsect and the Persian and Syrian Nizariis [q.v.], spread more successfully than the Fatimid Isma’ili in Cairo.

With the exception of al-Afdal [q.v.], Badr’s son and successor, an active personality but brutal and clumsy, few innumerable, responsible for the great Nizaris schism with its bloody consequences extending over a century and a half, and of another vizier of Armenian origin, Talib b. Ruzzik [q.v.], the amir al-djuyush were in general mediocre and opportunistic persons who were only able to uphold the regime thanks to the unbelievable agricultural and artisanal richness of the land and the income from customs duties there, to the restructuring of the calender and the taxation system brought about by Badr, to the quality of the navy (see Lev, op. cit.) and, above all, to a skilful political game played between the Frankish states in Palestine, the Sunni Muslim regimes of the Syrian interior and the Byzantine empire.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article.

(TH. BIANQJJIS)

3. The Ayyubids.

In theory, the vizierate here did not differ much from that of their ‘Abbasids, Fatimid and Seljuk pre-decessors. Appointed by the ruler, the vizier headed the administration and the divans. With the Ayyubid confederation, the two states of Egypt and Syria each had in principle its own vizier, but the office’s importance varied much, according to the region and the rulers. Shalih al-Din, himself vizier to the last Fatimid caliph 1169-71, never had a vizier. The excessive power which certain Fatimid viziers had enjoyed and his own experience in the office, probably led him not to follow this way, and even his chancellor and closest adviser, al-Kadi al-Faidi [q.v.], never had the title of vizier officially.

In Egypt likewise, the Ayyubid sultans often did without a vizier. The most important, and the only one to exercise the office of a classic vizier, was Saif al-Din ‘Abd Allah Ibn Shukr [q.v.], in the Delta 548/1153, d. in Cairo 622/1225; the most detailed biography in al-Makrizi, al-Makaffa, iv, Cairo 1991, 595-602.Whilst in the service of al-Adil (596-615/1200-18 [q.v.]), his extortions and tyrannical methods caused numerous officials and notables to flee, including Ibn Mammati [q.v.], head of the financial office, and Ibn Abi l-Hadjijdj, head of the army office, who went to thecourt at Aleppo of al-Zahir Ghazi [q.v.]. Al-Adil ended by exiting him in 608/1212-13, replacing him by his father-in-law Fakhr al-Din Ibn Shukr, and the fallen vizier went off to settle at ‘Amid. Later, al-Kamil (615-35/1218-38 [q.v.]), after assuming power in difficult circumstances, recalled Ibn Shukr in order to refill the state’s coffers. Although the latter had become blind, he took up office in Cairo in 617/1220-1 and held it till his death four years later. Al-Kamil then decided to do without a vizier, preferring to control the administration himself; this is the situation reflected in the administrative treatise of Uthman al-Nubulasi, one of al-Kamil’s high officials, in which the name of vizier is never mentioned.

A little later, Mu’tin al-Din Ibn al-Shaykh (d. 643/1246), youngest of the Awdal al-Shaykh brothers [q.v.], entered al-Kamil’s service, becoming “deputy of the vizier” (mukadd am al-awza). It was not till the coming of al-Salih Ayubi (637-47/1240-9) that he was appointed vizier. More than just head of the administration, Mu’tin al-Din was an army commander, and it was he who was charged with the conquest of Damascus in 642-3/1245.

In Damascus, Diya al-Din Ibn al-Atib [q.v.] was al-Adil’s vizier from 589/1193 to 592/1196. Al-Adil placed complete confidence in him, but very soon both of them became enemies of Salih al-Din’s former supporters, who fled to Cairo or Aleppo in large numbers. Later, under al-Mu‘azzam (615-24/1218-27 [q.v.]), no vizier is mentioned in the sources. When al-Nasir (626-55/1229-37) reigned in Damascus, he had as his vizier for some time Falak al-Din Ibn Mastri (d. 643/1245), a man of mediocre talent, according to al-Makrizi (op. cit., iv, 84-7), and he was dismissed in 634/1236-7. More important was the next figure, Djamal al-Din Ibn Mastri (d. 649/1251), who served al-Salih Ayubi in Damascus 644-7/1246-9. After an earlier career in the provincial administration of Egypt, Ibn Mastri followed al-Salih Ayubi to al-Djazira in 629/1232. At Damascus, he not only directed the administration but also shared executive power with the amir Shihab al-Din Ra’sid al-Kabir. He was replaced by the kadi al-A‘sd Sharaf al-Din al-Fa‘izi, who was shorty afterwards appointed vizier in Cairo to al-Mu‘azzam Tura‘shin [q.v.].

It was finally at Aleppo that the vizierate enjoyed the greatest continuity in the Ayyubid period, with six viziers succeeding almost without interruption in the years 592-658/1196-1260. The most important was Djamal al-Din Ibn al-Kifli [q.v.], appointed ca. 614/1217-18; a man of great culture and deep piety, he left behind the reputation of a very good administrator. Al-‘A’zib b. al-Zahir in 628/1231 replaced him by one of his intimates, whose tenure of power turned out to be disastrous, so that Ibn al-Kifli was recalled in 634/1236, serving till his death in 646/1248 and then replaced by his brother Mu‘ayyid al-Din, who remained in post at Aleppo till the Mongol invasion of 658/1260.

The geographical origins of these viziers varied according to the regions. In Egypt, they tended to be locally recruited, but in Aleppo, the influences of the lands further east (Ibn Saff and Petrini), which were the origin of three out of six viziers, plus that of Egypt (the Banu ‘l-Kifl), stamped the administration there with a double tradition, ‘Abbasid-Saljuk and Fatimid. Although less important than in the past, the influence of Christian and Jewish milieux was still at times felt. Thus al-Adil, right at the beginning of his reign, appointed a Christian convert called al-Sam’i al-Din al-Nabulasi, who remained in post at Aleppo till the Mongol invasion of 658/1260.

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his youth to Islam, was subsequently vizier to al-Salih Isma'il at Damascus 637-43/1239-45. His excessive official positions. There were families of officials and more rarely, of kāfīl (Ibn Matrub); others enriched themselves by more or less legal means, and the leading viziers thus acquired large fortunes (Ibn Shukr, Ibn al-Kifī).

The vizier’s main function was to oversee the diwān and their personnel. Sometimes, in the absence of a head of chancery or chief of the army department, he guided the secretaries directly. His financial skills were the most important ones. The vizier also supervised provincial administration, above all, the collection of taxes, which was the responsibility of the provincial governors, themselves appointed by the sultan and, occasionally, as at Aleppo, by the vizier. Nevertheless, in the financial sphere, some activities remained the prerogative of the ruler, such as the application or suppression of taxes, especially non-canonicial ones, nukās [see MARS].

The vizier also had an important political role, often being part of regency councils and acting as the ruler’s adviser, over whom he could have a wide influence. Certain of them even tried to replace one princely heir by another, as when the vizier of Hamāt, Zayn al-Dīn Ibn Furayдж, invited al-Nasir, the younger son of al-Manṣūr [q.v.], to seize power at the expense of his elder brother al-Muẓaffar. Sometimes the sultan deputed the vizier to oversee personally important projects. Thus al-ʿAdl asked Ibn Shukr to supervise work at Damascus on the al-Madrasa, the muṣalā, Ibn Shukr also financed on his own account the building or restoring of two important mosques in the suburbs of Damascus and founded a Mālīkī madrasa, the Shāhībiyya, at Cairo.

In practice, the prestige and power of viziers depended a lot upon their own personality and on the ruler’s authority. Not all were as highly respected as Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn al-Kifī or had as much power as Ibn Shukr. In 604/1207, the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh [q.v.] sent a robe of honour (kītāb) to this last as well as to the Ayyūbid princes. In Aleppo, after the sultan had in 648/1250 left to take up residence in Damascus, the vizier Muʿayyid al-Dīn Ibn al-Kifī had the qādīyya [q.v.], one of the insignia of royalty, carried before him. Certain viziers, on the other hand, remained obscure personalities, and in any case, their power always remained subordinate to that of the sultan, who could dismiss them at any time; it was indeed rare for viziers, even the most important, not to suffer dismissal, exile or imprisonment.


4. Muslim Spain.

In al-Andalus in the Umayyad period, every sovereign surrounded himself with various numbers of wuzdr. Their purpose was not merely to be a source of advice and information for him but also to carry out in his name military and diplomatic assignments. Usually, there were no more than ten wuzdr at any one time, though the amir ‘Abd Allāh b. Muhammad [q.v.] once had up to thirteen, and there were possibly as many as sixteen by the time of ‘Abd al-Rahmān III [q.v.]. The appointment and dismissal of wuzdr was particularly frequent during the government of the latter, who had a total of 46 ministers, a much higher number than any of his predecessors had had. It was only in the later years of the Umayyad dynasty that the number of these dignitaries rose. In 399/1008, at the time of the ceremony for the acclamation of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. Abī ‘Amīr [q.v.], the successor to Hīshām II [q.v.], there were 29 wuzdr present.

The office of wuzdr was a paid function. ‘Abd al-Rahmān II arranged a salary (rāṣ) of 300 dinārs for his ministers. But this office did not exclude all other work; indeed, it was usual that the bearer would hold office along with other functions, such as those of kātib, kītāb, sāhib al-madina [q.v. etc.]. Up to the beginning of the 5th/11th centuries, the period when Abu l-ʿAbbās Ibn Dhākhwān [q.v.] and Abu l-Muṭarrif Ibn Futayṣ (d. 402/1012) held the plural offices of kītāb and wuzdr, it had never been the case that anyone had at one and the same time been a religious magistrate and a vizier; but from then onwards this became a frequent practice.

The office of vizier was often held by the most influential families (ḥāṣṭṭām) united by their ties of clientage (waṣā) with the Marwānids. Even after the Umayyad period these lineages were made up of long series of viziers, among whom the most conspicuous were the Banū Abda, the Banū Shuhayd and the Banū Futayṣ. It was exceptional for a member of one of the Marwānī lineages to become vizier. For example, in the period of the amir ‘Abd Allāh, four viziers who belonged to the same clan of the Banū Abda, was considered unusual. This was also the amir who for the first time decided to appoint a vizier, who did not belong to the Arab aristocracy among his ministers, his fātā [q.v.]. Badr. The vizier in al-Andalus were always Muslim up to the period of the mulūk al-tawdīf [q.v.], when there were also a few Jewish viziers, the most famous of whom was Ibn al-Nahgrālla from Granada (d. 448/1056-7).

The rank of vizier was superior to any other civil servant except that of kāṭib [q.v.]. In principle, the appointment to the office of vizier did not entail the responsibility of a department or duty to the government of the state. However, during the amirate of ‘Abd Allāh, a vizier is mentioned who was invested specifically to direct one of the sectors of state administration (iṣrādāt); and when in 344/955 the caliph ‘Abd al-Rahmān reorganised state administration and divided the tasks of government into at least four sections, he placed a wuzdr at the head of each one of them.

After the time of ‘Abd al-Rahmān II, the viziers
had a room for private consultation and assembly (bayt al-wizdra) in the palace. The position of the viziers in this room conveyed the fact that all the dignitaries did not have the same rank; it was the amir Muhammad I (d. 273/886) who decided that the wazirs of eastern origin, called shamsiyin, should take precedence over the others, the baladiyyin, and that consequently they should sit on the highest platforms. This priority was maintained by his successors, despite the conflict which it generated with several important baladiyyin.

The honorary title of dhu 'l-wizdratayn appeared in al-Andalus in 327/939, during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Rahman III, who copied the title which Ibn Makhlud [q.v.] had received from the 'Abbasid caliph in 269/882 (see Hilal al-Sabi', 192). During the first caliphate of his successor, Hisham II, the title of dhu 'l-wizdratayn reappeared and subsequently it was conferred on a child, the son of the dhu 'l-wizdrat al-'Abd Makhlud b. Abi 'Amir al-Muzaffar [q.v.], under whose government the title wazir al-dawala was again used to honour Ibn al-Khattal al-Ya'ushibi [q.v.].

In the period of the Taifas, quite a number of sovereigns assumed the title of hādhīb, for the reason that this term had acquired such prestige under the Umayyad dynasty and also as an indication that they merely considered themselves as representatives of the caliph. These muluk al-tawilif generalised the high position of vizier by applying it to all the people who were frequenting the court and whom they wished to honour; and from this period onwards there were also many persons in al-Andalus who were decorated with the title of dhu 'l-wizdratayn.

The institution of the wazir was so characteristic of Andalusian administration that the word alquwil (from Arabic al-wazir) was very quickly integrated into the Castilian language. But the fact that this Arabism did not only signify “minister, counsellor or lieutenant of the sovereign”, but that it was used to designate other duties or offices as well, seems to indicate that the word wazir was eventually applied to different categories of public office in al-Andalus.

One of the meanings of the Castilian vocable alquwil in the Middle Ages was that of “governor, or lord of a city or a region, who was entrusted with civil and criminal jurisdiction” (Diccionario histórico, s.v.). This meaning corresponds to the expression “vizier of a district” which is frequently found in Andalusí texts from the 5th/11th century onwards and which conveys the fact that, from the period of 'Abd al-Rahman III, the viziers began to fill permanent positions outside Cordova, chiefly those of governor and chief of the military region. This happened to such an extent that, at the end of the Nasrid sultanate in Granada, the one who represented authority in each of the localities of the amirate was given the title of wazir.

After the occupation of the territory of Granada, the Castilians revived this institution and knew the member of the local community responsible for civil and fiscal matters and the representative of his fellow-citizens as alquwil.


II. IN PERSIA

The wazir was the head of the supreme dinawāt, the diwan-i dāl [see diwan, in. Iran] and as such was the head of the bureaucracy. He had under him numerous subordinates. The heads of some branches of the administration under him were also called wazirs, such as the wazir-i laqīk and the wazirs in charge of the finances of the province. The term wazir was also sometimes applied to the head of the personal establishment of provincial governors, important amirs and royal princes and princesses. This article will be concerned with the wazir as head of the supreme diwan.

The wazir belonged to the “men of the pen” as opposed to the “men of the sword” and was usually of Persian rather than Turkish extraction. A common feature of society was the existence of influential bureaucratic families, such as the Ḥājjānīs [see Alghaybānī, in Suppl.], the Ba‘alams [see Ba‘alami] and ‘Utbis [see ‘urt]; in the Seljuk period the family of Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.]; and under the Ilkhān the Djiwans and the family of Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allah Hamadāndi [see Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allah Hamadāndi]. Under the Ilkhānids, and sometimes in later times also, the wazir had the title ṣāḥib diwan. The Saʿādī shah ‘Abbās I [q.v.], gave the wazir the titles Tīmād al-Dawla and Sadr-i A‘zam, by which title he was also known in the Kāḏjār period.

The insignia of the wazir was an inkpot, usually golden, which he was given on appointment together with a diploma (mand cámara), and a robe of honour. Sadr al-Dīn Khālidī, when appointed ṣāḥib diwan by Gaykhatū [q.v.] in 691/1292 was given the lakab of Sadr-i Ḏahān, a gold seal, a horse-tail standard, a war trumpet and a tāmnār [q.v.] of soldiers. In the late Ilkhānīd period the insignia of the wazir appear to have been a golden inkpot, a jewelled belt, a royal seal (āl), and banner (sāngād), a standard (‘alam) and the right to kettledrums (tabl, nakkār) [q.v.] (Lambton, Continuity and change in medieval Persia, 56). Under the Saʿādī, his insignia were a jewelled pen and inkstand. On appointment he was given robes of honour, a headaddress (ṭājī u ḥādī) with a plume (ḏiḏā) and a tāmnār (Muhammad Taḵi Dānīwpaghlū, Dastūr al-mulukī Mīrzā Raftū wa ṣadḵārat al-mulukī Mīrzā Şams-e, in Maqālā-ye dānīwpaghlū-ye ūdayāštā va ūsalī-ye insānī, Tehran, vii-1/2 [1968], 77).

The wazir was not the servant of the state but of the ruler, by whom he was directly appointed. He was a member of the court (dāngāh) and accompanied the ruler on military expeditions and on his
perambulations around the empire. Because of the element of personal service involved, the power and influence of the wazīr underwent many vicissitudes with the rise and fall of successive dynasties and rulers.

Although the wazīr had general supervision over the administration, his fundamental and most important duty was to oversee the finances of the state. He was usually paid by assignments on the revenue; in addition, he received various fees and allowances, the number of which increased over the years, especially under the Ṣafawīs. The sources of profit open to him were many and some wazīrs accumulated much wealth. This enabled them to gather followers but it also made them the object of the jealousy of their peers and the suspicion of the ruler, who sometimes sought to limit their potential power by the appointment of joint wazīrs. These dual appointments were occasionally found under the Būyids and Ḵᵛārzkm shāhs, but at least once under the Kāḏarīs (see Ṣaḏarīs at Vol. IV, 394a). In this the Ṭhāḵāns may have been influenced by Chinese administrative practice. Tension between the wazīr and the military was a perennial feature of most reigns. Although the assignments and pay of the military went, at least in theory, through the office of the wazīr, only the strongest wazīrs could hope to maintain the pre-eminence of the bureaucracy over the military.

The office of wazīr was a precarious one. Its holder had no security of tenure and was subject to arbitrary dismissal and was often, after his fall, mulcted, and sometimes physically punished and murdered. Of the six men who held the office of wazīr under Maḥmūd of Ghāznī (q.v.), three were dismissed and died violently; a fourth suffered disgrace and prolonged imprisonment; a fifth fell from favour and was mulcted and a sixth was executed by Maḥmūd shortly after he succeeded Maḥmūd (C.E. Bosworth, The Ghazānids, Edinburgh 1963, 70-1). The situation did not materially alter in later periods.

Several Ṣaḏarī wazīrs suffered violent ends (Lambton, op. cit., 46-7); and Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī states that Tādž al-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh was the only Ḵᵛārzkm wazīr to die a natural death (Ṭūrkm-ān ghulām, ed. ‘Abd al-Ḥṣayn Nawāštī, Tehrān AHS 1319/1939-40, 616). Dismissal followed by mulcting, imprisonment and death was a fact of frequent occurrence up to and including the 19th century.

Under the Ṣamānīds the wazīr, known as the Ḵᵛāḏa Buzurg, was the head of a well-developed bureaucratic system, divided into a number of separate ḏāwāns (Barthold, Turkestan, 229), but towards the end of the 4th/10th century, power began to pass into the hands of the military. The historian al-‘Uṭbī states that the last Ṣamānī wazīr had no power to restore order: “Dominion passed into the hands of the Turks and the decrees of the wazīrs lost their force” (quoted by Barthold, op. cit., 253). Meanwhile in the western provinces the ʿawāizar under Būyid rule no longer enjoyed prestige as had the Barmakids (see al-Barmakīs) under the caliphs. Their function was mainly to provide money for the military forces of the ruler. Some, however, acquired considerable power, notably al-Ṣāḥīb Ibn ‘Abbaḏ (q.v.), wazīr to Fakhr al-Dawla and Muḥammad al-Dawla, and Abū ‘Alī b. Ismāʿīl al-Muwaṭṭa, appointed wazīr by Bahā’ al-Dawla in 388/998 (see Bahā’ al-Dawla, in Suppl., at 118b). The vizierate reached its apogee under Ṣāḥīb al-Mulk (q.v.), wazīr to the Ṣafawī sultans Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. He supervised the general conduct of affairs on behalf of the sultan. He also had general supervision of the religious institution, and as the personal representative of the sultan he conducted relations with the caliph and other rulers. He even on occasion conducted missions to foreign courts in the name of the sultan. The rewards of office were great but its expenses heavy. The wazīr was expected to maintain a large household, including armed retainers. Ṣāḥīb al-Mulk, for example, had a private army of military slaves. Custom demanded that the wazīr should be accessible, and his court was accordingly thronged with petitioners. The distinction between his private funds and what he expended on behalf of the sultan or in the general interest is not easily made.

In the late Ṣafawī period, the viziership declined, not only because of a lack of effective controls throughout the administration but also because of the fragmentation of the Ṣafawī empire. Under the Ḵᵛāraḵm Shāhs, the wazīr temporarily regained some of his former importance (ibid., 49).

In the early years of Mongol dominion in Persia, there was an ill-defined dual system: the wazīrs acted mainly as finance ministers alongside the Mongol governors of the provinces, though what their relationship was to the ṣāḥīb ḏīwān (or chief secretaries) of the Mongol governors, whose functions appear to have been primarily the keeping of tax records and the impost and collection of taxes, is not clear. Bahā’ al-Dīn Djuwaynī was confirmed as ṣāḥīb ḏīwān to Čān Tabar, the governor of Ḵūršān, by ʿO Ḥyed and was later successively ṣāḥīb ḏīwān to Korguz and Arḡūn, both of whom were governors of Ḵūršān. On the succession of Möngke, he was confirmed as ṣāḥīb ḏīwān and sent with the Mongol amir Naymatay to Persia ‘Irāk and Yazd, but died en route to his new post. Shams al-Dīn Djuwaynī became chief minister and ṣāḥīb ḏīwān to Hulegū in 661/1262-3, which post he also held under Hulegū’s successor, Ābākā, and attained a position of great personal influence.

From 678/1279 Ṣaḏ al-Mulk Šaydī, the muqāffī al-mamālik, held office beside him and signed documents on the left while Shams al-Dīn signed on the right. Saʿd al-Dawla, ṣāḥīb ḏīwān to Arḡūn, and Saʿd al-Dīn Ahmad Khālidī, appointed ṣāḥīb ḏīwān by Gaykāti in 691/1292, both exercised wide-ranging power. The most important Ilkhanid wazīr was probably Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī, who held office under Ḵᵛāţān and Ṣafīgūr. His position was not entirely secure, however, and eventually he fell from office and was mulcted and killed. In the reign of Ḵᵛāţān he had had alongside him Saʿd al-Dīn Muḥammad Sāwāḏī as joint wazīr and Tādž al-Dīn ‘Alī Shāh in the reign of Ṣafīgūr.

Under Timūr there was a decline in the position of the wazīr. Power was in the hands of the military. Similarly, under the Kara Koyunlu and the Ak Koyunlu the wazīr’s power was circumscribed and confined mainly to financial affairs.

In the early Ṣafawī period, the administration of the state was fairly fluid and at times the ʿamīr, especially the ʿamīr al-amārī, and to a lesser extent the ʿ�ādr (the chief religious official), encroached upon the powers of the wazīr. Shāh Ismāʿīl I tended to delegate power to a chief minister, known as the ṣawīlī, whose functions, if not his title, had existed under the late Ak Koyunlu rulers (J. Aubin, L’avènement des Šafāwīs, in Moyen Orient et Ocean Indien, v [1988], 112). He was in effect the wazīr, and this was still the official term for the chief minister of the shah. The term ṣawīlī does not appear in the official titulary in archival documents so far as is known (ibid., 113-14). This corrects the statement in the art. Ṣawīlī at Vol. IV.
334b, which differentiates wrongly wakil from wazir).

Political and financial affairs (umur-i mall wa umur-i
mulki) were delegated to him but he had no author-
ity over the religious institution, though he did some-
times intervene in the nomination of the sadir (ibid.,
115-66).

From the reign of 'Abbâs I (995-1038/1587-1629),
an elaborate administrative system evolved, at the head
of which stood the wazîr. He was a member of the
council of state (gânârî); at court he stood at the shah's
right hand, while the wakil-cas, the official histo-
ographer, stood on the left and was sometimes called
the wazîr-i tâp (R.M. Savory, The Safavid administra-
tive system, in Camb. hist. of Iran, vi, The Timurid and Safavid

The Dastur al-mulâk of Mirzá Rafi as and the
Tadjkhirat al-mulâk of Mirzá Samî' (Persian text in facs., tr. and explained by V. Minorsky, London, 1943)
describe the office of the wazîr of the supreme dîwan.
The former states that his office was the greatest of
all offices and that he was the most important of all
the pillars of the state; the collection and expenditure
of the revenue were made with his knowledge, approval
and signature; subordinate wazîrs and other officials
of the dîwan and the agents of the dîwan in the
provinces were appointed by him. It was his duty to
restrain unlawful acts, but if the offender was a pow-
erful one, he was the shah's own servant. The wazîr
was to come daily to the guard-house at the gate of
the dîwan to hear the petitions of the people (ed. Dânish-paghîh, 75-7). He had no wages (ma'sâqi'is) but had the right to numerous dues, fees and allowances. At the New Year he had to give a
present (see ûmân-i gha'llah) to the shah of 1,000 aâghafis and twelve stallions and mares (ibid., 77).

Under Fath 'Ali Shâh (1797-1834), the functions of the wazîr were probably not very different from
those of the late Safavid period; but in the mid-19th century, political and administrative changes began to take place (see DURÞ. iv: KÂZ M.)

Mirzá Taqî Khân Amîr Nîzâm [see AMîR KÂBIR in Suppl.], chief minister (sad-r-i a zam) to Nâsr al-Dîn Shâh from 1848 to 1852 and Mirzá Husayn Khân Sipahshâh Mughîr al-Dawla, who was appointed in 1871, both attempted to intro-
duce far-reaching reforms but with little success; both were dismissed and the former murdered. Mirzá 'Âkâ Khân Nûrî, Mirzá Taqî Khân's successor, was dis-
missed in 1858, and for some years the shah sought to
rule without a chief minister. The experiment was not
successful, though the shah repeated it again in 1873.

In the 1880s, chief ministers were again appointed.

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kunden, Freiburg im Breisgau 1980. Much material
on the holders of the office of wazîr is to be found in chronicles and historical works, some of which
also mention the viziers under the reigns of individual
rulers or dynasties, and in biographical dictionaries.

(ANN K.S. LAMBTON)

III. IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Here, synonyms for the wazîr were such varied terms as paşa, pâh, aşuf, wakil, nâzrî and lala, with the
Grand Vizier also known as the sad-r-i 'zam [q.v.],
The first Wazîr in the imperial dîwan, with the lesser
wazîrs as his advisers.

Background and evolution of the office

During the 8th/14th century, the Ottoman rulers
appear to have chosen their wazîrs mostly from among
the 'el'mâm'-bureaucrats or kadîs. In Orhnkan's temâkîn,
name of Rabî' II 749/June 1348 (Topkâpa Sarayi arşw
kalâca), i, Istanbul 1938, facsimile i Habîdîşî Pagha,
mentioned first among the witnesses, is obviously the
wazîr. Evidently, it was because of their expertise and
knowledge in Islamic jurisprudence and institutions, consid-
ered of vital importance in organising the new Ottoman
amirate, that the wazîrs were chosen from the 'el'mâm' class.

The first identified wazîrs were 'Alî' al-Dîn 'Ali Pagha
(723/1323), Ahmad b. Mahmûd (741/1340), Hâdîşî Pagha
(towards 749/1348) and Sinân al-Dîn Yûsfî (after 749/1348), 'Alî' al-Dîn Pagha, who is believed to
have been the first wazîr in Ottoman history, was
definitely of the 'el'mâm' class (see Huseyndînî, 43)
and not the brother of Sultan Orhnkan, as claimed in
Ottoman annals. Before Çandarlî Khayr al-Dîn Kara
Khalîf, a chief kadî, was made Grand Vizier with full
powers in 787/1385 or a little later, six wazîrs have
been identified by Huseyndînî (ibid.). In the period
1385-1453 the Çandarlî family provided the Ottoman
state with wazîrs and Grand Viziers, all serving as
kadîs in their earlier career. Some of the members
of the family served only as simple wazîrs or kadîs-
"users
in the imperial divan (see Uzunçarşı, Çandarlı vezir ailesi).

Early popular ghazi tradition (see Giese, Chroniken) reflects a contemporary rivalry between the vezirs of military background and those from the 'ulumá'. The beylerbeys of Rumeli and Anadolu [q.v.], as well as vezirs of military background, sat in the imperial divan in this early period. The most spectacular show of rivalry between the two groups occurred between Çandarlı Khalîl and Şihâb al-Dîn Paşa in the period 1440-53, ending with the fall of Khalîl (see Inalcık, Fatih dergisi, 1-53).

A revolutionary change occurred in 857/1453 when the over-mighty Grand Vizier Çandarlı Khalîl, arrested and executed by Mehmed II, was replaced by vezirs from amongst the military men of kal [see dâlîm, iv] origin, although bureaucrats or 'ulumá' with expertise in finance or chancery correspondence continued to be employed as vezirs. One from the latter category, Nîşâîdî Mehmed of Karamân, holding the position of Grand Vizier, was murdered by the Janissaries on the death of Mehmed II in 886/1481. His rival vezir Isâk and Gedik Ahmed [q.v.], military men, replaced him in the government, and all vezirs from 'ulumá' or from kâtîb or secretarial origin were dismissed. The insurgent Janissaries demanded that from then onwards, the sultan should choose his vezirs exclusively from among the kal element.

However, Bâyâzêd II rehabilitated the Çandarlı family to the vizierate and, being concerned for his security on the throne against his brother Djiem [q.v.], he often entrusted the position to the eunuch kâpi-agha [q.v.] or other trusted servants of the palace.

Consequently, in the classical age (1453-1600), the vezirs were mostly men of military background. Ibn Khalîdîn noted the replacement of the arbâb al-kalâm by the arbâb al-samîąd under the Mamûl Sultans in Egypt also. It was the Grand Vizier's exclusive right to recommend to the sultan the appointment or promotion of a vezir. Of course, in reality people close to the sultan, such as the kâpi-agha, the sultan's mother or the muqtaab, a favourite adviser of the sultan, often played a role in the final decision. Appointment of the vezirs was to be made directly by the sultan himself with a kâtîb-i hâmmân [q.v.]. In choosing a vezir, his expert knowledge in a special area was also taken into account. Mahmûd Paşa was deliberately chosen for Mehmed II's plans for Serbia, and İbrâhîm Paşa for Süleyman I's campaigns in Europe. Vezirs of military origin multiplied in wartime.

Vezirs coming from among the professional secretaries, as had been the rule formerly in the 'Abbâsid, Sâlğîkîd and İlghânîd states, were mostly to be found in the Ottoman government in the second half of the 9th/15th century when a highly developed Ottoman bureaucracy evolved. Then, most of the vezirs of kâtîb origin belonged to the literati or to 'ulumá' families. Dâjârî Kâsim Paşa from Persia, who supposedly founded the Ottoman chancery or nûhe style and who was second vezir and candidate for the Grand Vizierate under Bâyâzêd II, was exiled under pressure from the military vezirs. In any case, state secretaries specializing in such areas as finances and chancery correspondence rose in the hierarchy to become vezirs and Grand Viziers.

In the chaotic conditions of the end of the 10th/16th century, the rule that the second vezir would be promoted to the Grand Vizierate was often disregarded, and the third or fourth vezir, or even a governor or Janissary aga or sâlîdan outside the divan, could be appointed to the position.

As for the ethnic origins of the vezirs, most of them in the classical age were of slave, kal, origin. We find, for example, a comparatively great number of vezirs and Grand Viziers of Albanian and Slavic origin in the period 1430-1550 because of the fact that there were frequent expeditions in Albania, and the devşirme [q.v.] was regularly practised in the poor mountainous regions of the Balkans during this period (see Jorga, Gör, iii, 162-89). For the same reason, towards 983/1575 vezirs were mostly of Croatian, Hungarian or Austrian origin. Passing through the palace services and provincial hierarchies, the most successful of these came back as vezirs to the imperial divan. At palace schools, some gifted ones such as Lütfi Paşa [q.v.] gained a good Ottoman Turkish education, while most of them acquired only martial skills, but were literate and hardly able to speak Turkish. They had to rely on people in their kapu [q.v.], including advisers and secretaries who were responsible for their correspondence.

The accession of a new sultan to the throne meant a radical change in the divan, since the personnel which had served him in the period of his governorship expected to replace the vezirs and other dignitaries of the previous sultan. The rivalry and plots of the newcomers to gain full control of the government often caused serious crises in administration, as witnessed at the accessions of Mehmed II, Bâyâzêd II, Selîm I, Selîm II and Murad III. When the practice of the princes' governorship was abandoned under Mehmed III [q.v.], palace factions mostly determined who was to become the new sultan and his vezirs. Under the sultans who were minors, in the 11th/17th century válide sultans [q.v.] became responsible for choosing the vezirs.

Under the long period of regency of the Wâlide Mâhpeyker [see KÖSEM WALIDE], who was acting in alliance with the Janissary corps, dismissals became very frequent as a result of favouritism, clientship and bribery. Contemporary critics (see 'Âli, Navza; Koçî Bey, Rûâle) stressed that it was the loss of vizieral authority that was responsible for the anarchical conditions in the period.

At an unusually critical point in 1066/1656, the palace saw that it was indispensable to restore the vizieral authority in the person of Mehmed Koprâlu [see KÖPRÜLE], to whom dictatorial powers were assigned. Mehmed, his son and relatives retained power for almost half a century, often aligning with the 'ulumá' to neutralise rivals.

The character of the Ottoman vizierate and the origins of the vezirs again changed radically in the period following the peace of Carlowitz [see KARLOVICA] in 1109/1699-9. During the war of 1683-99, the Ottoman army and government collapsed, and the palace had to call upon the Djielâlî [q.v.] in Suppl.] leaders of Anatolia. One of them, Boyun-Yarali Mehmed, a Turcoman, became Grand Vizier (Na'mâ, vi, 197; Şâhâd-dâr, i, 410). After the war, the palace brought to power the architect of the peace treaty, the nelli al-kâtîb [q.v.], Râmi Mehmed, head of the Grand Vizier's chancery responsible for foreign affairs. The Ottomans now believed that some sort of diplomatic service was becoming crucial for the existence of the empire, so that many of the vezirs were now chosen from among the nelli al-kâtîb class in the 18th century (Nîşâîdî Ismailî, Mehmed Emin, Aûû Bekr, Mühsin-zâde, Khalîl Hamîd). However, in the period following the 1730 revolution, meetings of the imperial divan became obsolete. The powerful black eunuch agas of the imperial harem became responsible for the choice of
the wezirs and Grand Viziers. Later, in the second half of the century, bureaucrats, such as Raghib Pasha [q.v.], succeeded in asserting vizieral power and independence, and the Grand Vizier’s kapu [see SADR-I A’ZAM] became the centre of all governmental affairs. In this century also, Janissary aghas or kapuddn-i deryds [q.v.] or governors were directly chosen for the Grand Vizierate, whilst most of the wezirs and the Grand Viziers came from the Turkish families whose sons were clients of the high dignitaries or servants in the imperial palace. Pashas, patronage and clientelism thus played a major role in the council of war and Circassian slaves belonging to the households of dignitaries reached this exalted position during this period (Siyawush, Kara Ibrâhîm, ‘Alî, Kâdîa Yüsuf, Hasan and Kâr Yüsuf). The sadr-i d’zam’s assistants in his household, the kethûqa and the mektûbdû, assumed the role of the wezirs. In 1795 an attempt was made to reform the vizierate by restricting the title only to governors. Bureaucrats control became more pronounced in the 19th century. In 1836, with the establishment of wezirâyets, ministries each under a nâzîr or wekil, the title of wezir and pasha was then kept only as a ceremonial title for nâzîrs.

The Grand Vizier then bore the title of baş-wekil, losing much of a Grand Vizier’s responsibility (see SADR-I A’ZAM), period (1829-76), reformist bureaucrats and diplomats such as Muştafa Reşid, ‘Alî and Fu’tâd, succeeded each other in government, while they intermittently had to leave power to the generals or palace favourites. But, in general, it was the bureaucrats specialising in foreign affairs who alone had the power to attempt to disentangle the state from the complications of the so-called Eastern Question (see Findley).

**Functions**

In earlier Islamic states, wezirs, as the heads of the separate diwâns or bureaux, appear to have had a kind of autonomy. In the Ottoman state, however, all of the erbân-i devlet, that is the wezirs in the first place, and defterdârs, nizâhâns and kâfî-askers [q.v.], assembled together in the diwan-i himâyûn [q.v.], the imperial council, theoretically under the sultan himself, but in practice under his wezir-i sadhûb-i tughrê. The number of wezirs in the 10th/16th century also, Janissary aghas or kapuddn-i deryds [q.v.], were tempted to replace the absent Grand Vizier. In a political treatise of around 1640 (Hizr al-muluk, fols. 5a-10b) an ideal wezir is described as being pious, just and honest, not greedy, and capable of solving problems by referring to the authoritative sources in Arabic and Persian. A Grand Vizier should, in addition, always consult other wezirs before taking a decision. The author also underlines that the Grand Vizier should always be on the side of the powerless retâd [q.v.], careful not to take bribes, not to attempt to get possession of public lands, and not to favour his clients for public offices. A Grand Vizier should, in the diwan meetings, send most of the plaintiffs to the second wezir for an impartial treatment.

The meeting days of the diwan were four, from Saturday to Tuesday and the ša‘d, audience days with the sultan, two, sc. Sunday and Tuesday. In the late 19th century, diwan days were restricted to the ša‘d days.

In the diwan meetings, wezirs sat on the right-hand of the Grand Vizier in order of their seniority in the office. As advisers to the Grand Vizier, they discussed state affairs with him. The Grand Vizier Ibrâhîm, executed in 1536, was accused of neglecting consultation with the wezirs. They accompanied the Grand Vizier on his audience days with the sultan. In the audience, the Grand Vizier alone spoke and made a report on affairs. A wezir could make a written report to the sultan only through the Grand Vizier. Complaints by people against a wezir were seen and judged in a special committee composed of the Grand Vizier, the šâhâd al-islâm [q.v.] and two kâfî-askers. Besides the diwan-i himâyûn, the Grand Vizier held a diwan in his own residence called the wezir-i sadhûb, the afternoon diwan, to take care of lesser affairs. This residence, called Pasha-kapîbâr or Bâb-i ‘Alî, became the main diwan for government affairs in the second half of the 11th/17th century.

One of the privileges of a wezir was to assist the Grand Vizier and the nizâhâns in drawing the tughrê [q.v.], or sultan’s seal, on the firmân, a privilege for which they were called wezir-i sahd-i tughrê. Putting the tughrê meant the validation of the sultan’s order, thus making wezirs the authorised agents of the ruler. Before the Ottomans, the wezir-i sahd-i tughrê was one of the highest positions in a Saltûnlûjûd administration.

Customarily, the second wezir was the prime candidate for the Grand Vizierate, although for practical reasons the sultan could choose a wezir of lower rank for the post. Breach of this rule rarely caused a political crisis (see AHMAD PASHA, SHA’R). The number of wezirs sitting at the imperial diwan was customarily restricted to four in the classical period, a mystical figure representing the four corners of the world, or the four Righâyl-Guided Caliphs. Under certain circumstances, however, the number might be increased to more than four. For a better consultation the increased number was recommended (Hizr al-muluk, fols. 20b-30b). In the 10th/16th century, governors of the large distant provinces, Egypt, Bagdad,
Habesh ( Abyssinia), Yemen and Buda bore the title of wazir, enabling them to act independently as circumstances required. Then, the number of seven became the norm. Over the course of time, two categories of wazirs appeared, those sitting in the imperial divan in Istanbul, called dâkkîl, or of the kubbe, and those of the provinces called kâhîr or of “the eyal”. During the long Persian campaigns from 1587 onwards, the number of the kubbe wazirs was increased to nine, and those of the provinces called kâhîr to sixteen. From the end of the 16th century, the authority to summon the neighbouring governors with full authority. A wazîr-governor had been given the title. Also in the late 16th century, the head of the navy was given the title. Also in the end of the 16th century, a household retinue number- rating hundreds; wazirs were the highest officials of Ottoman society. The basic salary of a wazîr came from his kâhîr [see TIMAR] revenues in the provinces, which was doubled by other sources of revenues including substantial gifts and bribes. A wazîr’s annual revenue was estimated between 16,000 and 18,000 gold ducats, while the Grand Vizier’s annual revenue was estimated between 200,000 and 300,000 akçes, and about 8,300 gold ducats. The estate of a wazir of kul origin without an heir belonged to the sultan’s treasury.

For the early history of Waziristan and its inhabitants little is known. There are references in the memoirs of Bâbur and in 18th-century documents especially from 1265/1849 onwards when British power in India was extended up to the borders of Waziristan. But most information is derived from British sources, especially from 1265/1849 onwards when British power in India was extended up to the borders of Waziristan. To the British the Wazirs, especially the Mahsuds, presented a major security problem, which they sought to dominate by means of the frontier administration. To the British the Wazirs, especially the Mahsuds, presented a major security problem, which they sought to dominate by means of the frontier administration.

to solve by various devices: punitive expeditions, blockades, fines, hostages, the encouragement of settlement. The Dawns of the Töfı valley were brought under British protection and two political agencies were created: North Waziristan (1895) and South Waziristan (1896). These measures provoked still more vigorous resistance led by a Mahsud religious figure, Mullā Muḥyī al-Dīn (d. 1913), better known as the Mullā Pōwīndā, and the chiefs were abandoned in favour of dealing with the generality of tribesmen and eventually with the Mullā Pōwīndā himself. These efforts were unsuccessful, and during the Third Anglo-Afghan war (1919) Britain lost control over all of Waziristan outside the Töfı valley. There followed a major campaign in Waziristan (1919-23) and a new plan for roads and military garrisons, notably at Razmak in North Waziristan, but this plan involved the defence of long lines of communication and led to further fighting. From 1936 the two most prominent leaders of Waziri resistance were the Darwesh Khel Khān and ʻAbd al-Raḥmān Mulla Muhyl al-Dīn, who proclaimed a khūsūd around Razmak. Ahmadzay resentment was articulated in the 1970s by Mulla Nur Muhammad of Wānā, who proclaimed a khūsūd against the Mahsuds, leading to fighting and in 1976 the intervention of government forces to quell Ahmadzay resistance.

Their proximity to the Afghan frontier and their links with Kābul have led to various Waziri interventions in Afghanistan since the early 19th century. In more recent times, Wazīris played a vital role in the conquest of Kābul by Nādir Khān in 1747, attacked Khost in 1933, took an important part in the Khost 'āfād of 1947, and were drawn into the Afghan civil war after 1979.


WAZN [a.], lit. "the act of weighing", from ważna to weigh, to balance, cf. also miżā n [q.v.], a balance, scales; and for weights in general, see MAZĀN and MAWAŻN.

1. As a term of numismatics.

Until the 20th century, when metallic currencies were supplanted by fiduciary money and other forms of monetary instruments, the Islamic world used gold and silver as their common medium of exchange and copper as a largely token currency.

The two intrinsic qualities that governed the value of these metals as coins were the purity of their alloys and the weights at which they were struck. When ʻAbd al-Malik b. Marwān carried out his monetary reform between 77 and 79/696-98, he introduced a gold coin based on the Byzantine solidus, ca. 4.40 gr., but somewhat lighter, ca. 4.25 gr., called the dīnār [q.v.] and a silver coin, the dirham [q.v.] modelled on the Sasanid drachm, but struck at seven-tenths the latter's weight, 2.87 gr. Both coins were made from virtually pure metal and were intended to circulate by tale, i.e. prices were established and transactions concluded in a fixed number of coins of a known standard of weight and fineness. In everyday use, a fixed ratio between the prices of gold and silver could not be established and maintained because the purchasing power of both metals depended on their local supply and demand. For taxation purposes, however, provincial governments frequently fixed an exchange rate between the two which would serve their own revenue needs. Gold and silver were refined and struck at mints under caliphal control, but copper was manufactured into fals [q.v.] under the supervision of the local authorities and sold to the public in return for dīnārs and dirhams to support commerce and raise local revenues.

At the start of the 'Abbasid era, the weight of the dirham appears to have been raised from 2.87 to 2.97 gr., thus establishing the well-known ratio of seven coinage dīnārs or miyākā being equal in weight to ten dirhams. This move brought into being the so-called canonical dīnār and dirham which became enshrined in the Shari‘a [q.v.] as the official weight of the coinage māh iḥlāf and dirham, regardless of the actual weight of the coins themselves. From the accession of al-Saffāh in 132/749 until the death of al-Mahdī in 169/785, this seven to ten ratio was occasionally observed in the more important mints under direct caliphal control. During the reign of al-Raḥfīd, however, the centralised coinage system began to disintegrate in the western regions of the Islamic world. Umayyad Spain, not surprisingly, made no effort to adhere to the 'Abbasid weight standard, with the average dīnār from 168/785 weighing 3 to 4 tenths of a gramme less than its eastern cousins. Lightweight dirhams were also produced in mints from Morocco to Egypt, large numbers of which have been found in eastern hoards. This leads one to conclude that as long as the dirham was accepted by tale rather than weight, the western regions had discovered a simple and effective means of lightening their tax burdens. Lightweight Maghribī dirhams began to appear
in quantity in eastern hoards at this time, and the Yemen also adopted a light dirham standard for its own coinage in the 1700/780s-1900s and 1800/790s-1800s. Struck at the weight of a half dirham, these coins were obviously intended for circulation only within the province itself.

As the dirham standard became widely flouted, the integrity of the dinar was also compromised through clipping or paring small slivers of gold from its circumference. While the mints continued to strike dinars at the usual 4.25 gr., the majority of these coins, when weighed today, are no more than 3.80 and 4.10 gr., a loss of up to 10% of their value. This would have been a tempting return for those who could avoid detection and arrest. This process probably accelerated during the civil war between al-Amin and al-Ma’mun and continued for a few years into the first decade of al-Ma’mun’s undisputed rule.

The widespread tampering with the weight of coins may well have provided al-Ma’mun with the economic motive for introducing his reform style coinage in 198/813. Unlike ‘Abd al-Malik’s reform, which was effected within a three-year period, that of al-Ma’mun came about gradually, spreading from his residence in Marw in Khurasan to the other mint towns which recognised ‘Alî al-Ridâ as heir between 202/817-18 and 204/819-20. In the latter year the new style was adopted by the capital mint, Madinat al-Salâm, and 206/821-2 witnessed the striking of the first mintless reform-style dinars and mint-bearing dirhams whose inscriptions were written in a distinctive, rounded and more much legible Kufic script. Al-Ma’mun’s reform coinage added a second, outside marginal legend (Sûra XXX, 3-4), which is thought to be a coded reference to the inevitability of al-Ma’mun’s victory over al-Amin, and removed the names of all officials from the field legends, returning the coinage to its original Umayyad anonymity. The addition of this marginal legend may have been intended to act as a safeguard against the clipping of coins, which would have necessitated the defacement of a Kur’anic legend, an act that no pious Muslim could countenance.

The new coinage could be distinguished from the old at a glance. Both dinars and dirhams, now identical in design, were distinguished from one another only by their metals and the word dinâr or dirham in their inner marginal legends. These words had, however, lost their original meanings because the new coinage was no longer struck to fixed weight standards and thus could pass only by weight rather than by tale. In effect they lost their status as specie, i.e. coin money, and became bullion, no more than stamped ingots whose inscriptions were a guarantee of the purity of their metal. From then onwards, the coinage of the caliphate and all the states from Egypt to Central Asia which owed the ‘Abbâsid real or nominal allegiance calculated payments by weight of metal, with a premium for coins known to be of good alloy and a discount for those of rulers who debased their precious metal content.

It is interesting to note that in the Maghrib the Aghlabids chose to retain the style and weight of the traditional ‘Abbâsid dinâr for their gold coinage while adopting a new silver coinage based on the half dirham weight, and their successors, the Fâtîmids, Midrâids and Almoravids, continued to use coinages that could still pass by tale because of the accuracy of their weight. This tradition continued and was strengthened under the Almohads, Hâfijs, Marinids and Nasîrs, whose coinages were very carefully struck to the weight of the standard, or non-coinage midkâl of 4.60-4.72 gr. Their square nâsr silver was emitted at the weight of the half dirham, ca. 1.40-1.50 gr. Very little fine silver coinage was issued in the central Islamic lands between 450 and 570/1058-1174. Its place was taken by an abundant coinage in very debased billon in Afghanistan and copper in Egypt, Syria and ‘Irâk, which had to be weighed out to determine its value against pure gold and silver for all substantial payments. Of course, every city had its own system of weights and measures, and the values of gold and silver fluctuated independently according to the local supply and demand for these metals.

The earliest fine silver coinage to appear in quantity in the third quarter of the 6th/12th century was struck by the Mahdids [q.v.] in the Yemen and that was followed soon after by the dirhams of the Zangid of Aleppo, al-Malik al-Sâlih Ismâ’il b. Mahmûd. The latter were issued at the canonical weight of 2.97 gr. and provided the foundation for the silver currency in both Rum Saljûq Anatolia and Ayyûbid Syria. The dirhams of Ayyûbid and Rasûlid Yemen weighed about 2.00-2.20 gr., which was sufficiently accurate for them to pass by tale.

Ayyûbid Egypt inherited the Fâtîmid monetary system, whose principal metal was gold that, because of its irregular weight, would have passed by weight. This was supplemented by so-called black dirhams (dirham aswar or dirham aswal), which Balog describes as “rough, uneven, small rectangles or squares of low silver content, the weight of which depended on the haphazard way the cold chisel of the flan cutter fell”. A small number of fine silver dirhams was, however, struck under both the later Fâtîmids for presentation purposes and by al-Malik al-Nâşir Yusûf I, in an unsuccessful attempt to bring the debased Egyptian coinage into line with the high-quality Syrian one. By 622/1225, al-Malik al-Kâmil Mahmâmad [q.v.], apparently acting under public pressure, felt the need to reform the silver coinage. In the event, it was no more than a cosmetic move, involving a less laborious way of flan manufacture than chiselling out irregular bits of metal. The still molten and debased alloy was poured over a cone of charcoal into a vat of water, and the spattering metal yielded lumps of variable size and weight, which were then struck into coin. As Balog records, “instead of being an irregular square or rectangle, it was round, oval, or with one or two protuberances at the edge.” In the 620s/1220s and 630s/1230s the production of good silver dirhams in Syria spread eastwards across al-Jazîra as far as Bagdad where, starting in 632/1334, a dirham of canonical weight was struck for the first time in centuries. Before then, the need for small change was probably met by taking the contemporary broad, thin-flan ‘Abbâsid dinârs, cutting them up into small pieces of gold of varying weight and selling them at the prevailing rate for silver or copper.

In the 8th/14th century a bi-metallic gold and silver currency was accepted in tale in Spain and the Maghrib, a debased silver and copper currency of irregular weight, supplemented by stamped gold ingots, was current in Mamlûk Egypt, a lightweight silver coinage in Anatolia, analogous to the silver penny of Western Europe, a continuously depreciating silver coinage, also supplemented by stamped gold ingots, in ‘Irâk and Persia, and in Muslim India gold and silver tankas [q.v.] of stable weight and alloy that could also be accepted by tale.

A decisive shift in monetary policy took place in the 9th/15th century. Burdji Mamlûk Egypt, Ottoman Turkey, and Aş Koyunlu and then Safawîd Persia...
adapted the weight of their gold currency to that of the Venetian sequin or ducat. This famous gold trade coin had a nominal weight of 3.50-3.55 gr. while the Islamic equivalents were, like the original Umayyad dirār, slightly lighter in weight, usually around 3.40-3.45 gr. The silver coinage, likewise, was no longer linked to the weight of the canonical dirham and both weight and alloy could be reduced whenever economic pressures forced this expedient on governments. Details of these debasements are recorded in *ṣūrūq al-Mamlūka*, IX. Numismatics, and Tūrān, 2.

The more recent centuries are basically a chronicle of increasing European influence on Islamic coinages. European economic and military pressures impoverished the Muslim world. The usual response lay in deprecating the currency through enforced devaluations. European governments whose traders were inconvenience by the resulting monetary chaos demanded an end to systematic coinage manipulation. One by one the Muslim states were forced to adopt European-style coinages which they pledged not to debase. Because the introduction of the new bi-metallic currencies was not backed up by sufficient quantities of bullion to drive European currencies out of circulation, and because Muslim governments did not possess the necessary fiscal skills and discipline to deal successfully with European bankers and financiers, it was not until after 1800 that international loan agreements led to bankruptcy and, all too often, to colonial rule. The new colonial currencies, strong at first, shared the fate of those of the European powers in the aftermath of the World Wars of the 20th century. Decolonisation established national currencies in every Muslim country, but today their value, once determined by weight and fineness of metal, is governed by the respect they enjoy within the international financial system.

**Bibliography:** The literature on *wazn* begins with those coin catalogues and inventories which record the weight of the individual coin described. See the catalogues of the collections of Islamic coins in the major European and Middle Eastern museums. More detailed studies are contained in works devoted to the coinages of individual dynasties, e.g. P. Balog, *The coinage of the Ayyubids of Egypt and Syria* (London 1980). Metallurgical analyses are also useful, as are studies of Islamic weights, e.g. G.C. Miles, *Early Arabic glass weights and stamps*, New York 1948. For a description of individual Islamic weights, see M.H. Sauvaire, *Matériaux pour servir à l’histoire de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes*, Paris 1887. For some valuable recent observations on Islamic metrology, see the introduction by L. Ilisch to *The Tarshib collection. Coins of the Islamic world*, Auction Leu 64, Zurich 1996. (R.E. Darley-Doran)

2. In language and literature.

Here, *wazn* “the act of weighing” means the establishing of a pattern in morphology (*tāṣīf*) or in prosody (*ʾarād*). Prosodical weighing or scanning is also called *tāṣīf* or *ṭaqīf*. As a concrete noun, *wazn* (pl. *awzan*) denotes the resulting word form or metre. A morphological *wazn* is also called *lām*; pl. *alams*.

In the *wazn* of nouns and verbs, the root consonants are replaced with ʿān, ʾān and ʾām (and another ʾām in case of a fourth radical), whereas auxiliary consonants (*zaʿaḍ* and ʾaʿqīda) and vowels remain unchanged, e.g. *fāl*, *māfāl*, *infal* and *maqāfīl* for *kāṭb, matāb* and *maiqaṭf*.

The *wazn* of a metre of verse is expressed through paradigms such as, *iall ala*, *faʿl ala*, *maʿl ala*, *māfsal ala*, formed with letters from the series alif, s, ṣ, f, l, m, n, w and y, contained in the mnemonic *lamaʿ aṭṣifūna* (“our swords flashed”). The prosodical quality of the paradigms equals the quantity of the corresponding segment of the line, but no distinction between radicals and auxiliary letters is made in this case. A line whose *wazn* coincides with a recognised *ʾarād*-pattern is *mawzan* “metrical”. Metricity (*wazn*) is said by Ibn Rashīk, i, 134, to be the main pillar (rakib) in the definition of poetry.

Whereas *wazn* may refer to any metrical pattern that arises in practice, Arabic theory also recognises fifteen or sixteen ideal patterns called *bakhīr*, sing. *bakr* [see *ʿarūd*].


**WAZZĀN,** conventionally Uzzzane, a town of the northwesternmost part of Morocco (Lat. 34° 52′ N., long. 5° 35′ W., altitude 357 m/1,050 feet) and one of the holy cities of Morocco, its development being bound up with that of the Wazzānī Shūf order and its *zāwīya* there [see WAZZĀNĪYYA]. The history of the town involves hagiographic elements which are difficult to separate from the purely historical facts, so that the historian is confronted with mythological narratives, often handed down orally, all aimed at giving the Wazzānī *shuqa'ī* an aura of sanctity.

Until the second quarter of the 11th/17th century, the small village at Wazzān had no special distinction, but in the 1630s the Idrīsīd *sharīf* Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh b. Ibrāhīm chose the place as the site for his *zāwīya*. Wazzān was in a position of strategic significance, in the foothills of the Dībālī country which gives passage between the mountains to the east and the plains of the Qarb to the west and south; it lay on the borders between the open lands where Makhzan authority could be enforced and mountains difficult of access, so that the town and its region were to play a role in Makhzan politics; and it was a region where the tribal territories of four groups, the Massara, the Maṣmūda, the Ghāzāwīa and the Rahūna, met.

The *zāwīya* speedily attracted adepts and visitors at its *maṣūmīna*, hence became significant during Mawlāy ʿAbd Allāh’s lifetime, but the settlement of Wazzān remained essentially a village till the time of the third Wazzānī *shuqa'ī*, Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib (d. 1767), after a period of calamitous civil warfare and famine in the late 1720s and 1730s. In the conditions of insecurity of the countryside, wealthy landowners and *kāḏī* himself established themselves in the town, and Mawlāy al-Ṭayyib built the great mosque and its madrasa and set up specialised markets and *fundūs*. (For the religious development of the town, see WAZZĀNĪYYA.) It developed further under Sīdī ʿAlī b. Aḥmad (d. 1811), who made Wazzān and its hinterland a virtual principality, boosting commercial activity by inviting Jewish merchants to settle in the holy town, although these last did not live in a *mašāl* [see MALLĀH], as in other Moroccan towns, but in *fundūs*, paying rent to *shuqa'ī* owners; only at the end of the 19th century, when in 1883 the Wazzānī *shuqa'ī* became protégés of the French, were some wealthy Jewish merchants allowed to build private houses.

Wazzān functioned at this time as a market centre for both the plains and the mountains and their products, and also attracted imports for the *shuqa'ī* class, this import trade being mainly controlled by traders from Fās and Jewish merchants. Its main
industrial activity was the processing of local commodities like olives, tobacco and wool, with the woollen industry employing both sexes and persons from all social strata, including women. When the demand for woollen cloth was much used for making djellabas, the hooded cloak worn by the male population of Morocco. There was also a significant leather-working industry, now largely ended. The shurafi, in particular, grew rich from donations and endowments of the shrine, so that they became major landowners, especially in the rich lands of the Ghārāb plain but also in regions as far away as Tiouwat [q.v.] in Algeria; they also enjoyed favours from the state, such as tax-farming concessions.

In general, the ‘Alawi sultans sought Wazzānī support in an area where they encountered a great deal of resistance to their new régime, whilst the Wazzānī shurafi were content to assert their power essentially within the religious domain. Hence there existed an implicit agreement whereby the shurafi furthered Makhzen policy in the region in return for administrative concessions, never clearly defined but at certain times, such as the later part of the 18th century, allowing considerable Wazzānī control over the Ghārāb and southern Dībāla. In the later 19th century, however, relations between the Makhzen and the shurafi deteriorated as a result of the latter’s pro-French attitude. Hence a dual system was imposed, with a Wazzānī sijiraf, that is, a formal mayor, over the common people, and this lasted until 1920. By this time, Wazzān was expanding westwards, and had a population estimated at 11,000. When occupied by the French army in 1920 it was made into a municipality, and under the Protectorate served as an administrative centre for the Ghārāb and the southern Dībāla tribes falling within the French zone. For some time, the Wazzānī shurafi took part in the administration of the town, but in 1937 a rural ka‘id from the neighbouring Banū Massāra was appointed head of the town’s urban administration, contributing to the marginalisation of the Wazzānī élite and reinforcing the rural aspect of the town within its tribal surroundings. It did not have any significant industrial growth during the Protectorate period, hence remained only a modest goal for rural emigration. This continued to be the case after independence, as these last swelled to tens of thousands, personal spiritual guidance became impossible and the Wazzanī šaykh became largely dispensers of baraka at the annual mawṣum.

Parallel to this process, the zaī wah developed important material interests. The third šaykh, Mawlāy ‘Abd Allāh al-Tuḥānī, encouraged his sons to acquire property and wealth on the grounds that wealth deterred from greed and covetousness. Soon the zaī wah had much property, not only in Morocco but also in other parts of the Maghrib, and the mukaddams or deputies of the šaykh, who were supposed to look after the Sufi guidance of devotees, ended up largely as undertakers and managers of the zaī wah’s material resources.

The gap between Sufī ideals and material concerns grew wider in the 19th century, especially as the French presence in Algeria, where the tarika had considerable interests, imposed some kind of accommodation with the colonial authorities there. In the second half of the century, the private lifestyle of the šaykh of the zaī wah, al-Hāḍidī ‘Abd al-Salām (d. 1892), did much to lower the order’s prestige, since he chose to spend much of his time in the Europeanised city of Tangier [see TANGI] and married an English lady there, and in 1883 placed himself and the order under French protection. Subsequent relations with the Makhzen deteriorated, and, in the 20th century, Salafi
nationalists [see SALAFIYYA. 1] were able to make much of the position of the Wazzaniyya in their denunciation of the collaborationist stance of the turaf in general and their betrayal of authentic Islam.

Bibliography: See the Bbli., to MÂBDIYYA and WÂZŽÂN, and also E. Michaux-Bellaire, Les conférences religieuses au Maroc, Rabat 1923.

(MOHAMMED EL. MANSAOUL)

WEHBI, Ottoman historian and poet (1031/-1071/1620-1661).

He was born in Baghçe Saray [qa.], capital of the khalifate of the Crimea, the son of a certain Abd Allah Ārif al-Rūmī. According to Ottoman sources, his given name was Hasan (though Hüseyin sometimes occurs in later European works). His date of birth is calculated as around 1031/1620, based on a statement in his poetic divan that he was entering his fortieth year in 1070/1659. In 1624-5 his family moved to Istanbul, where he received a good secretarial and literary education. Taken into the household of the kapudan-i deryâ [qa.], Kemânsâhe Kara Mustafa Paşa in 1046/1636 as muhâdar or private secretary, he accompanied the latter on the Bagdad campaign of 1638-9 and remained in his service until the Paşa's execution whilst Grand Vizier in 1053/1644. He appears subsequently to have become a kâtip in the divan-i hâmâyûn, the Ottoman central chancery, where he remained until his death from tuberculosis in 1071/1661.

Wehbi's principal work is a history of the Ottoman state from 1047/1637 to 1071/1661, known generally as Tarihi-i Wehbi. Although his coverage of events is relatively brief, Wehbi was well placed to be a close observer of Ottoman politics, particularly during the reigns of İbrahim (1640-8) and of Melhemmed IV [qa.] to 1661. His account includes a significant amount of information not given by contemporaries such as Kâtip Çelebi, Mehmed Kâhilî and Kara Çelebi-zade [qa.], particularly on events relating to the Crimea, and is notable for its open criticism of the governmental system. It was an important source for later historians such as Na'îmâ and Sîlâmâr [qa.], and in its coverage of the years 1070-1/1660-1 helps fill the brief gap between the histories of Na'îmâ and Râshîd [qa.]. A facsimile edition of one of the several manuscripts of the Tarihi-i Wehbi was published in B. Ataâ, Das Osmanische Reich um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts nach den Chroniken des Wehbi (1637-1660) und des Mehmed Halifa (1633-1660) (Munich 1977). Wehbi also compiled a divan (several ms. extant, unpubl.).

Bibliography: For references and detailed bibil, see Ö. F. Akun, I.A art. Wehbi, or of the above is a summary. (CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

WEBHÎ (see SUNKIL-ZADE WEHBI)

WEBHÎ SÂYYİDÎ, HUSAYN (modern Tksh., Seyit Vehbi, Hüseyin), also known as Wehbi-yi Kadîm or Wehbi-yi Eyvvel, Ottoman Turkish poet (1083-1129/1674-1736). He is not to be confused with Sunkül-zade Wehbi [qa.]. He was a native of Istanbul, court poet and prose writer, and member of the Ottoman İmâme (see on this itinerary, the detailed study of Marquart in his Şeffâzîye, 237-59). It is, in fact, various forms like this one of Bundukiya which appear in Arabic sources dealing with the commercial relations of the Italian merchant cities with the Islamic powers in the Levant (see on these, below, section 2). Thus al-Kalkashandi furnishes a description of the manâlahat al-Bundûkîyya, with its capital Bundukiya and its head the Dük or Doge and its currency the ducat (dúkât) (Subh al-âshâ, v, 404-5; in viii, 47-8, is given the text of the reply to a letter from the Dük or Dük—described as "not exactly a king"—of 767/1366).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (C.E. BSOWORTH)

2. Venetian relations with the Mamlûks and Ottomans.

Venice's sphere was deeply marked by its long and complex relationship with the Muslim world. As early as the 10th century, Popes and Emperors alike condemned the Republic for selling slaves to the Infidel. It was primarily Venice's special connection with Byzantium that launched it on the path toward an enduring
domination of the eastern Mediterranean, one which was subsequently to entail extensive relations with the most important Muslim Mediterranean powers, the Mamluks and the Ottomans.

The decline of Byzantine naval power, beginning in the 10th century, allowed Venice to take over the defence, first of the Adriatic and then of points further east. As a reward for their military support, Byzantium gave the Venetians special trading privileges with the Empire. An early example of this was the Golden Bull of 1082, issued by the Emperor Alexius I, which granted an exemption from tolls, as well as extensive trading privileges, this being Venice's compensation for having helped Alexius against the Normans of southern Italy.

It was the Fourth Crusade in 1204, however, that established Venice as the pre-eminent naval and commercial power of the eastern Mediterranean, a position that it would maintain—although not without challenges—until the end of the 16th century; Frederic Lane has called it "a turning point in Venetian history". Venetian involvement began with the agreement to provide transportation to the Holy Land for a large number of French Crusaders under the command of Geoffroy de Villehardouin. As is well known, the Fourth Crusade ended up not at the gates of Jerusalem but at the walls of Constantinople. Although Venice does not seem to have been the originator of the idea, it was willing to go along with this change of plan. Byzantine-Venetian relations had soured considerably over the course of the 11th century and Venice was angered by the Empire's willingness to extend trading privileges to the Genoese and the Pisans.

Venice's considerable territorial gains in the wake of the Fourth Crusade were expressed in the new phrase adopted by the Doge's title: "Lord of One Quarter and One Half [of a quarter] of the Empire of Romania". In addition to the gains in Constantinople, Venice established itself directly in Crete, Negroponte and Corfu (although Corfu was subsequently lost). Venice also extended its territorial holdings to Modon and Coron at the southern tip of mainland Greece in the Peloponnese. These last two places became known as "the two eyes of the Republic" because all vessels returning from the Levant were ordered to stop there and give news of pirates and convoys.

At around the time that Venice was establishing itself as the most formidable Christian power in the eastern Mediterranean, the Mamluks were establishing their power in Egypt and Syria, and by the end of the 13th century Baybars and his successors had put an end to the last remaining Crusader footholds on the Levant coast. Whereas in 1204, when Venice realised the gains of the Fourth Crusade, the region was divided into a bewildering multiplicity of states, she now at the beginning of the 14th century faced a strong and united Muslim state along the southern shores of the Levant. It is this fact—not the disintegration of the Great Mongol successor khanates in the mid-14th century—which explains the importance of the Venetian-Mamluk relationship. If Venice hoped to continue its lucrative role as an intermediary between East and West, it had to deal with the Mamluks into whose ports the luxury goods from the East arrived. As for the Mamluks, they relied on Venetian commercial and naval power to provide a ready market for these goods. By the end of the 14th century, the Venetian fleet was calling regularly at Alexandria as well as at the Syrian ports, and Venice's two warehouse-palaces (found in Alexandria) were among the handsomest structures in Alexandria.

Although the Venetians and the Mamluk Sultans were often at loggerheads over the price of pepper, the essential commonality of their interests is shown by the fact that, when the Portuguese threatened to disrupt the spice trade in the opening years of the 16th century, the Venetians urged the Sultan to put pressure on the rulers in South India to refuse spices to the newcomers, again demonstrating Venice's sometimes uncomfortably close relationship with the Muslim world as a result of her commercial interests. The Republic's enemies in Europe accordingly accused Venice of furnishing the Mamluks with materials and skilled shipwrights in order to fight Christians in India.

The reasonably peaceful state of affairs between Venice and the Mamluks was not to be duplicated in its relations with the Ottoman Empire. Although their long co-existence in the eastern Mediterranean was necessarily marked by extended periods of peace, as well as a striking capacity to resolve routine problems, the two adversaries fought six major wars between the 15th and the 18th centuries. The Ottomans, unlike the Mamluks, aimed to unite the eastern Mediterranean under their rule, and this ambition inevitably led them to challenge Venetian territorial holdings in the area. Over the course of more than three centuries the Ottomans were so successful in driving the Venetians out of the Aegean that, by 1128/1715, the republic's holdings were reduced to the Ionian islands.

In the first Ottoman-Venetian war of 868-84/1463-79, Venice lost the Negroponte, its main base in the northern Aegean region. In 906/1499, taking advantage of the difficulties caused by the French invasion of northern Italy, the Ottomans sent their fleet into the Ionian Sea. During the course of that war (906/9/1499-1503) the Sultan's troops wrested away most of Venice's holdings in Greece, including Modon and Coron [see Koron]. Ottoman cavalry raided so far into northern Italy that the smoke from the burning villages could be seen from the bell tower in Saint Mark's square. Venice was only able to bring that war to a conclusion by surrendering claims to many cities in Albania and Greece.

In the next two wars against the Ottomans, Venice fought as part of a Western crusading alliance led by the Spanish Hapsburgs, who saw themselves as the leaders of the Christian world, bound by duty to combat the Islamic empire at the other end of the Mediterranean. Both of these conflicts ended badly for Venice. In the war of 944-7/1537-40, the Christian fleet had to retreat in disorder and confusion at the battle of Preveze on the coast of southern Epirus (945/1538) [see PREVEZE] and, by the time the Spaniards sailed home, the Venetians had lost almost all of their holdings in the Aegean. Although the battle of Lepanto (979/1571) [see AYNABAKHTI] was a great victory for Christendom, and was celebrated as such throughout Europe, Venice had already lost Cyprus the year before as part of the preliminary Ottoman response to the formation of yet another crusading league against her.

Venetian losses in these two wars, plus the fact that on both occasions Venice felt compelled to seek a separate peace with the Ottomans in order to preserve her commerce in the East (actions for which it was roundly condemned in the West), underlines the peculiar position of Venice, squeezed as she was between East and West. Venice was not opposed to joining with the Hapsburgs and others in attacks upon the Ottomans, since she hoped by so doing to gain
WEYSI, the pen-name (makhlas) used by Üveys b. Mehmed, renowned Ottoman man of letters and poet (969-1037/1559-1628).

Born in Alashehir as the son of a kadi and the nephew of the poet Maikâli (Muṣṭafā Beg; cf. the telḵhīre of Ṣivāji), he finished his medrese education in Istanbul under the ‘ulamā’ Šāhi Efendi and Ahmed Efendi, and then had a career as kadi. Apart from serving as army judge (urdū-yi hamayyān kādīš) during the Hungarian campaign under the command of the Wezīr ‘Ali Paša, he was kadi in various locations in the Ottoman empire (Resḥīf in Egypt, Akbārī, Tārī, Alashehir, Sīrōz, Rodosdūk, Gümülcīne, Tīrbāla, and Uskūb) and, for a time, financial inspector (emūl miftāḥītī) in Aydīn, Sārūkhān, I Nebkāhī and Eghīrībōz. He died in Uskūb, after he had served his seventh term there as kadi, on 14 Dhu ‘l-Ḥijdja 1057/15 August 1628.

Weysi’s prose was greatly admired in his day. As his style is heavily laden with loan-words and rhetorical devices (though not in the same degree as that of his contemporary Nergiš [q.v.]), he is, on the whole, not easy to understand. ‘Aṭā’i [q.v.] considers his prose to be superior to his poetry (Dheyl-i Shabīkā, i, 715) and it is true that Weysi owes his fame to his prose works rather than to his poetry.

Weysi wrote a considerable number of prose works in various fields. Below, a long span are the following two: (1) Dāwret al-tādīth fi sūrat sākhīt al-muṣīdī, generally referred to as Sīyer-i Weysi; it is incomplete, containing the Strat al-Nābī up to the battle of Badr. Ḍheyl to it were written by ‘Aṭā’i, Nābī [q.v.] (who, after an interval of about twenty years, wrote a second Dheyl, the Dheyl-i Ḍheyl-i Nābī), and Nazmī-zāde Baghdādī. The Sīyer-i Weysi was printed together with Nābī’s Dheyl in 1245 at Būlāk and as part of Weysi’s collected works in 1286 at Istanbul. (2) Ḍheyl-i Ṣālīm-nāme, also known as Wāıkā-nāme. It is written in somewhat simpler language than the Sīyer-i Weysi and is a conversation between Ahmēd I and Alexander the Great, wherein the evil deeds that have occurred in the world are recounted. As it involves a comparison of the old and new orders, it represents a critique of the time. It has been printed several times (Būlāk 1252, Istanbul 1263, 1293 and, in the 19th century, by other European cities were not. Envoys sent by the Sultan were a common sight in the city, as were Muslim merchants, particularly in the 16th century. Venetian painting in the early modern period testifies to this unique quality: oriental figures are commonplace, whereas they are largely absent from the art of northern Europe in the same period. And of course, it was from Venice that Sultan Mehmed II summoned Gentile Bellini to paint his portrait.

WENEDIK — WEYSI

(Th. Menzel-[Edith G. Ambros])

WEZIR KÖPRÜ, modern Vezirköprü, a small town of northern Anatolia, situated 35 km/21 miles north of Merzifon [see MERZÝFON] and 18 km/12 miles south of the lowest stretch of the Kizil Irmak [see IZLI] (lat. 41° 09' N., long. 35° 27' E.). There was apparently a town there or nearby, in classical times, in what was then southern Pamphylia, and in Byzantine times, the town of Gedegara, in Kâtîb Çelebi’s Dîşmârnamâ, Kedeghara). In high Ottoman times, from the 10th/16th century onwards, it came within the sanjak of Amasya in the eyâlet of Sivas, Ewliya Çelebi visited it in 1057/1647, and described its citadel as in ruins [see KOPRULU, at the beginning]. In modern Turkey, Vezirköprü is the chef-lieu of an ilçe [q.v.] and a câdıly, the famous 11th/17th century statesman Koprulu Mehmed Paşa, subsequently Grand Vizier, had in his early career held an administrative post in the town, and thereafter the name acquired its vezîr element [see KOPRULU, at the beginning]. In modern Turkey, Vezirköprü is the chef-lieu of an ilçe or district in the il or province of Samsun [q.v.]. In 1975 the population of the town was 11,705 and of the ilçe 67,468.

Bibliography: V. Cuinet, La Turquie d’Asie, i, Paris 1892, 762-3; Sâmi Bey Fragherî, Kâmüs al-dîâm, Istanbul 1896, v, 3905; IA art. Vezirköprü (Besim Darkot).

C.E. Bosworth

WIDIN, conventionally Vidin, a town of northwestern Bulgaria and a port on the River Danube (lat. 44° 00' N., long. 22° 50' E.). The low bank (30-37 m high) has been reinforced with dykes; in the past the town used to remain an island in the marshes created during the spring floods of the Danube. It emerged as the Roman fortress of Bononia on the foundations of a Thracian settlement at Kaleto, a place where the flood does not reach. In the Middle Ages, under the name of Bdin, it was the centre of a bishopric in the Bulgarian state, and in Byzantine times, in what was then southern Pamphylia, Vidin surrendered without a fight and was included in the Bulgarian state.

The sanjak, which consisted of 9 ferman and 6 fortresses.

Transylvania, the Banat, Wallachia and Hungary, and from the 17th century onwards (when it was attacked, taken and destroyed), against Austria and Serbia. During the war with the Holy League, the Austrians captured the city on 15 October 1689 and held it for 10 months. Under the peace treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 [see PASSARÖTE] the Ottoman empire lost the northwestern part of the Vidin sanjak, i.e. the lands of Feth-ü-İslâm and Kranya. Vidin became again part of the serhâld. Towards the end of the 18th century Vidin became the seat of ‘Othmân Pazarwoglu and the centre of one of the most important secession movements and the Ottoman empire lost the area of Vidin remained in the hands of Vidin, and in 1864, it was a sanjak in the Tuna (q.v.) wâliyet administered by a muftî and a divan, divided into kadîs. Under the San Stefano preliminary treaty of 1878, Vidin surrendered without a fight and was included in the Bulgarian state.

The sanjak in the Vidin area consisted of the fortress and garrison in Vidin, the river fleet and considerable groups of local population, including non-Muslims. Vlachs stood out among them, these being nomad Christians used by the Ottoman state as a paramilitary group paying only the "rüst" tax. With the move of the serhâld to the west after 1541, the area of Vidin remained the Ottoman rear for the conquest of Central Europe, with local non-Muslims serving in the fortress. Likewise, kâdîs, and 12 zâmëts and timâns of sipahîs, but mainly of the fortress guards (about 10-15 persons in Vidin in mid-15th century, and 63 in 1560), were established, while a considerable part of the Muslim reysî were registered as members of the akîndî (q.v.) troops. The role of the sipahî troops in the area was reduced at the expense of the rise of the Janissaries and the local troops, which ca. 1750 numbered 5,500, more than in any other Ottoman city of the Balkans.

The sultanal kâdîs in the Vidin area expanded quickly at the expense of the Vlach villages and the timâns lands, and soon turned into the largest in the Balkans. As a result, by the 18th century there was no mirî land with timâns and zâmëts in the region, and the process of establishment of the gospodarliks began (possessions of local notables and Janissaries), catalysed by the war with the Holy League and the secession of ‘Othmân Pazarwoglu. The 19th-century agrarian reforms in the Ottoman empire were not introduced in the Vidin area. Villagers were deprived of any property rights over the land and were placed in the position of tenants of the aşba from Vidin, who claimed that only Muslims could possess land in this border sanjak. This regime provoked riots and uprisings in the 1830s to 1850s which, together with the Serbian uprising (1804-13), forced the Porte to solve the problem in favour of the villagers in 1863. From the 15th century onwards, Vidin was part of a kadî and, at least from the 17th century, with a muftî also. At least from mid-15th century, the local fleet and ship-building were administered by a kapudân who from ca. 1700 was subordinate to the Danube kapudan based in Ruse.

Vidin was the main border customs post and the largest port in this part of the Danube, with an enormous income from the state monopoly on the salt imports from Wallachia and the state fisheries organised by the emîn of the port. The rise in the town’s
The outer part of the town spread to the south and southwest of Baba Vida on the terrain of the Kaleto hills where in 1523-37 there were 9 Muslim mahalles with 2 mosques, 8 mesjids, 4 caravanserais, 2 hammams, a candle workshop and a bazaar. Ewliya speaks of 4 Christian, one Jewish and 19 Muslim mahalles, with 24 mosques having leaden or tiled roofs with 10 minarets; he mentions also 10 mesjids with wooden minarets, 7 medreses, 11 mezâhâbes and 7 tebaks. Religious buildings and the economic and communal infrastructure for maintaining them were built by leading functionaries of the Vidin serbâhid, the sanjak bey of the 15th century, such as Mezîd Bey, 'Alt Bey Mihâloğlu, the dizâr of Florentin, Ahmed Hadji, and the Rumeli beylerbey Mehmed Şokollu [q.v.].

The Austrian occupation caused changes in the continuity of life in Vidin. A new fortification following the Vauban system was erected in the middle of the 18th century, and the architecture and the function of the fortress were all in it. In the mid-18th century, such as Mezîd Bey, 'Alt Bey Mihâloğlu, the dizâr of Florentin, Ahmed Hadji, and the Rumeli beylerbey Mehmed Şokollu [q.v.].

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fortress or kule, and the outer warosh with its mahalles, mosques and mesdjids. In the southern part, around the otamhan "kapti", the warosh of Mustafa Paša, muhafaza of Vidin, permitted construction activities, as did that of the vizier, muhafaza of Belgrade and wali of Vidin, "Othman, kassab basılı in the capital, and Yahya Paša, with a mosque to which Rüstem Ağa added a mekteb.

Even before the emergence of the new fortress, to the north, on the dryest and, because of this, least protected territory, a large quarter developed, populated mainly by non-Muslims. The new outer quarter was fortified, too, in the 19th century. According to Kanitz, in the 1870s there were 12 mosques and 17 mahalles (compared to the 15 mahalles and mosques in the inner fortification); according to C. Jirecek, there were 32 mosques in the town. The florescence of Vidin as a centre of Islamic culture was closely related to "Othman Pavzandoglu. Documents, manuscripts and architectural monuments preserved in the National Library in Sofia and in Vidin proper reveal the sources of Pavzandoglu’s wealth and his “civil policy” in the town. He tried to modernise the Vidin fortress after the European model. He built the Square barracks (today a museum); repaired the four main roads going out of Vidin and regulated the city street network; provided the town with fountains or fountains, as well as a mosque and sebil with an ice-house (a so-called sebil of 1817); and founded a library (see below). In accordance with the Ottoman tradition, he also built a mosque, which has an inscription of 1800-1 with a dedication (still existing today) to his father "Omer, and a stone tomb of the local hero of local Turkish folklore, Sulahedın Baba, with a Bektaşı tekke in the village of Sheyhe Çiftlik, at the place where the baba perished, leading an Ottoman detachment out of the fortress against the Austrian siege in 1869. The library of "Othman has a construction inscription with a chronogram 1217 (1802-3) and containing the name of the poet-composer Mähir (also author of the inscription at the mosque of "Othman of 1802, and most probably the poet Sherif Ibrâhîm Mähir Efendi, who was secretary to the wali of Vidin Hâfiz 'Ali Paša in 1812, and is known for his Turkish adaptation of Kâlila ve Dimna). The monastery and the mosque of "Othman form an architectural compound (still existing), next to a now-disappeared medrese. According to M. Staynova, this construction activity reveals an elaborate combination of Bektaşism and the European Enlightenment and laicism, untypical of Ottoman classicism and the baroque forms of the "Late Baroque." 

The 18th century witnessed considerable intellectual life in Rumeli initiated by local officials. Some data confirm that there were private libraries in Vidin at this time. The Pavzandoglu library was in fact a public library containing the Oriental books accumulated in the town. Its core was a donation by the Pazwandoghlu family; most of the books bear the seals of Omer Agha and of Rukiyye Khatun, the father and mother of Othman. Around 1879 it was moved to Sofia; in 1887 it was checked by an international commission, including Mehemd Nedüm, and about 2,000 volumes were ceded to the Ottoman authorities; it seems that earlier some of the most precious manuscripts were taken by the Russians as trophies of war. The criteria for the selection of the books are unknown, as likewise their fate in both Russia and Turkey. Today about 650 volumes in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman are preserved in the National Library in Sofia, a manuscript with 18 miniatures of the Kitâb al-anbyâh ("Tales of the Prophets") stands out among them, donated by Hafiz 'Ali Paša. The library contained the greater part of the works on history and geography printed at the Müttercük Press [see Maṭba‘a’s, B.2]; at the present moment, a manuscript catalogue of the Vidin Library of 1837, kept in the Sofia National Library, is the only one to give a relatively full idea of its content.

As well as Salâheddîn, a famous Muslim saint and hero related to Vidin is Karli Bashe, buried by the French or Karli Baği kapti. According to legend, in 1737, during the six-year siege of the town by the Austrians, the Ottomans attacked and Karli Baği was the first to lead the defenders out. The governor of the sandjak, Huseyn Paša (who later finished the fortification works on the new fortress in 1835) began administrative reforms along the lines of the Gûlûkâne khatîr-i derviş, breaking down Janissary opposition.

Intelectual figures connected with the town include the mathematician and teacher in military schools Widini Hüseyin Tewfik Paša (d. 1894); Widini Mustafa Efendi, a well-known teacher and publisher (d. 1859); ‘Ali Şükri Efendi (f. in the mid-19th century); Hâsib Safetî (Ayûna) Widini, who contributed to the development of Ottoman education before and after the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8; and Çorbâgizade Mehmed, son of Huseyn Efendi Widini, who, as mâfî in Rusçuk, wrote in 1869 his Zeyn al-šâkid’ in Turkish.

In the 19th century Vidin developed as an important economic centre stimulated by navigation on the Danube; French, Austrian and Russian trading consulates were opened. According to Ottoman censuses of 1872-4 there were 1,610 divâns, 11 dehbâhkhânas, 14 âhâns, 135 storehouses, 5 hamâms, one telegraph office, 6 churches and synagogues, one clocktower; one nûdja, two mektebs, one ikâmât-khâne where girls were also taught; 7 tekkes (in the town and suburbs), 24 mosques and two hospitals.

After the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, the Muslim monuments were first regulated by the Wakîf Board headed by patriotic Turks who wished to preserve them; there were also cultural, educational and sports organisations in Vidin, including the Turkish gymnastic society Türk Cemiti, headed by patriotic Turks who wished to preserve them; and most probably the poet Sherif Ibrâhîm Mähir Efendi, who was secretary to the wali of Vidin Hâfiz ‘Ali Paša in 1812, and is known for his Turkish adaptation of Kâlila ve Dimna). The monastery and the mosque of "Othman form an architectural compound (still existing), next to a now-disappeared medrese. According to M. Staynova, this construction activity reveals an elaborate combination of Bektaşism and the European Enlightenment and laicism, untypical of Ottoman classicism and the baroque forms of the "Late Baroque." 

In contemporary Vidin, there are a number of notable cultural institutions, including the National Library, the Regional Museum, the Theatre, the Art Gallery, and the Local History Museum.


1. In Islamic law.

Here, it indicates representation, which signifies the power of an individual to personally initiate an action. It is seen as a legal authority (sultanta gharayya) by which an individual can initiate contracts (skiladi) and actions (tasarrufat) and actuate their effects (zahiri).

When a person acts on behalf of others, wilaya is more often termed niyaba.

Wilaya and ahliyya [see sharia] are the two main requirements for any proper contract, aqid sakib. Ahliyya represents the individual qualification to undertake an action. This requires sanity (ahl), adulthood (biliq), and often, in family-related issues, Islam. Wilaya, on the contrary, is the "authorised" ability to perform an action. A contract in which one of its contractors is not able (gharay waal) or unqualified (gharay ahl) is considered null (bilitil). A qualified person who performed a legal contract without authority is considered as intrusive (fudulat) and the contract will only become valid if approved by the persons concerned.

Technically, wilaya can be either optional (idgariyya), when entered into by personal choice, such as wasalda [q.v.], or compulsory (idgariyya). However, in practice wilaya is a term used only to describe the latter, namely, idgariyya, which is determined by legal rule or judicial order. This can be divided into the following categories: the custody of infants (hadamata al-jaghir) and the custody of a person (wilayat al-nafs) requiring care for a child who has passed the age of infancy or for an insane person. It also includes the marriage custody of a virgin girl. Financial custody may cover all young persons, the insane, and those with proven impediments to the exercise of normal free will.

The requirement of a wilaya, in addition to being suitable (ahl), is to be of the same religion, of a suitable (ahliyya haklkiya) and honest (amin). The state is expected to oversee the wilaya in all its forms. If the wilaya behaves in an inappropriate manner, then the judge can appoint another wilaya to share responsibility. The procedure for overseeing the wilaya is, like many judicial supervisory responsibilities, not clearly defined or codified. However, some modern legal systems imply such procedures within their legislation, such as the Syrian Law of personal status which requires the permission of the judge before selling or mortgaging the property of a person under guardianship (kafir).

The limitation of the wilaya's responsibility is to act as if he is acting for his own business. The example of this cited by Ibn Kudama is the orphan's guardian, who may trade using the orphan's money, avoiding any loss, while all the profits will go to the orphan.

The government or its representative, such as a judge, has the final right of wilaya when no eligible relative is available. They also have the right of appointing an alternative wilaya if those named are proved to be corrupt.

Two forms of wilaya, whether personal (alal al-nafs) or financial (alal al-mal), were defined by the Egyptian Law nos. 118, 119/1952 to give more control to the criminal and personal status courts.

The question whether a wilaya can appoint another person in the case of a marriage is a famous case of disagreement (khlif) among jurists. According to the Shafi'i, this is not permitted because even a father requires the consent of his daughter for the person chosen for her. However, Ibn Kudama refuted this claim on the grounds that the wilaya was granted by the law and has nothing to do with the woman's consent, which is purely concerned with the final choice of husband. He also states that the Prophet married two of his daughters in this way. This kind of debate is important today with the increasing numbers of cases of women asking for equal rights in Muslim society. It is relevant to add here that the woman's wilaya in civil contracts is completely free, unlike that of her wilaya in marriage contracts, possibly attributable to the sensitivity of the Islamic legal system to the issue of sexual morality.

Since wilaya involves a legal representation, it can, like wasala, involve all aspects and forms of personalities whether real (aladh rehla hadawiyya) or unreal (aladh rihla). In both cases (nafs and mal) the wilaya is given to the closest member of the family. In marriage, the wilaya lies with the father, followed by the grandfather. Ibn Kudama provided a summary of the views of various scholars such as al-Shafi'i, who confirmed the prerogative of the grandfather in wilaya over the son and brother. He also cited the view of Mālik, who prefers the son to the grandfather, basing his preference on the fact that the latter is only a second-degree relative while the son is a direct relative. He also cited Ibn Hanbal's view that the grandfather and brother are in fact equal in the right of wilaya because of their equality of inheritance by male relationship (tisb). Ibn Kudama refutes these views on the grounds of three analogies. He states that the grandfather has the right of wilaya before the son and brother because of his birthright as well as tisb like the father. Moreover, he is treated like the father should he steal his granddaughter's property, for a grandfather does not have his hand amputated. Finally, in inheritance he has stronger rights than those of a son or brother.


(MAWIL Y. IZZI DEEN)

2. In Shifaism.

For the Shifa, wilaya applies also to the position
Panorama view of Vidin and the river Danube. Engraving by an unknown author.

Stambul Kapı. Archival photo.
The mosque and the library of 'Othmân Pazwandoghlu. Present state.

The mediaeval citadel of Baba Vida with part of the fortress wall. Archival photo.
of 'Ali b. Abi Talib as the single, explicitly designated heir and successor to Muhammad in whom all responsibility for the guidance of the Muslims was subsequently vested. Not to acknowledge 'Ali’s wilayat was and is tantamount to apostasy. According to the Shi’a, the Prophet proclaimed ‘Ali’s elevation to this status at Ghadir Khumm [q.v.] when he uttered the famous declaration "Of whomever I am the master (mawlī), ‘Ali is his master". Although the Sunnis generally admit the validity of this hadith (especially after it was accepted by Ahmad b. Hanbal), they interpret the term mawlī as an equivalent here, w-r-d, as meaning simply "friend" and not "master" or "guardian". By contrast, for the Shi’a, ‘Ali was, by this pronouncement, made the guardian of the community, acting on behalf of God Himself. ‘Ali had become God’s divinely chosen w-r-d in a way similar to the Prophet having been God’s apostle, His rasul.

This doctrinal creed, which is the very core and bedrock of Shi’ism, is most succinctly expressed by successively attesting to the oneness of God, the apostleship of Muhammad, and the guardianship of ‘Ali: la tash illa Allāh, Muhammad rasūl Allāh, ‘Allī w-r-d Allāh, and this is the proper shahada in use by the Shi’is throughout Shi’a-dominated lands. This form of the wilayat ‘Ali normally appears on the Shi’i official proclamations, coinage, the tirdz, and other examples of written and inscribed materials. It appears on all Fatimid coinage after the year 386/996 (other Shi’i phrases were used earlier) and on the Shi’i coins issued by Oldjeyti, to cite two fairly early examples. But, although admitted to be a proper, even essential, expression of Shi’i piety by all mainstream authors, it was not allowed as a component of the adhn [q.v.] until Safawid times when this popular practice was ultimately formally accepted and declared to be sunna. It is now a standard part of the call to prayer among the Twelver Shi’a.

Following the reign of ‘Ali, the wilayya lived in the imāms one after the other by virtue of designation, nas. The previous imām thereby passed it unerringly to his divinely chosen successor. Each imām, in turn, thus held exclusive spiritual authority over all Muslims. The imāms are those having power of command and whose leadership must be recognized as the ulama-amr according to Kur’an IV, 59. The adherents who recognize him and accept his guidance owe him in return the obligation of waldya—a term often taken as the equivalent or simply an alternate vocalization of wilayya but which bears, in Shi’i usage, the specific meaning of "devotion" and denotes the loyalty and support that is due the imām from his followers.

Even in classical lexicography, some authorities considered waldya to be the verbal noun meaning, for example, nasra “support”, whereas wilayya is the name of the office. For the Shi’a, this distinction attained the status of doctrine, and wilayya is regarded as one of the pillars of Islam. Al-Kulaynī in his chapter on the dal’tum (pillars) in his Kitab al-‘aṣr according to the shaykh, meaning its distinctive doctrines and devotional-meditative discipline (The Shi’a orders in Islam, Oxford 1971, 214). Each ‘aṣr and each order derivative has its own akrad composed by its leaders. These form the “theme” of the ‘aṣr (ibid., 215). A Shi’a novice typically starts out with an assigned simple, secret aṣr and progressively is introduced to more demanding ones until, when fully initiated by “taking the aṣr” (akhdh al-‘aṣr), he or she essentially has mastered the complete system of the order.

V. Hoffman’s field-based research on contemporary Shi’i practices in Egypt includes valuable information about akrad and the ways in which they are viewed by masters and disciples in various orders. She reports, for example, that it is imperative for a person to have the permission of a shaykh before reciting an order’s akrad, because they are “believed to be so spiritually powerful that a person could go mad from reciting them without proper spiritual protection and preparation” (Sufism, mystics and saints in modern Egypt, Columbia, S.C. 1995, 132-3). The regular recitation of akrad, according to Hoffman’s informants, leads to “visions and other forms of spiritual revelation and [the disciple] will develop the gift of spiritual discernment that borders on clairvoyance” (133). Communal aṣr is preferred over solitary observance. Hence, if one performs one’s aṣr by oneself in the morning, a communal aṣr is encouraged after the evening salāt (ibid.).

There is much traditional wordplay concerning the term, because of the root w-r-d’s range of meanings and associations, e.g. “watering place”, “access, arrival”
at specified times for devotion to God, and "rose". (For more on this aspect, as well as numerous translated passages from tradition, see Constance Padwick, *Muslim devotions, prayer-manuals in common use*, London 1961, 20-2, et passim.)

**Bibliography:** In addition to works cited in the text, L. Massingham’s art. s.v. in *EI* remains valuable, particularly its listing of collections and manuals of *aurad* since the 8th/14th century. Massingham considered the “essential work” to be “Abd al-Hayy al-Kantútit, ḹafīr al-ḥafīr, 2 vols. ca 1546. (F.M. Denby)

**WĪSAL (A.),** or less frequently *mušāsala* “maintaining an amorous relationship, chaste or otherwise” (EA), a technical term of *Ṣīfīm*. *Wāsl* is employed in the same sense, with *wāsl* or *ḥājrān* (shunning, evasion) or even *faṣl* (separation).

*Wāsl* “amorous connection” is also recorded by the *Litān* as an equivalent of *istādāl* “the act of forming an amorous relationship”.

Nascent Ṣīfīm borrowed these terms from romantic poetry and integrated them into its own poetic production as well as into its doctrinal literature. Even with a poet such as ’Umar Ibn Abī Ṭabīb [q.v.], *wāsl* or *wāsl* signifies an amorous relationship which one accurses the other of not respecting rather than a union as such (cf. *Dīwân*, Cairo 1978, 77, 168, 176). In the poetry attributed to Rābi‘a al-ʿAdawīyya [q.v.], the opposition between *wāsl* and *ḥājrān* is encountered: “I have shunned (ḥajār) all creatures in the hope of a union on Your part, my greatest desire” (quoted by ’Abd al-Rahmān Badawi, *Shahīdat al-ṭālīf al-ḥājrī*, Cairo n.d., 163). The use by the Ṣīfīs of these terms continues to bear the mark of their origin: *wāsl* never signifies love in itself, but a link that is always fragile, liable to be broken or outgrown. It is not found in the lists of stages of love, borrowed from works dealing with profane love (cf. C. Ernst, *The stages of love in early Persian Sufism*, in *Classical Persian Sufism from its origins to Rumi* (ed. W. L. Lewis), London 1972, 435-55). No equivalent is to be found in Ṣīfīm to the lyricism of Ibn Ḥazm on *wāsl*, although in his works, the inexpressible and paradisiacal nature of the union could be considered a transition between profane love and sacred love (cf. *Tawq al-ḥamāma*, Fr. tr. L. Bercher, *Le collier du pigeon*, Algiers 1953, 118).

For al-Muḥāṣṣibī (d. 243/857 [q.v.]), while love cannot be described, it nonetheless leaves behind it indubitable traces on lovers “on account of the constancy of their link with their Beloved (غاوَدِهِم بِحَبْبِهِم مَعَ الْعَالَمِ)”, since God, in manifesting His love to them, instructs them (للَّهِ مَعَ الْعَالَمِ) (Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥiba*, x, 79; cf. J. van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Ḥāriti*, Bonn 1961, 224). Through *wāsl* and its equivalents, the exalted state of the lover is set apart from the outset taken two directions. One of them is poetic and based on imagery, expressing intense desire for union with, or proximity to God. Dhu l-‘Nūn (d. 246/861 [q.v.]) thus says of Muhammad that he was the first of the prophets to arrive in “the garden of union” (*muwdsala al-wisal*) (cf. Ibn al-ʿArabi, tr. R. Deladrière, *La vie merveilleuse de Dhu l-‘Nun l’Égyptien*, Paris 1988, 166; see also *Ḥiba*, ix, 375). The joy shown by al-Hallāj [q.v.] immediately before his execution, emanates, he declares, “from the coquetry of His beauty, which draws the elect towards union (wisal)” (al-Munāwī, *al-Kawākbī al-durrayya*, Cairo 1994, i, 545; *Passion*, i, 635, in error to Akhbār, no. 16). The second, more doctrinal direction seeks to determine the reality of the union. In the abridged version of his *Hukā’ī*, al-Salāmī quotes, with *timād*, the interpretation by Djaʾfar al-Sādirī of Kurʾān, VII, 143, when Moses asks to see God “in language of humility on the carpet of union (biḍāt al-wisal) in the shade of Majesty” (ed. G. Böwerer, *The minor Qur’ān Commentary of Sulaim*, Beirut 1995, 146). Regarding God’s reply “you shall not see Me”, Djaʾfar speaks further of *wisal* and of *muwdsala*, impossible to realise fully with God in this world (cf. P. Névy, *Le tafṣīl mystique de Djaʾfar al-Sādirī*, in *MSJ*, xlvi [1968], 18-19). Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. between 295 and 300/905-10
does not hesitate, however, to speak of ittisal in regard to the saints closest to God (Shat [or Kham] al-tau'yra), ed. B. Radike, in idem, Doch Schriften des Theosophen von Tromsdorf, Berlin 1980, 208, 210). This reservation is explained by Abû Bakr al-Wasîfî (d. after 320/932) in his commentary on the formula “God is great”: “You are too mighty to be as that of union with God (ittisal, wasl, wasl al-fasl tuwâdsalu) through its neglect, for separation and union are not movements, but that which has been determined from all eternity” (al-Kalâbîdî, Ta'rîfî, ed. 'Abîd al-Halîn Mâhmûd, Cairo 1960, 142, ch. 64). Poetry and doctrine are in no way incompatible. In the process of defining wasl and fasîl, al-Sarrâj relates that al-Shâhî (d. 334/945) went into a state of ecstasy (tausâd) when he heard this verse of al-'Abbâs b. al-Hajmān: “Your union (wasl) is shunning (hadâ', your friendship is ill-treatment, your proximity is distance and your peace is war” (Lunâ'î, 364, 433, tr. R. Gramlich, Schlaglichter aus dem Sufismus, Stuttgart 1990, 495). Sâmmûn, al-Kindî, known as al-Khûrâkî, one of the best examples of amorous lament addressed to God, in union as in denial (cf. al-Sulâmî, Tāḥākât al-Sufîya, ed. Nûr al-Dîn Şurâyba, Cairo 1969, 198; Abu Nu'aym, Hitây, x, 310-11: M. Lings, ch. Mystical poetry, in Camb. hist. of Arabic lit., ii, Abûsâd belles-lettres, Cambridge 1990, 243).

The general sense of union or of love which God manifests to those who remain faithfully and amorously attached to Him often means that wasl or wasâl are not found in the technical lexicon of tasawwuf, except in the case of some authors (see below). 'Amr b. 'Uthmân al-Makkî (d. 297/909) appears to be such an exception. Al-Hudîyârîqî writes his Kitâb al-maḥâbbah, where wasl is placed above proximity (kurb) and intimacy (ins) and associated with the most intimate part of being (snîr) (cf. Kâdhîf al-maḥâbbah, Eng. tr. R. A. Nicholson, 309, Fr. tr. D. S. Mâjâzî, Somme spirituelle, Paris 1988, 355). Ittisal, on the other hand, is more problematical, being open to various interpretations. In accordance with his method in the Manâzîl al-sârîn, al-Ansârî identifies three degrees of ittisâl and likewise of its corollary insâl “necessary condition or surpassing of union,” according to its degree (ed. and Fr. tr. S. Lousig de Beaurecueil, Cairo 1962, 99-101). In the Ibyâ', al-Ghazâlî stands out from his predecessors in insisting on the correspondence between sexual and spiritual union (wasl), as a way of underlining its delicious and ineffable character (Beirut, iv, 311-2). It would be natural to expect to find in a text such as the Abhar al-dhikrîn of Rûzînhân al-Bâlî (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]) frequent mention of the union-separation pairing, but in fact it rarely appears except in reference to the alternating states through which the soul passes in its relationship to God (Le Jardin des fidèles d'amour, ed. H. Corbin and M. Moîn, Tehran-Paris 1958, 76, 127, Fr. tr. Corbin, LAGRASSE 1971, 155, 244). On the other hand, this same author makes frequent reference to union in his Kur'ânic commentary, the Andîs al-bayân (Indian lith. 1315/1897-8). The same observation may be applied to his predecessor, al-Khâshîyâr (d. 465/1072), who interprets the verse of the Fûhâ ‘Guide us on the straight path’ as ‘Diver our intimate thoughts away from vision of the other, make the risings of lights shine in our hearts… raise us above the domains of research and demonstration, towards the esplanades of proximity, and the synthesis of union’ (Lûtîfî, ed. Ibûrhmân Bûsûnî, Cairo n.d., 61-2). In these two commentaries, the constant evocation of wasâl suggests what the predisposition of the heart should be in order to hear and to understand the Word of the Beloved.

Towards the end of the 6th/12th and during the 7th/13th centuries, the period of the great doctrinal syntheses, poetical expression of union, in its two alternate and indissoluble phases, like fânî and bâkî, knowledge and love (cf. Fâw'îh al-ghâmât, wa-fuwwis al-dirâs, ed. F. Meier, Wiesbaden 1957, 47). In a detailed passage, 'Umar al-Suhrawardî (d. 632/1234 [q.v.]) develops the idea that to each of the degrees of union (ittisal and muwâsâla) corresponds a certain “arrival” in God (wasl), a term which does not by any means signify that the journey towards God has come to an end (and al-ma'lûf, 334/945). Others insist on the need to move beyond such a notion. For Ibn al-Fârîd, union is a veil which must be lifted, since reality lies beyond it (cf. al-Tâ'wîsya al-kubrâ, in Divân, Cairo 1956, 52, and Fr. tr. Nicholson, in Studies in Islamic mysticism, Cambridge 1921, 197, v. 441). In accordance with his unitive vision of Being, Ibn al-'Arabî (d. 638/1240 [q.v.]) applies to man the union/separation polarity: ‘You claim union (wasl) and reunion, but I fear that your union is through you alone, not through Him. You declare ‘I am united’ (or, have arrived, wa'salû), while you are in separation!” (Tâdjudâyatî, with commentary of Ibn Sawdàkî, ed. Osman Yahya, Tehran 1988, 247-8). Taking as a starting-point the definitions of al-Sarrâj in his Lunâ'î, he assigns to the terms fânî and wasl exceedingly precise senses as phases of spiritual progression (cf. Istilâmî al-sûfîyâ, Haydarâbâd 1943, B. 12, 13, and Fûtakhât, Beirut, ii, 131-2). But he also brings union back to its divine principle; the verse LVII, 4, ‘And He is with you wherever you are” signifies that God remains with His creatures forever in a state of union (bîl al-wasl) (cf. Fûtakhât, ii, 480, chs. 200, 201, on wasl and fasîl). The genuine lover “makes no distinction between union and separation, occupied as he is with his Beloved, the object of his contemplation” (Fûtakhât, ii, 360 ch. 178 on love, Fr. tr. M. Gloton, Traité de l'amour, Paris 1986, 253). ‘Abîd al-Karîm al-Djilî (d. 826/1423) recognizes the validity of the term wa'sal when it signifies the uninterrupted reception of theophanies, while drawing attention to the difficulty that it raises: the wasl, he who enters into ties of love or who arrives at God is in a veil, since according to Reality, no sooner has arrival taken place than there is separation. In effect, wasl implies duality and, from this point of view, its opposite, fânî, overtake it and is superior to it (al-Manâzîl al-Îlâhîya, ed. Nadîr al-Îhramy, Cairo 1987, 160-1). ‘Abîd al-Razzâk al-Kâshânî (d. ca. 735/1334) in his Istilâmî al-sûfîyâ, ed. M. Kamal Daftâr, Cairo 1981, 24, 51-2, and the other two lexicons of technical terms of Sûfism attributed to al-Kâshânî both continue the work of Ibn al-'Arabî and develop original definitions of ittisal, wasl, wasl al-fasîl.

Other nuances in the work of later writers can also be found. The joy of union and the sadness of separation or their simultaneous acceptance have continued to inspire Suḥf poets throughout the Muslim world (Annemarie Schimmel gives examples in her Mystical dimensions of Islam, Chapel Hill 1975, index s.v. ‘ismā‘īlī mysticism, Fr. tr. Le soufisme ou les dimensions mystiques de l’Islam, Paris 1976, 353, 431, 433). In poems intended to enliven sessions of samā‘ and of dhikr and to raise the aspirations of disciples, teachers have continued to use these terms, wasl or wiqlī, to inspire in their listeners the desire for God (cf. the Algerian šākīh ‘Abd al-‘Alī Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Fattāh, Cairo 1993 in the first poem of his Dīwān, Damascus 1963, 3-4, 8, Eng. tr. M. Lings, in A Sufi saint of the twentieth century, London 1975, 3-4, 8, Fr. tr., Un saint musulman du vingtième siècle, Paris 1973, 247-54).

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WISAM (A., pl. awsiyma), in modern Arabic usage a decoration, order, medal or badge of honour.

The roots w-s-m and aw-s-m mean basically “to mark, brand [an animal]”, an important feature of nomadic life when ownership of beasts like horses and camels had to be determinable. For this idea of branding, marking, in Arabic desert life, see wasm. In the Old Turkish nomadic society, tamgah had a similar sense of “tribal mark or emblem”. In the modern Turkish pronunciation damgo it is used for government revenue stamps, ministerial seals for validating government documents, cancelling postage stamps, etc. [see TAMGHA, and on personal seals and stamps in Islamic society in general, KHATAM]. Wasm tended now to be the standard Arabic word for “decoration, order, etc.”, but when European-type orders were first imitated in 19th century Persia and other decorative marks on the faces of both sexes but especially as beauty marks on women; see for this Washm and wasima. The roots w-s-m and aw-s-m in modern Arabic usage mean basically “to mark, brand [an animal]”, an important feature of nomadic life when ownership of beasts like horses and camels had to be determinable. For this idea of branding, marking, in Arabic desert life, see wasm. In the Old Turkish nomadic society, tamgah had a similar sense of “tribal mark or emblem”. In the modern Turkish pronunciation damgo it is used for government revenue stamps, ministerial seals for validating government documents, cancelling postage stamps, etc. [see TAMGHA, and on personal seals and stamps in Islamic society in general, KHATAM]. Wasm tended now to be the standard Arabic word for “decoration, order, etc.”, but when European-type orders were first imitated in 19th century Persia and other decorative marks on the faces of both sexes but especially as beauty marks on women; see for this Washm and wasima. The connection of both wasm and wasim with the general sense of “to mark” > “to beautify” has yielded in Classical Arabic the adjective wasima “hav-
of one of their best-known biographical works, the Kitab al-Siyar.

Abu Rabl's family was from the Djariid, but he spent his youth in Adjlu in the Wad! Righ region. We know very little of his life, but he is said to have built up his reputation through extensive travels. His main teacher was Abu Muhammad 'Abd Allâh b. Muhammad al-Lawâtî [q.v.], originally from Cyrenaica, who had come to Adjlu in 450/1058-9. Among the important authorities from whom Abu Rabl learnt was another Wisyanî, Abu Muhammad Malikân b. Khayr. Abu Rabl may also have studied with Abu Zakariyya Yahyâ b. Abî Bakr al-Wardjlanî [q.v.]. Upon al-Lawâtî's death in 528/1133-4, Abu Rabl gathered numerous students around himself. His major work is the K. al-Siyar, a collection of biographical notices organised geographically, centering on his own southern Tunisian region but also including anecdotes from a wider range. It was widely used by later Ibadî scholars, such as al-Dirghîmî. It has not been printed, but copies exist in Djerba, Beni Isguen (Mârtha, Algeria), Cairo and Cracow.

Abû Rabî’s date of death is not known. It must have been after 528/1134, but probably before 557/1161-2, the earliest date of a work written by an anonymous student of his.

**Bibliography:** Dardînî, Tâbâkât al-mağâribîn, 513; Sharh al-Misâbîn [K. al-Siyar, ii, 145]; Lewicki, Notices sur la chronique tâbibîe d'âl-Dârînî, in RO, xi (1936), 162; idem, Quelques extraits [see above, Bibl. to 2], 7-10; idem, Un document tâbibî inédit sur l'émigration des Nafsâa du Cabal dans le Sahil Tunisien au VIIIe/IXe siècle, in Folia Orientalia, i (1960), 181-2, 190; idem, Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes Ibîditâ -Wahhibîs de l'Afrique du nord du VIIIe au XVIIe siècles, in Folia Orientalia, iii (1961), 68-9; idem, Histoire de l'Ibîdit dansMagrib [see above, Bibl. to 1]; pp. xi-xv; Ennami, Description of new Ibbîdi manuscripts [see above, i], 85-6; Bahbîh Ibrâhîm Bâkîr, al-Da'ila al-Rustamiyya: 160-296 h-777-909 m, Algiers 1985, 26-8.

(K.S. VIKOR)

**WITR** (مَيْتَر), also witr, a term found in hadîth and fiqh in connection with performance of the salât or worship and concerned with the odd number of rak'as which are performed.

Witr does not occur in this sense in the Kur'an, but frequently in hadîth, which in this case also discloses to us a part of the history of the institution in three stages, itself probably a continuation of the history of the fixing of the daily salât, as the traditions on witr presuppose the five daily salâts. Some traditions even go so far as to call witr an additional salât of an obligatory nature (see also below). When Mu'âdh b. Djabal, upon his arrival in Syria, perceived that the people of this country did not perform the witr, he spoke to Mu'âwiya on this subject. When the latter asked him: Is then this salât obligatory? Mu'âdh answered: Yes, the Apostle of God said: My Lord has added a salât to those prescribed to me, namely witr, its time is between 'ibâd and daybreak (Ahmad b. Hanbal, Manâmî, v, 242). In accordance with this tradition, it is reported that when witr had been forgotten or neglected, it had to be performed (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 206; Ibn Mâdja, Ibâma, bâb 122). 'Ubâda b. al-Sâmî, on the other hand, denied the obligatory character of witr on account of a different tradition (Ahmad b. Hanbal, v, 315-16, 319).

The second stage in the position of witr is expressed in those traditions in which Muhammad admonishes his people to perform witr, *for God is witr* (viz. One), and He loves witr* (e.g. Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 110).

The third stage of hadîth, which was to become the point of view of all maghâbîs with one exception, the Hanâfî school, is represented in those traditions which call this salât a 'sunna. Many traditions of this kind expressly deny its obligatory character and are consequently of a polemical nature; they are frequently ascribed to 'Ali (e.g. Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 86, 98, 100, 115, 120, 145, 148, etc.). It may be that this question, like other ceremonial points, belonged to the polemical repertory of the early Shî'is.

The time of witr is provided in hadîth in connection with different parts of the night. *"Witr consists of pairs of rak'as; whosoever fears subh must add a rak'â in order to make the total number odd"* (Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 5, 9, 10, 75). In other traditions, three rak'as are mentioned in order to avoid the subh (ja-bâdar al-subh bi-rafat'ayn, e.g. Ahmad b. Hanbal, ii, 71). The number of thirteen rak'as occurs also (al-Tirmidî, Witr, bâb 4), and in general, witr is supposed not to be allowed after salât al-subh (cf. Mâlik, Musawwita, Witr, trads. 24-8, and al-Tayâtî, no. 2192: "No witr for him who has not performed it before subh").

Witr is also frequently mentioned in connection with the first part of the night (cf. below). Abû Hurayra performed it before going to sleep, on Muhammad's order (al-Tirmidî, no. 2192). Muhammad himself is said to have performed this salât in any part of the night (e.g. al-Tirmidî, Witr, bâb 4). The time between 'îbâd and daybreak appears as the largest space accorded to witr in hadîth (Ahmad b. Hanbal, v, 242). It is prohibited to perform more than one witr-salât in one night (Ahmad b. Hanbal, iv, 23 bis).

Tradition frequently mentions the rak'as, prayers, invocations and formulas by which witr used to be followed (e.g. al-Nasâî, Kiyâm al-layl, bâb 51, 54; Ahmad b. Hanbal, i, 199, 350).

The chief regulations of witr as fixed by the different maghâbîs show insignificant divergencies only (see al-Shâ'rânt, 198 ff.), with the single exception that the Hanâfîs declare it to be obligatory. As an example, one may cite the rules of the Shafi'i school: the number of rak'as may vary between the odd numbers from one to eleven; the niyya [q.v.] is required; after every two rak'as and after the last a salâm or tashahhud is performed. The best time is immediately after tahâfîjud [q.v.] for those who do not perform this salât in the first third of the night. In the second half of Ramadân [see TARAWÎH], witr is prolonged by kunut [q.v.].


(A.J. WENSINCK)

**WIZE, modern Vize,** a small town of Eastern Thrace, now in European Turkey (lat. 41° 34' N.,
long. 37° 45' E.). It lies below the southwestern slopes of the Istranca Daglari on the road connecting Kirkareli [see kirk ilise] with Silivri and the Sea of Marmara.

The Byzantine town and fortress of Bizye (Bcijn), Byzus of the Latins, was a bishopric by 431 and a metropolitan see by the 14th century. It was apparently first taken by the Ottomans just after the middle of the 8th/14th century; the poet Ahmed attributes this occupation to Suleymân, eldest son of Orkhan, who is said to have died in 1357. But this must have been only a temporary event, and according to the Byzantine chronicler Ducas, it was not until March 1453, just before the fall of Constantinople, that Mehmed II's commander Karadja Beg conquered Bizye definitively, with its two churches of St. Sophia and St. Nicholas transformed into mosques. Türküs [g.v.] were settled in this frontier region and Wize became a sanjak of Rumeli. Subsequently, it came within the province of Ozu and Silistra. By 1486 it was included in the province of Edirne [g.v.] as the sanjak of Tekfürdagh or Tekirdaghi [g.v.], coming within the sanjak of Kirk Kilise in 1879. It had been briefly occupied by the Bulgarians in the spring of 1878. During the Balkan War of 1912-13 it was again occupied by the Bulgarians, and by Greek forces in 1920-2. With the Treaty of Lausanne, the town's 3,380 inhabitants, was resettled within Greece. In Republican Turkey, it is now within the province of Edirne and by Ewliya Celebi in 1668, the latter mentioning its fortifications and defences. Definitively captured ca. 833/1430, Vodina became part of the sandjak of Selânik, internally administered by local archons (democrats). Its fortifications and products were described by Kâtûb Celebi (Ger. tr. J. von Hammer, Rumeli und Bosna, Vienna 1812, 87) and by Ewliya Celebi in 1668, the latter mentioning 100 houses, 30 shops, ten khan and seven Orthodox churches functioning as a holy place for the Greek population (see D. Demetriades, Central and western Macedonia according to Ewliya Celebi [in Greek], Thessalonica 1973, 235, 241-2). In the 19th century, it was visited by various western travellers, e.g. W.M. Leake in 1808 (Travels in northern Greece, iii, London 1835, 275-6).

Edessans participated in the 1770 Russian-inspired Orlov revolt and the Greek War of Independence, whilst between 1798 and 1822 the town experienced the rule of 'Ali Paşa Tepedelenli [g.v.] of Albania, Bulgarian claims on the area began in the 1860s, but the town's eventual annexation to the kingdom of Greece was effected on 18 October 1912, at which time the town had a population of 4,000 Greeks, 1,530 Bulgarians, 46 Turks and a few Serbs (see J. Sarres, in Megali Hellenikês Enkylapodaia, ix, Athens 1964, 706-7). The town's fine 15th century mosque now houses its archaeological museum.

Bibliography: See also the detailed monograph on the town, Ç. Stalides, Edessa in the period of Turkish domination, 14th century to 1912 (in Greek), Edessa 1988, ii; also A. Vakalopoulos, History of Macedonia 1334-1833 (in Greek), Thessalonica 1969, repr. 1992, index, and idem, History of modern Hellenism (in Greek), iv-vi, Thessalonica 1973-82, index.

WOLOF [see SENEGAL].

WOLLOS [see KULUZ, in Suppl.]

WOYNUK (W), a term of Ottoman military and administrative usage which denoted a particular category of troops amongst other Balkan Christian landholding or tax-exempt groups employed by the sultans to perform specific combat and other militarily-related tasks (for other groups, see ELFAK and MARTOLOS).

The term stems from the Slavonic root meaning "war", "warrior", which appears also in the office of Voywoda [g.v.], likewise found in Ottoman usage.

The woyňus were especially useful to the sultans before the Ottoman state developed a fully-centralised, multi-functional military apparatus of its own. In newly-conquered lands along the empire's expanding Albanian and northern Balkan frontiers during the late 9th/10th and early 10th/11th centuries, woyňus provided an essential complement to the timariots [see timar] whose numbers were still insufficient to perform both offensive and defensive military functions. An idea of the numerical importance of woyňus can be gained when we consider that in the Vidin region during the time of Mehmed II Fatih, for example, woyňus still outnumbered timariots by a significant margin (Inalcik, Fatih devri, table on p. 165 showing 231 reg-

commands employed by the sultans to perform specific combat and other militarily-related tasks (for other groups, see ELFAK and MARTOLOS). The woyňus were especially useful to the sultans before the Ottoman state developed a fully-centralised, multi-functional military apparatus of its own. In newly-conquered lands along the empire's expanding Albanian and northern Balkan frontiers during the late 9th/10th and early 10th/11th centuries, woyňus provided an essential complement to the timariots [see timar] whose numbers were still insufficient to perform both offensive and defensive military functions. An idea of the numerical importance of woyňus can be gained when we consider that in the Vidin region during the time of Mehmed II Fatih, for example, woyňus still outnumbered timariots by a significant margin (Inalcik, Fatih devri, table on p. 165 showing 231 registered woyňus) as against 188 timar holders). By means of the woyňuk organisation, the Ottomans were able to secure the loyalty and co-operation of members of existing local landed military elites by confirming a kind of limited title to their own hereditary lands called bagftime. One limit was the satisfactory performance of the military duties assigned to them by the Ottomans. Having thus neutralised them, the Ottomans
could then turn to the woynuks to give support services essential to further military advance. The woynuks were often employed in the first period of Ottoman expansion as guardians of the frontier and as supplementary garrison forces who assumed responsibility for protecting the hinterland as the Turks advanced towards and eventually (after the fall of Belgrade in 1521) beyond the natural boundary formed by the Danube. The provincial law codes for Bosnia in the early 16th century contain explicit reference to the use of woynuks in unsettled regions of the frontier (ihtiydtlu yerler): as guardians of the roads and passes and as defenders of minor strongholds set up in vulnerable or strategically important sectors of the frontier and its immediate hinterland (see ref. in the law code dated 922/1516 and 937/1530 in the Bbl.). In time, the woynuks of some regions, especially in the area between the Danube and the Balkan range that, after the Ottomans' permanent establishment in Hungary in 948/1541, lost its strategic importance, lost their combat functions but kept their tax-exempt status by performing auxiliary services. Pastoralist woynuks were employed in large numbers for the breeding, grazing and general care of the horses belonging to the imperial stables [see MIR-ÁKHUR]. They also accompanied regular army units on campaign, with responsibility for the care and protection of the mounts belonging to the imperial garrison troops. Such woynuks were attached to the imperial stables and governed by their own regulations (see the law code published by Y. Ercan, Bulgarlar ve Voynuklar, 114-16). They managed to preserve their place as a distinct element within the complex Ottoman court and military organisational structure until the time of the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-8 (Uzunçarşılı, Saray teşkilati, 504).


(R. MURPHY)

WOYNUK — WU MA

A term derived from the Slavic root ωγν that signifies pertinence to the military or the sphere of war. In mediaeval Serbia it denoted a high-ranking commander and, on the eve of the Ottoman conquest, the governor of a military district (N. Radjojčić, ed., Žadonik tvora Stefana Dušana 1346-1359, Belgrade 1982, 65, 67; C. Jireček, Staat und Gesellschaft im mittelalterlichen Serbien, Part IV, Vienna 1919, 25-6). In early Ottoman sources the term appears in reference to former Christian lords (N. Beldivranu, Les Acts des évêques dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibl. nationale à Paris, Paris 1964, ii, 56-7). Soon it began to designate agents in charge of revenues from domains which enjoyed full immunity (serbest), i.e. the imperial demesne as well as the kâdi's fiels granted to viziers, provincial governors and other dignitaries (I.H. Uzunçarşılı, Osmanlı devletinin merkez ve batıbey teşkilâtı, Ankara 1984, 164-5, 321; M. Aktığ, Türkiye'nin skisadi ve itilat tarihi, i, Istanbul 1974, 89, 377-8, 382-4, 455).

With the expansion of the mukakkata system since the 11th/12th century, many kađa's and even sandžaks were administered by woysudos (Y. Ozkaya, XVIII. yüzyıloda Osmanlı kârânum ve Osmanlı toplumunun, Ankara 1985, 21, 200-2; Y. Gezâr, Osmanlı maliye- sinde bununla ve değişim dönmü, Istanbul 1986, 65, 144; L.T. Darling, Revenue-raising and legitimacy, Tax collection and finance administration in the Ottoman Empire 1560-1660, Leiden 1996, 129). Their role was further enhanced as a result of efforts to settle the nomads as peasants and the consequent revitalisation of deserted areas (C. Orbonlu, Osmanlı imperatorluğunda aşireti iskan teşebbüsü, 1519-1619, Istanbul 1963, 14, 18, 44).

On the whole, woysudos exerted, along with economic power, considerable political authority, since they were responsible also for public security and law enforcing the countryside accompanied by numerous armed men. Not least for this reason they were the cause of frequent complaints (H. Inalcîk, Adiletnameer, in Belçeler, ii/3-4 [1965], 49-165). The central government was hard pressed to find suitable persons for this job, i.e. persons who were acceptable also to regional interests. More often than not, local notables succeeded in controlling the woysudos' posts in their province until the institution was abolished during the early Tanzimat (M. Çâdricz, Tanzimat dönemiinde Anadolu kentlerinin sosyal ve ekonomik yapları, Ankara 1991, 29-32).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(F. ADAMIR)

WU MA “the Five Mas”, the group of five Muslim warlord-governors dominating North-west China in the Republican period (1911-49) until they were hard pressed to find suitable persons for this job, i.e. persons who were acceptable also to regional interests. More often than not, local notables succeeded in controlling the woysudos' posts in their province until the institution was abolished during the early Tanzimat (M. Çâdricz, Tanzimat dönemiinde Anadolu kentlerinin sosyal ve ekonomik yapları, Ankara 1991, 29-32).

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(WU MA)
Hung-pin (r. 1921-28 and 1931-33), and Ma Hung-k'ui (r. 1933-49). Most of the Ma warlords were Old Teaching (Lao Chiao) traditionalists who were more sinicised than the New Teaching (Hsin Chiao) reformists. They always complied with the central government's Han-centric policies, so that their rule was not particularly motivated by Islam. Amongst them Ma Fu-hsiang and Ma Hon-k'u, father and son, claimed by some authorities as neo-Confucianists, made efforts to incorporate Confucianism into Muslim school curricula. In order to echo the central government's policy of modernisation, they also introduced Western sciences into Muslim education. Ma Fu-hsiang used to urge Muslim associations to reprint Han-language Muslim classics of a Confucian-Islamic synthesis in order to stimulate Muslim integration into Han society. As a result, Islam in Northwest China underwent further assimilation, and the Salafiyya [q.v.] reform movement there was held back. The rule of the Ma warlords had a significant impact on the Muslim communities in Northwest China. Because of their Sinono-nationalist stance, the Northwestern Han-speaking Muslims' cultural identity within the universal umma was superseded by an identification with the Chinese motherland. The tendency of anti-acculturation and secession from China, which had burned during the second half of the 19th century, was thus momentarily subdued.


**WUDJUD** (a.), verbal noun from ḫṭ ḫṭ d-d “to find”.

In philosophy, here, it is one of the main words used to represent “being” in Arabic renderings of Greek ontological expressions, based on the present passive yādīdū, with the past passive wudjīdā, leading to the nominal form masdār. Al-masārī means “what is found” or “what exists”, and the masdar, wudjīd, is used as the abstract noun representing existence. Wudjīd and its related terms are frequently used to represent the copula (al-rabīṭa), sc. the English word “is”, in addition to being used to represent existence. Many philosophers writing in Arabic and Persian spend some time discussing the repertoire of terms, technical and familiar, which might be used to represent the sorts of ontological and logical points which are made in Greek philosophy. In this context, wudjīd tends to be identified with terms such as anānaya, huwa, ḫṭ ḫṭ [q.v.] and the verb ka, by contrast with terms representing being in the sense of essence such as mithāyya, ḥakīka, ḡāšt [q.v.] and in Persian usage, ǧaštar, ḡāšt. The ambiguity between wudjīd as the copula and as representing existence is well noted by al-Fārābī [q.v.], who points out that the statement Zar yād wudjīdā ʿašī" ("Zarid is just") can be understood purely syntactically without having any implication that Zarid actually exists. In his Commentary on the *De Inteptationibus*, Sharḥ al-Ṭūrā, he refers to the use of wudjīd as though it were an attribute and used to make an existential claim. But he is generally clear that existence is not part of the essence of a thing, and it is not implied by its essence either. Existence is never anything more than an accident. When he discusses Aristotle's logical terms in the latter's *Prior Analytics*, the expression ḫṭ ḫṭ wudjīdī is used to represent the Aristotelian hyparctic or assertoric syllogism. A crucial distinction made by Ibn Sīnā [q.v.] is between wudjīd and miṭyaqqa, where the former represents being and existence and the latter essence or quality. He speaks of God as the wudjīd al-wudjīd, the only being whose essence is to exist, in contrast with everything else which is contingent. The realm of existence can be divided up into the wudjīd al-wudjīd al-dhāhī, necessary being in itself, and everything else which follows from it. The idea that there are essences or concepts that need something to bring them into existence was readily adopted by many of the muta'allāmīn, and they discussed the particular kind of existence which is applicable to God, a very different kind than that which is applicable to His creatures.

Ibn Ruḥd [q.v.] is more explicit on the function of wudjīd as indicating a truth claim. Existence may be understood as attributing a predicate to a subject, an accident being applied to the substance which serves as the subject of the statement. Arguing that every existence has thus priority over essence, he formalised a powerful line of opposition to Ibn Sīnā's views on being, however. He accepted the logical distinction between existence and essence, but criticised its application to ontology. It is not just a matter of existence being brought to an essence that allows us to talk of the essence as being actualised, since the real existence of the essence is part of the meaning of the name, and is thus a condition of our use of the essence in the first place. If the existence of a thing depended on the addition of an accident to it, then precisely the same would be the case for existence itself, leading to an infinite regress.

Manuals of logic from the 4th/10th century regarded wudjīd as possessing an essence that the mind cannot comprehend without apprehension. This point is developed at great length by Shīhāb al-Dīn al-Suhrawardi [q.v.], who argues that the immediate idea of existence represents unmediated knowledge of reality. Al-Suhrawardi took this to show that essence is prior, since if existence were a predicate of essence, essence has to exist itself before any further question of existence can be raised. In his *ṣ̱rāk* [see *ṣ̱rāk*] approach, existence is nothing more than an idea, and one can describe reality in terms of lights with different intensities, ignoring existence altogether.

Mullā Sadrā Shīrāzī [q.v.] rejected this argument and replaced it with waššal al-s̱rāk, the priority of existence. He argued that existence is accidental to essence in the sense that existence is not a part of essence. But there is no problem in understanding how existence can exist itself as more than a thought, since existence is an essential feature of actuality itself, and so no regress is involved. A development of the concept is provided by Mullā Sadrā, who uses the term wudjīdīya. He argues that the wudjīdī in everything is real, except for the abstract notion of being where this is an entirely mental abstraction. It provides scope for making a more abstract reference to wudjīd, as in the expression mawjudīya al-wudjīdī, but he maintains the distinction between the wudjīd which is a mental abstraction and the wudjīd which is real. The former tends to be identified with the notion of universality, and when wudjīd is used in its widest
sense Mulla Sadra claims that it is used bi 'l-tashkik, not in a univocal manner. Everything which exists has something in common, since otherwise we should say that they do not exist, and what they have in common is not exactly the same attribute, but something that they share analogously. By contrast to al-Suhrawardi, what everything has is some degree of existence rather than some degree of light. Like his predecessors, he distinguishes between the copulative use of wujūd (al-wujūd al-rdbit) and real being (al-wujūd al-hakk). In the case of the former, what is connected by wujūd are ideas in the mind, not necessarily anything real. What is it, then, that the different uses of wujūd have in common, which manages to distinguish them from claims concerning non-existence? The answer for Mulla Sadra is that all uses of wujūd imply either mental or real existence.

He argues that existence is the basic notion of metaphysics, not essence. He accepts that we can think of a concept existing in reality, and only existing in our minds, but this does not show that existence is merely an attribute which is tacked on to the concept's essence in the case where it actually exists. When something exists and yet we think of it as not existing, we are thinking of the same thing: our name refers to the same object, and so existence comes first, and its precise characterisation later. Even things that only exist in our minds, but which we then reveal to say what they are like. These arguments over the relative priority of existence and essence played a leading role in the structure of Islamic philosophy.


own identity as Muslims against a certain Indo-Muslim syncretism of their own times, later Šūfis such as Gūṭīdrīk (d. 825/1422) and especially the celebrated Ahmad Sirhindī (d. 1034/1624) [q.v.] laid claim to an even higher form of mystical experience than the one associated with Ibn al-ʿArabī. Their doctrine, as distinct from ṣaḍad al-wuṣūd, is generally referred to as ṣaḍad al-shuhūd. On the other hand, the doctrine of ṣaḍad al-wuṣūd as elaborated by Ibn al-ʿArabī's immediate followers such as Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Kūnāwī (d. 673/1274) was vigorously defended by Nūr al-Dīn Abū al-Raḥmān l-Dīnjārī (898/1492), particularly in his scholastic treatise, al-Dūr al-fikhrī fi ṣabīlīt maṣḥūb maṣḥūb wa-l-nuṣūr wa-l-ṣuḥūf al-muṣtakhādh (ed. N. Heer, Tehran 1358/1980, idem, The Precious Pearl, Albany 1979); and this intellectual Šūfi tradition in turn exercised a strong influence on the formation of a new philosophy of the "primacy of existence" (ṣaḍad al-wuṣūd), as opposed to the more traditional philosophy of the "primacy of quiddity" (ṣaḍad al-māhāṣṣa), with Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 1505/ 1604).

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Minor ablutions are necessary when a person's state of impurity comes from a "minor impurity" (al-ḥadāṭ al-aggār) and when there is available a liquid considered as suitable for purification at hand for this (if not, dry ablutions, tayammum [q.v.] are permissible). The state of minor impurity has as its main effect, universally recognised, to render invalid performances of the worship. The prohibition of touching or handling a copy of the Kurān (following LVI, 77-9) or of making the ṣawāf [q.v.] in the course of the Pilgrimage are, however, subjects of controversy. Minor impurities invalidating the state of ritual impurity are equally the subjects of controversy. According to the Shāfīʿīs, there are five causes of this state: 1. "Everything which comes forth from the two natural orifices" (except the urine of sucking infants); 2. sleep (there is discussion about a light amount of this); 3. loss of reason; 4. touching a person of the other sex with or without "passionate" intention; and 5. touching the genitalia or anus in certain conditions (see al-Shīrāzī, Muḥammad al-Daṣṣāq, Damasacus-Beirut 1992, i, 95-100). The Ḥanbalis add to this apostasy and consuming camel's meat, and consider that physical contact with a member of the opposite sex must have a carnal intention to bring about impurity (see Le pré ced de droit d'Ibn Qudāmā, tr. H. Laoust, Beirut 1950, 6). The Ḥanafīs retain only nos. 4 and 5, but they consider that a bout of uncontrolable mirth (kahkāhā) during the worship invalidates the state of purity, necessitating fresh ablutions and beginning the act of worship in question once more (see al-Kaṭṭāf al-Shāhī, Ḥiyāt al-islāmā, Beirut-ʿAmsānā 1980, i, 149-55; for the Mālikī doctrine, Ibn Abī Zayd al-Kaṣawwānī, al-Raṣālā, tr. L. Bercher, Algiers 1975, 28-31).

Rainwater, based on Kurān, V, 11 and XXV, 48, is the purifying element (al- ṣaḥād) par excellence. Even on this point, there were numerous discussions: What quality of water purifies? How does one distinguish pure from impure water? What other liquids can be assimilated here to water? (see al-Šaymārī, Taḥṭib al-ṣahāfāt, Kum 1987, i, 21-5).

Regarding the ways of accomplishing ṣaḥād, the question of preliminary intention (niyya [q.v.] of purifying oneself has always been a subject of debate amongst the jurists of the Ḥanafī and those of other schools. For the latter, express intention is vital, if the ablutions in question are not to be rendered invalid, following the Prophet's famous saying, "Actions are only valid according to the intention". The Ḥanafīs, however, hold that, for purifications in general, only those made with a solid substance (such as in tayammum) necessitate it. At the heart of Sunnīsm, the question has assumed such importance that it clearly constitutes one of the signs of adherence to one or another legal school.

The acts making up ṣaḥād, known from Kurān, V, 6, and numerous Prophetic traditions (sometimes contradictory), are traditionally divided into "obligatory" and "recommended". In their details, the doctrines here are so divergent that it does not seem worth going into detail. One may merely observe that the divergences are most often engendered by different interpretations of the vocabulary of purifications, e.g. regarding "rubbing the head" (mash al-ra's), what is meant by "rubbing" and how to define "the head"? On such questions, the jurists use linguistic argumentation
ad lib. Thus the Shafi'i Abū Hāmid al-Ghazālī considers that six acts are necessary for simple ablutions: 1. expression of intention; 2. washing the face (ghusl al-wajah); 3. washing the two hands (ghusl al-duāyān); 4. rubbing the head; 5. washing the two feet (ghusl al-nāqṣayn); and 6. respecting the order of performing these procedures (al-tartib). He then mentions 18 elements simply “recommended”, such as rinsing the mouth, washing the ears, etc. (al-Wadhīq, Beirut 1994, 10-13).

Cleaning the teeth with an anāk stick (siwād [q.v.]) is treated separately in the legal treatises, probably because it was the particular object of a saying by the Prophet (“Were it not for my desire not to burden my community, I would have ordered them to clean the teeth before every act of worship”). Following this saying, the jurists consider this to be strongly recommended but not obligatory.

A topic which divides Sunnis from Shi‘is is that of “rubbing one’s shoes”: Is it permissible to replace “rubbing one’s shoes” with an anāk stick? This is a criterion for a person to determine his own state (jakīr) and should accomplish the wudū’ (see al-Sharā’i, op. cit., i, 130-42, and AL-MASHA’I, ‘AL ‘I-4 L-SHUFAYN).

The principle according to which a doubt (ḥabbūk) cannot damage a certainty (yukhūk) is often invoked as a criterion for a person to determine his own state and thus knows whether he should proceed to make his ablutions. A person who is doubtful in knowing whether he has been exposed to an impurity can legitimately consider himself in a state of impurity and should accomplish the wudū’ (see al-Sharā’i, op. cit., i, 102-3).

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(E. CHAUMONT)

WUFUD (a., sing. wafid) delegations.

1. In the time of the Prophet.

In the biography of the Prophet Muhammad [see SHA] this term designates the mainly tribal deputations which came to him in Medina, mainly during the ninth year of the Islamic era known as “the Year of Delegations”. They started arriving during Shawwāl 8 A.H., after the abortive siege of al-Tā’if [q.v.] or, according to another version, after Muhammad’s return from Tabūk [q.v.] (Shabān or Ramadan 9 A.H.). Earlier visits to the Prophet are also reported. Some tribesmen are said to have come to him when he was still in Mecca. The Djihaunya delegation [see KUNDĀ’], at Vol. V, 315b-316a is supposed to have arrived at Medina shortly after the Hijra [q.v.], while the Muzayyinah [q.v.] are said to have come in 5 A.H. The last delegation was that of the Nakha’, which came in mid-Muharram 11 A.H.

The abundant source material about the delegations then reveals typical features of the visitors, such as hairstyles, clothes and tribal dialects. Strange and uncommon words that an eloquent leader included in his ceremonial address sometimes account for the preserving of the whole report (cf. Madjīd al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr, Manāl al-tālib fī gharb wasl al-ghara‘ib, ed. M.M. al-Ṭanāḥī, Mecca [1399/1979], passim). Most if not all of the source material was transmitted in the early days of Islamic historiography by descendants of the Prophet’s Companions (Elders/Companions) wishing to secure for their ancestors a place in the sacred history of the Prophet. Indeed, in many reports about visitors—it is often difficult to tell a visitor who came on his own initiative from a tribal delegation—one finds the fingerprints of the partly concealed. For example, the leader of the ‘Abd al-Kays [q.v.] delegation puts—in first person—his own praise in the Prophet’s mouth; and one of the reports on the Kinda [q.v., at Vol. V, 119b] delegation is specifically said to go back to al-‘Abd al-Ghāshā [q.v.] b. Kays. In one version of Ibn ISTER’s biography of Muhammad there is a long account on al-Tufayl b. ‘Amr al-Dawsī with an ‘imād or chain of authorities going back to al-Tufayl himself. (In the other versions of the same biography the report appears without an ‘imād.)

Elders (māyābkha, ‘adīyāb) also figure prominently as transmitters of reports on tribal delegations. There is evidence of written records in the “pre-historiographical” phase. Al-Wakīdī quotes (through one intermediary) an informant of the ‘Udhra [q.v.] who, with regard to his tribe’s delegation, quotes “the book of his ancestors’ (kīthā ‘ābān) ...

Sometimes accounts on a delegation exist both as “general history” and as family history. Ibn ISTER’s report on the Hawāzin [q.v.] delegation, the protagonist of which is Zuhayr b. ‘Uthmān al-Diğāmithi of the Hawāzin, has an ‘imād going back to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ. However, a similar (though not identical) report on the same delegation exists with a family ‘imād going back to Zuhayr himself. The family account persisted well into the 3rd/9th century, and in 274/887-8 it was transmitted to the fourteen-year-old al-Ṭabarānī [q.v.].

Monographs on the delegations were compiled by al-Wakīdī [q.v.], Ibn al-Kalbī [see AL-KALBĪ, section II], al-Madāʾinī [q.v.] and al-Ḥaytham b. ‘Adī [q.v.]. Al-Madāʾinī’s monograph is said to have included the delegations of the Yaman, the Muḍar and the Rabl [see RABL AND MUḌAR], which no doubt reflects its internal division. The lost monographs only comprised part of the large source material about delegations scattered throughout the Islamic literature.

In addition to tribal delegations, there was one of Ethiopians, another of Persian Abna‘ q.v., no. II] and yet another of Ṭabī‘ al-Kubār [q.v.] (who in this case were the Jews). The Naḍrān [q.v.] delegation was made up of Christians and that of the Taghlib [q.v.] comprised both Christians and Muslims. The Naḍrānīs and the Christian Taghlibīs did not convert to Islam, unlike the Christian members in the delegations of the ‘Abd al-Kays, the Nakha’, the Ḥanafī [see ḤANAFĪ B. LAYJAYN] and the Bayṣī‘ī. Also the gīm [q.v.] and predatory beasts reportedly sent delegations to the Prophet.

The arrival of the Thakīf [q.v.] delegation, which was a turning point in Muhammad’s career, was brought about by military pressure applied by the Hawāzin leader, Mālik b. ‘Awf [q.v.]. Muhammad managed to lure him out of al-Tā’if, depriving the Thakīf of their main Bedouin ally. Mālik’s harassment of his former allies pushed them to the inevitable negotiations in Medina in which Muhammad adopted a fairly flexible attitude (M.J. Kister, Some reports concerning al-Tāʿīf, in JSAI, i [1979], 1-18). Similar tactics were used with regard to the South Arabian town of Djarash. Having visited Muhammad in 10 A.H., the Azd [q.v.] leader ‘Uthmān b. ‘Abd Allāh besieged Djarash, compelling its inhabitants to dispatch a delegation to Medina. In both cases Muhammad employed the nomads to subdue the settled.

In the short term, Muhammad’s tribal tactics were divisive. Farwa b. Mudayk al-Muradī was given control
over fellow tribesmen who followed him, and was in-structed to fight other tribesmen who turned away from him. The combination of diplomacy and military pressure is also evident elsewhere. An imminent Muslim attack brought to Medina the Sudr delegation, and the Numayr came under similar circumstances. The taking of Tamîm captives was behind the arrival of the Tanîm delegation (E. Landau-Tasseron, Process of redaction: the case of the Tamîmite delegation to the Prophet Muhammad, in BSOAS, xlix [1986], 253-70).

While most tribal visitors came to declare their loyalty to the new religion and its founder, some of them considered succumbing to Muhammads authority (which in their view was a form of Kurashi expansionism) as a relinquishment of their own political ambitions. 'Amir b. al-Tufayl [q.v.], who led the 'Amir b. Sa'sa'a [q.v.] delegation, suggested that power be divided between him and Muhammad, or that he become the latter's heir. Also, Musaylima [q.v.] reportedly demanded to succeed the Prophet.

The Prophet's recognition of tribal rights to land and water resources appears in many of the letters given to the delegations. Ownership of these resources was often disputed, and some visitors made claims to land which was not theirs (on al-Dahna [q.v.], see Kister, Land property and Jihad, in JESHO, xxxiv [1991], 270-311, at 305; cf. M. Lecker, The Banu Sulaym, Jerusalem 1989, 174-5).


2. In the early caliphate.

During the time of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, delegations continued to arrive at the caliphal court, usually headed by leaders and chiefs from outlying districts. A combination of diplomacy and military pressure, as a wayfâd or musafâd, was regarded as prestigious and a reward for great eloquence. Thus Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, in his section on delegations, the kitâb al-'ajmûma fi l-ewayfâd, ed. Ahmad Amîn et alî, Cairo 1940-53, ii, 3-121, lists delegations from such groups as the people of al-Yamâmâ to Abû Bakr, and from Djabala b. Ayham, al-Ahnaf b. Kays [q.v.] and 'Amr b. Ma'dîkarib to 'Umar b. al-Khâtîb. But the insti-tution is particularly well documented in regard to the Umayyads, with the Sufyânîd Mu'awwiyah I [q.v.], as much in his role as sâyyid, supreme tribal leader of the Arabs, as that of Islamic caliph, on various occasions inviting wayfâd of powerful tribal chiefs who upheld the Umayyad cause in Syria and elsewhere but also of potential rivals and opponents, in order to consult and seek agreement on certain contentious issues (see below).

Provincial governors and local leaders would send delegations to the caliph in order to affirm their loyalty, normally receiving in return subsidies or allocations of taxation, as 'Amr b. al-As [q.v.] received the khabârûdî of Egypt for his loyalty to Mu'awwiyah. Poets would come as wayfâd seeking largesse from the caliph, in return for which support would be expected in their verses for the ruler and his policies (cf. 'Ibîd, ii, 82 ff.; Djiarî to 'Abd al-Malik, al-Aswâq to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz, etc.).

Some of the wayfâd invited by Mu'awwiyah dealt with highly important and delicate issues. This was clearly the case when towards the end of his reign, in the late 670s, the caliph wished to secure the succession of his son Yazid after his own death, a novelty in Arab ruling practice, since 'Alî had failed to secure a lasting succession for his son al-Hasan. Delegations were summoned to Damascus both from the loyal Syrian chiefs and commanders and also from potentially hostile groups like the army in 'Irâk and the Anjârî, although neither al-Husayn b. 'Alî nor 'Abd Allâh b. al-Zubayr [q.v.], both of whom regarded themselves as having strong claims to succeed, was present. In an opening speech, Mu'awwiyah expatiated on the qualities of Yazid for the succession, and the leader of the Kays in northern Syria and the Djiarî, al-Dhahbî b. Kays al-Abhirî [q.v.], proposed Yazid's candidature, supported by others of Mu'awwiyah's partisans like 'Abd al-Rahîm b. 'Uthmân al-Jâkafi, combattant arguments of the opposition. The leader of the 'Irâkî Arabs, al-Ahnaf b. Kays [q.v.], was eventually won over by a substantial monetary payment (see al-Mas'ûdî, Marânî, v, 69-73 = §§ 1827-30, and cf. Wellhausen, The Arab kingdom and its fall, Eng. tr. Calcutta 1927, 141-3).

**Bibliography** (in addition to references given in the article): H. Lammens, Études sur le royaume de l'âge maomienne Muawiyah I, Paris 1908, 61-2; idem, Le califat de Yazid I, Beirut 1921, 103-6. (C.E. Bosworth)

**AL-WUKûF** (a.), lit. place of standing, station, for prayer and thanksgiving on the plain of 'Arafah [q.v.], or 'Arafat, some 20 km/12 miles to the east of Mecca, the culminating rite of the Meccan Pilgrimage (see râqûl).

A rite of wayfâd existed there in pre-Islamic times and seems to have constituted a main element of the pagan hajdâ, independent moreover of that in the hawm of Mecca. The pilgrims arrived in their tribes at Dhu ʾl-Madjâz, assumed a state of sacralisation and accomplished there various devotions before going down again by running towards Muzdalîfah. Wellhausen suspected that it may have involved an autumn ritual linked with the trials of the end of summer and the expectation of rains; to it is impossible for us now to reconstitute with any certainty the details and the meaning of this rite for the pagan Arabs. Whatever the case, Muḥammad knew how to confer on it an eminently monothetic dimension. He showed to the faithful the details of the ritual, henceforth Muslim, at the time of the Farewell Pilgrimage of 10/632. The pilgrims perform it on 9 Dhu ʾl-Hijjâd. For preference, they pass the night of the 8th-9th at Minâ, 6 km/4 miles from Mecca, but it is allowable to come to 'Arafat on the evening of the 8th. The sâma requires a person to be there just after midday. Slightly outside the sacred area, a brief sermon is given, following the Prophet's example, and the 'asr and 'asr worships are performed conjointly and in an abridged form. The rite proper then begins, according to modalities reduced to the most abbreviated form. 'Arafat appears as an immense desert plain fringed with rocky hills, with no building on it except for the mosque of al-Namîra; tents are merely erected to protect the pilgrims from the sun. These last perform very modest rites. No special gesture is required; the pilgrims can be seated, standing, mounted on an animal or, at the present time, in a vehicle. They turn in the direction of the kibla, and may draw near, as did the Prophet, to the hill called the hill of mercy (gâbal al-rahmât), if possible standing without stopping in prayer.
to God. The text of these prayers is in one part fixed by tradition. First of all, the talâbiya [q.v.] is pronounced ("Here I am, O Lord...") and various supplications, often drawn up to the Prophet; but it is equally allowable to make personal prayers, for oneself or for absent ones. To ask pardon for one's sins is prescribed, for everyone will be pardoned on that particular day:

"The gravest of sins for the pilgrim at 'Arafât is to believe that God will not pardon him" (al-Ghazzâlî, Ḥadîth, i.7, 3). Finally, after sunset, the pilgrims go down en masse in the direction of Muzdalîfâ, where they spend the night. The pre-Islamic tradition of going forward precipitately and making as much noise as possible (an act of sympathetic magic to induce storms and rain?) was denounced by the Prophet, but it persisted, curiously, during mediaeval times and till today.

One should note that a second wukûf takes place at Muzdalîfâ in the morning of 10 Dhu 'l-Hijjah, just after the dawn worship, an attenuated memory of the corresponding pre-Islamic ceremony dedicated to the god of thunder Kuzâh, whose mountain overhangs the place. This second standing session is not obligatory, and the crowd movements of recent decades caused by increased numbers of pilgrims make it in practice almost impossible to realise collectively. In differentiation from the rites at Mecca and Mina, those of the wukûf have not acquired an "Abrahamic" sense, perhaps because of their clearly observable religious significance.

The spiritual significance of the wukûf is immense. It forms the very heart of the ḥajj. To stand at 'Arafât is obligatory, if only for a short instant, between the afternoon and dawn of 10 Dhu 'l-Hijjah. Without it, the whole of the Pilgrimage is invalid and cannot be compensated by other sacrifices, as is the case with the omission of certain other rites. The wukûf constitutes, as attest those who have given an account of their own Pilgrimage, the most concentrated and most emotional moment of the ḥajj. In it, the Islamic community discerns its unity and its immediate, direct contact with God. This gathering together is often viewed as prefiguring the eschatological one of the Resurrection, each believer being dressed in his shroud garment as in a shroud. It is in any case the most specifically monothestic ritual manifestation that the Muslim ritual set up or retained from pre-Islamic practice.


WUSHMGIR b. ZIYÂR, Zâhir al-Dawl[a, the second ruler of the Daylamî dynasty of the Ziyârids [q.v.] of northern Persia, r. 323-56/935-67. Wushmgir is said to have meant "quail-catcher", according to al-Ma'sûdî, Miftâh, ix, 30 = § 3603, cf. Justi, Iranisches Namenbuch, 339.

Wushmgir was the lieutenant of his brother Mardwâdî [q.v.], and after his death was hailed at Rayy as his successor by the Daylamî troops. Until ca. 328/940 he held on to his brother's conquests in northern Persia, but thereafter was drawn into warfare, in alliance with another Daylamî soldier of fortune, Mâkin b. Kâkî [q.v.], with the Sâmânîs, who had ambitions in northern Persia. Wushmgir lost Ishfâhan and Rayy to the Bûyids brothers 'Alî and Hasan (sc. 'Imâm al-Dawl[a and Rûn al-Dawl[a [q.v.]), and entrenched himself in the Caspian provinces of Gurgân and Tabaristân. Very soon he became willy-nilly a client of the Sâmânîs, receiving support from Sâmânî armies on various occasions when the Bûyids drove him out of Tabaristân (333/945, 335/947, etc.) and twice when he vainly attempted to regain and hold Rayy (331/943, 347/958). In 356/967 the Sâmânî general Muhâammad b. 'Abd al-Salâm took Tabaristân and Wushmgir came together in Gurgân in order to launch an attack on Rûn al-Dawl[a, but this was aborted by Wushmgir's death whilst hunting on 1 Muhârram 357/7 December 967 (thus in Miska-wayh, Taṣâ'īrî, ii, 233, tr. v, 247).

He was succeeded as ruler of the Ziyârid amirate by his son Bîsûtîn, whose rule was, however, challenged by another son, Kâbûn [q.v.], who eventually secured the throne for himself. The Ziyârids were able to survive for more than a century further, but only as a local Caspian power.


WUTHUK AL-DAWLA, Mirzâ Hasan Khân, Persian statesman, belle-lettrist, several times cabinet minister and twice prime minister, b. in Tehran April 1875, to a prominent landowning family, and d. there February 1951. His paternal grandfather, Mirzâ Muhammâd Kawâm al-Dawl[a held, among other positions, the governorship of Khûrusân in 1853 and Isfâhan in 1872, and his maternal uncle was the reformist-minded constitutionalist Mirzâ 'Ali Khân Amin al-Dawl[a (1844-1904), chief minister to Musâfîr al-Dîn Shâh Kâdîjâr [q.v.]. Wuthuk al-Dawl[a's younger brother Kawâm al-Salîhana (1876-1954) was several times prime minister, and proved instrumental in arranging for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Adharbâyjân in the aftermath of the Second World War; his cousin Muhammâd Muşâddîk al-Salîhana [q.v.] was prime minister during the tumultuous years of the nationalisation of Persian oil in the early 1950s.

Mirzâ Hasan Khân held his first official appointment at the age of twenty as governor of Adharbâyjân,
conferring upon him, along with the title of Wuthuk al-Dawla, by Nasir al-Din Shah [q.v.], who was impressed by his exceptional aptitude and capability. With the rise of the constitutionalist movement [see DURSTON, iv] in Persia in the first decade of the 20th century, Wuthuk al-Dawla, a strong advocate of limited monarchism, entered the first parliament in 1906 as representative of the merchant's guild. After a series of key cabinet posts in critical times, Wuthuk al-Dawla held the premiership for a couple of months in 1916-17, a tenure paralysed by political chaos and internal rebellion. In that brief period he collaborated with his brother-in-law, then minister of education, to establish a dozen girls' schools in the capital.

Persia withstood several partition plans in the first two decades of the twentieth century, and when Wuthuk al-Dawla was made prime minister again in 1918, separatist pro-Bolshevik groups, including the well-known Djangali movement (1915-21 [q.v.]) led by Mirza Khatir Khaani, sought to establish autonomous republics along the northern borders of Persia. The first year of Wuthuk's second premiership then was spent in quelling riots and restoring the rule of law and order, with British help, taking advantage of an overarching British sentiment to thwart the Bolshevik threat in the region. In 1919, in an attempt to centralise civil administration and the army, and to ensure a complete modernisation of the bureaucratic and financial sectors along western lines, he signed the provisional Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919 with Sir Percy Cox, the British minister in Persia. The agreement which intended—in lieu of placing Persian financial and military administration under British control—to replicate western-style civil institutions in Persia, was met with opposition from the parliament and other members of the Persian court and aristocracy, as well as the Russian, French and American legations in Tehran. The controversial agreement, which did little more than recognise de facto British control over Persian affairs, led to Wuthuk al-Dawla's dismissal in 1920, and was subsequently annulled by the fourth Persian prime minister.

The premiership was not only accused of forfeiting Persia's sovereignty but also of taking a bribe from the British government. In that same year, he was made a Knight of the Grand Order of Bath (Overseas List) by the British crown.

Although Wuthuk al-Dawla resumed limited political activity after spending a few years abroad, as minister of finance and then justice in 1926, and member of parliament in 1930, the rest of his political career was diminished both as a result of the highly unpopular agreement as well as the change of dynasty in 1925.

A poet of considerable renown, translator of Kant and Rousseau, and essayist, Wuthuk al-Dawla earned the respect of leading Persian intellectuals of his period. Particularly noteworthy in this regard are his Diwan, with an introduction by the laureate Malik al-Shu'ar' Bahar [q.v.], and an early lucid, and surprisingly modernist essay on the emancipation of women, written after Rida Shah Pahlavi's [q.v.] unpopular policy of forbidding Persian women to appear veiled in public. After his retirement from political affairs, Wuthuk al-Dawla directed the newly-established Language Academy, the Farhangstani-i Iran, for three years from 1936.

**Bibliography:**

**NEGUIN YAVARI**

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**Y**

Yā', the 28th letter of the Arabic alphabet, with the numerical value 10. It stands for the semivowel 
and for the long vowel i, which the grammarians analyse as short i (kasra) plus yā'. For the shortening of final i before hamza al-teasi, see wāw. Yā' is also used, like alif and waw, as a "support" for medial or final hamza [q.v.], reflecting presumably the ancient Hijazi dialect loss of hamza in certain positions with concomitant glides.

In word-final position, alif maksura (that is to say: long a not followed by hamza) is written sometimes with alif and sometimes with ya'. In the latter case, it can be transliterated as a; in manuscripts it is often noted as yā' with a small superscript alif. The rules for the distribution of the two spellings are complicated and there is much fluctuation in manuscripts; in general, the spelling with a is preferred in words with third radical y (e.g. bawā), but also in words with third radical w if other forms of the same stem have yā' (e.g. tadā'ā, by analogy to the second person taddāyasu). The position is similar regarding the particles ila, 'ala and lada, because of forms with suffixes like ilayhi. In Kur'ānic orthography, the spelling with yā' is retained before pronominal suffixes, but the modern convention is to replace it by alif in non-final positions. Otherwise, non-final a is written with ya' only in the loan word taraddi (nawj, alongside the regular taraddi), which was perhaps not borrowed directly from Hebrew tirah but from some Aramaic form with yā. For a classic formulation of these rules see, for example, Ibn Kutayba, Adab al-kāthib, ed. Grünert, 278-84. There is good reason to think that originally these spellings had a phonetic rationale, namely, that yā' was used to represent a final a affected by "inclination" (imāla [q.v.]), that is to say, pronounced as [e] or [æ]. Bergsträsser noted that in the Kur'ān a does not
normally rhyme with á. However, the distribution of the “inclining” and “non-inclining” allophones of á must have altered after the time when the orthography of the Kur'án was established. In many cases, the Kufán school of Kur'án readers still prescribed the “inclining” pronunciation in words written with á, and the “non-inclining” one in those with final alf, but the Basra school regarded 'imāla to be independent of the orthography and conditional on the phonetic environment.

Modern books printed in Egypt generally omit the two dots of the final form of yā' when it stands for ē or ā, but set them if it stands for á, but printers in Syria and Lebanon follow exactly the opposite convention. Mediaeval pointed manuscripts either always omit the dots, or always set them, or use both pointings indiscriminately; a case can be made for always omitting them. Moreover, manuscripts often retain the points of the medial yā' that stands for hamza (adding, or not adding, the hamza sign above the letter), but the modern convention is to write this yā' without dots. Classical Persian generally follows the Arabic conventions for writing Arabic loanwords, apart from the fact that Persian sometimes uses yā' also for final “inclining” á, e.g. in گیل, in Arabic گیل, for which the older Persian pronunciation was تِل. In native words yā' stands for the semivowel y and for the long vowels ē and ā (called yā'-ta madfuj and yā'-ta madhhab respectively; cf. یاَو). In good poets, Persian ĕ does not rhyme with Persian or Arabic ی, but it can rhyme with Arabic “inclining” ی. E.g. Persian سیب “apple” can rhyme with the loanword نیک (Arabic نیک), but not with یاغی. In modern Western Persian, old ē and ā merge as [i], and ęy is pronounced [e]; but the old pronunciations are retained in most dialects of Afghanís-tan and تاجیک and in the traditional Persian pronunciation in India. Thus Afghanís still distinguish between میلک “milk” and لیون “lion”, but Persians now pronounce both words as میلک.

Urdu generally follows the scribal conventions of classical Persian, but distinguishes in final position be-tween undotted ē for ē and ę for ā. Turkic languages can use yā' for ē, ē, or ā.


AL-YĀBĀNĪ, the modern Arabic term for a person of Japanese descent.

1. Islam in Modern Japan. The Japanese began to receive information about the Islamic world through Chinese sources beginning in the 8th century. However, it was not until the early 10th century that a substantial introduction to the Middle East and Islam in Japan was written in Japanese by a Confucian intellectual and politician, Arai Hakuseki (1657-1725), mainly based on questions asked of the Italian Jesuit missionary Giovanni Battista Sidoti. From the Meiji Restoration (1868) and the emergence of modern Japan onwards, Japanese were allowed to travel and emigrate abroad, and some found their way to the Middle East and South Asia as travellers and immigrant workers. Japanese converts to Islam began to appear among them after the turn of the century. Also around that time, Tatar refugees fleeing to Japan from oppression in Imperial Russia and then the Soviet Union were influential in attracting Japanese to Islam. In Japan, Muslims, some of whom made pilgrimages to Mecca and wrote about their travels, constructed three mosques during the 1930s in the cities of Tokyo, Nagoya and Kobe. At the same time, both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars in Japan began to form various research associations and institutions to study Islamic civilization; and under the then government's imperialist policies they were mobilised by the military in gaining the support of Asian Muslims in Japan's expansionist activities during World War II (H. Kobayashi, Nihon Isurûmu-shi, Tokyo 1995, 34-5). (T. Sato)

2. Japan in early Arab geographers. It was after the 18th century that the Arabs began to call the Japanese al-Yabānī on the basis of European sources. Before that time, 3rd/9th and 4th/10th century Arab geographers may have been aware of the existence of Japan through Chinese sources. There was confusion with regard to a place called Wākwāk [wāq]：“To the east of China lies Wākwāk, where gold is abundant to the extent that people use gold chains and collars for their dogs and monkeys” (Ibn Khurra-dadhbih, 69); “behind China lives a nation called Wākwāk” (Ibn al-Fakhr, 3); “Kandiz is the remotest town in the east, situated at the extremity of China and of Wākwāk” (al-Kí-dár, 3); “the sea of Fars is a gulf of al-Bahr al-Mubīrī stretching to the border of China and Wākwāk” (al-I斯塔khRI, 122; Ibn Hawkal, 276). The “Wākwāk of China” is clearly different from the “Wākwāk of Yemen” (Ibn al-Fakhr, 7) which may be identified with the Wākwāk cited by other Arab geographers (al-Ya’kubí, i, 207; ماسی’d, میددی, i, 323, iii, 6-7; al-Idrisí, Nasbat al-maghā′ī = Qṣrā Geographicum, 9, 87, 91-2). Later, non-Arab scholars debated the actual location of Wākwāk, both arguing that it was actually Japan, which was called Wāk-wāk (“kingdom of Wa”) by the Chinese (de Goeje) and tracing it as far as Sumatra (Ferrand). In Japan, J. Kuwabara upheld De Goeje’s opinion with confidence in 1935, while in the post-war period, H. Sugita, after attempting to separate fact from fantasy, has more cautiously attested to the possibility. (For all the complexities of the problem, see Wākwāk, 1b) Some Turkish scholars regard Džabarka as Japan, based on Mahmúd al-Kašghārî’s description in the 5th/11th century: “The language of Džabarka is unknown, due to its remoteness and its separation from China by the Great Sea” (Divān bahshi al-turk, facs. fol. 12b). However, the scientific basis for such an opinion is yet unclear.

YABGHU (T.) (perhaps also Yawghu, the Old Turkish so-called “runic” alphabet not differentiating b and g), an ancient Turkish title, found in the Orkhon [g.v.] inscriptions to denote an office or rank in the administrative hierarchy below the Khagan.

The latter normally conferred it on his close relatives, with the duty of administering part of his dominions. It was thus analogous to the title Shadh, whom the Yabghu preceded in the early Turk empire [see Turks. I. History. 1. The pre-Islamic period]. It seems to have lost some importance after this time (8th century), since Mahmud al-Kashghari, reflecting the position in Karakhanid times, says that the Yabghu ranks below the Yughrugh or vizier, who himself came after the Khagan and the Tigin [g.v.]. (Dizain lughat al-turk, Tkish. tr. Atalay, iii, 32: yafghu for yafghu) (the Shadh seems to have by now dropped out here).

In the period of the decline of the Hephthalites in northern Afghanistan and the extension of Arab control into the region (early 2nd/8th century), the title was borne by Turkish princes of the upper Oxus principalities such as Turkistan and Khuttal (g.v.). It appears on Hephthalite coins as Yagbu in the local Hephthalite version of the Greek alphabet, and in the Arabic historical sources in an Arabo-Persian form as ghabbaya, qabibaya, e.g. in al-Tabari, ii, 1204, 1224, 1547, 1604, 1612, etc. Al-Kashghari correctly connected the title also with the Qabia and the Oghuz. The caliph al-Mahdi received the submission of the Yabghu of the Karlik amongst several other Transoxanian and steppe potentates (al-Ya'kubi, Tawhir, ii, 479; cf. Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 202). At the opening of the 5th/11th century, Yabghu was the title of the Oghuz ruler on the lower Syr Darya with his capital at Djand [g.v. in Suppl.]; the Darya with his capital at Djand, reflecting the position in Karakhanid times, says that the Yabghu ranks below the Yughrugh or vizier, who himself came after the Khagan and the Tigin.

The title still had significance is unknown (see ibid.). The title still had some significance in later Sakhdjik times, since, according to Gordievsky, in the military organisation of the Rym Sakhdjik of Konya, the Yabghu as representative of the Khalif Sulaiman commanded the left wing of the army (cited by Doerfer, iv, 127); but after this time seems to fall out of use.

The origins and etymology of the term have excited much speculation. It seems certain that it is not a native Turkish term. It may appear in pre-Islamic, pre-Turk empire times amongst such peoples of Inner Asia as the Huns and the (?) Indo-European Wusun of eastern Turkestan, and there exist Chinese transcriptions of it. It may well be ultimately an Indo-European word, either “Tokharian” or Iranian. See the extensive discussion in G. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische elemente im Neupersischen, iv, Wiesbaden 1975, 124-36 n. 1825; Sir Gerard Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 873.

Bibliography: See also C.E. Bosworth and Clauson, Al-xawrasu on the peoples of Central Asia, in JRAIS (1975), 9-10. (C.E. Bosworth)

YABISA, the mediaeval Arabic name for Ibiza (Catalan, Eivissa), an island in the western Mediterranean, part of al-Dhrra’ir al-qarshiyah “the Eastern islands” [of al-Andalus], s.c. the Balearics [see MAYURCA; MENTIRA and their Bibles.], and also the name of its chief town and port. Ibiza is the smallest of the trio (area 572 km²), and lies 85 km to the southwest of Mallorca halfway to the Spanish coast (at Cabo de la Nao, with Denia nearby). It is flanked by the still smaller island of Formentera 4 km to its south, and the name Pyritic Islands, applied to these two in Antiquity, was still used today, implying a certain distinctiveness to them within the Balearic group. The name Ibiza (Greek form Eibousos) is believed to derive from Phoenician [?]ybsm, either ‘brim, “island of pines” or ‘bōem “island of fragrance” (cf. A. Dietrich, Phönizische Ortsnamen in Spanien, Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xxi/2, Leipzig 1936, 29-30), with the Greek translation Pyrosai. The explanation of Yabkit, “the dry island”, is clearly folk etymology. Ibiza lies close to the shipping lanes connecting the eastern Mediterranean with the Iberian and Maghribi Mediterranean coastlands, and this position has made it a favourite way station from Phoenician times onwards. The chief town and port, acquired by colonists from Cadiz in 633 B.C., has an excellent navigational and strategic location on the southeastern coast of the island. It came under Carthaginian control a century later, and eventually had a Punic or Phoenicianized population, perhaps of considerable size (some 4,000 tombs have been found in the cemetery of Puig des Molins).

The Arab conquest of Spain reached Ibiza in the course of the 2nd/8th century. There followed over four centuries of Islamic rule; after recognising the authority of the Umayyad governors and then of the caliphs of Cordova, Ibiza had close ties with the Taifa of Denia [see DANYA; MUGAHID] until the Reconquista in 1235. Arab authors refer to Ibiza as “the daughter” (bint) of Mallorca, and define its location at one day’s sailing from Denia to the west and an equal distance from Mallorca to the northeast. The island was noted both as a port of call (with the port city itself, there were ten harbours, mardsi) and for its shipbuilding activity, benefiting from fine stands of pine trees, which were also a source of wood for charcoal burning. They praise Ibiza’s fruits, vineyards, grapes and raisins, as well as the “inexhaustible” salt of its salt pans (al-Himyari, Rasid al-miftar, text 198, tr. 240; al-Kazwini, Al-far al-bilad, Beirut 1960, 282). Peaceful pursuits and commerce precluded neither piracy on both sides nor attacks by Christian powers (a Pisano-Catalan expedition, 1148). This motivated the construction of still stronger fortification walls, which have recently been the object of excavations and publications (A. Costa Ramon, La triple murada de l’Eivissa arab, (Ibiza 1985). Meanwhile, Arab culture on Ibiza flourished, as witnessed by the mention of two of its poets in Yabkit’s description of the island.

Ibiza’s economic and maritime role continued after 1295, and relations with the Maghrib remained lively. The island’s conqueror and subsequent feudal lord, the archbishop of Tarragona, strove to carry on the crusading spirit in the form of naval raids, but commerce asserted itself, especially as the exportation of the prized salt of Ibiza included North African ports among its destinations. Its salt flats, already praised by the Arabs (and still active today), gained primacy at this period, and between the 13th and 17th centuries they made the island one of the principal sources of salt in the Mediterranean. Thus Pir Re’s states in his Kitab-i bahriye (932/1526; ed. Ankara 1935, 542) that as many as 50-60 baršas dock annually at the iskeli of the island’s tuzla to load salt, and that the largest number of Arab and Turkish captives held in the kingdom of Catalonia work on these salt pans (see also J.-Cl. Hoque, Voisiers et commerce en Mediterranée, 1200-1650 = vol. ii of his Le sel et la fortune de Venise, 1978-8; idem, Ibiza, carrefour du commerce maritime...
YABISA — YABURA

et témoin d’une conjoncture méditerranéenne, 1250-1650, in Studi in memoria di Federigo Metis, Napoli 1978, i, 493-526. Fear of Ottoman Turkish assault. SOURCES.

YABRIN, a sandy region of Eastern Arabia belonging to Banu Sa'd. It is situated within the area of al-Bahrain [q.v.], three stages from al-Falajd and two stages from al-Ahsa [q.v.] and Hadží (Yákūt, Buildá)n, ed. Beirut, v, 427). The editors of al-Hasan [q.v.], III 347, describes Yabrín as a palm-grove, a collection of fortress houses (bašín), springs—some flowing, others not—and salt marshes (šabák). He also places the area on the 'Umán pilgrimage route (149). This statement is repeated at 145, and he adds the following details. It is situated in the east of al-Yamama [q.v.]. Between Yabrín and Hāmzat [q.v.] lies an extensive area called al-Idjām which is impassable. Between Yabrín and the sea lie sands. It has a road leading into al-Yamama and al-Bahrain. It is an area cut off among the sands with palm-groves and a little cultivation. The original Arab inhabitants were expelled by the Banu Kushayr, who were in their turn expelled by the Karāmīta [q.v.]. Yákūt, v, 427, also mentions a Yabrín in Syria, "one of the villages of Aleppo". There is further a Yabrín/Djabrín near Bahlā in 'Umān, built by the Yārubīds [q.v.].

Bibliography: Given in the text.

YABRUGH (A.), Mandragora, the Mandrake, Mandragora officinarum, Solanaceae, also called Atropa mandragora L. and M. officinarum Mill. (Moldenke); Hebrew, śabizadj., tuffah al-dumān. The figure given is approximately 5,000 inhabitants. It was used with caution, externally for skin complaints; it was known to be able to cause weakness and deafness. Ibn Wahshiya calls it poisonous, causing death through its extreme cold properties, which it shared with other plants, was its use as a soporific and anaesthetic. It was administered, generally in a drink, before surgery or cautery (Ibn Samadžūn and Ibn al-Bayṯār, quoting Dioscorides). The root was often thought to resemble the human form, which gave rise to legends and superstitions, already in ancient times and in the Middle Ages. The Biblical account concerning Rachel and Leah (Gen. xxx. 14-15) presumably refers to the plant's supposed fertility-inducing qualities. Such beliefs were dismissed by Gerard in his Herbal of 1597 (cf. Moldenke), and are not mentioned by Culpeper (1616-54). The mandrake is still known in Arabic as tuffah al-dumān. In one Palestinian village in the 1970s the berries were called tuffah inğībun, and said to encourage broodiness in chickens. The plant is today an object of interest rather than fear.


YABURA, the Arabic name of the modern city of Evora in southern Portugal.

The Liberalitas Julia of the Roman period had become Elbora or Êbora in the time of the Visigoths, a name revived unchanged, in the form of Yabura, by Arab authors. The history of the Arab town poses numerous enigmas. Very little is known of its history from the time of the Arab conquest to the beginning of the 10th century. Ibn al-Farajād makes it the seat of a kābīd, and the city was located in the district of Beja, capital of a dhūnd and seat of a governor since the conquest. Al-Rażī alludes to its importance in the 4th/10th century, noting the existence of several cautions dependent on the town. However, it seems to have remained a locality of secondary importance during this period, which accounts for the fact that a writer such as Ibn Hawkāl makes no mention of it. The first known documentary reference confirms this secondary status: Ibn Ḥayyān and the anonymous chronicle of al-Nāṣir, quoted by the Christian chronicle known as Conia Leonesa y Nàjerae, record the attack led by the future sovereign Ordoño II in 301/913 and draw attention to the dilapidated state of the perimeter wall and of the defences which enabled the Christians to take possession of the town. On this occasion, the population figure given is approximately 5,000 inhabitants. Subsequently, the town was caught up in the turmoil of struggles between "local lords" during the fitna of the early 4th/10th century. The town, depopulated by the Christians, was besieged by allies of the ruler of Badajoz, 'Abd Allāh Ibn Marwān al-Dījīlīkī, and, with the aid of another Muwallad leader, Mas'ūd al-
The town enjoyed more tangible prosperity in the 7th/13th century, becoming the second city of the amirate of the Alfasids [q.v.] of Badajoz; the governors appointed were second-ranking officers of the amirate such as ‘Ubayd Allāh al-Djarrāz, cousin of al-Muzaffar, killed fighting the ‘Abbābid s in 442/1051; al-Mutawakkil, the last Alfasid sovereign, served his apprenticeship as a governor there while his brother ruled in Badajoz. This information is supplied by al-Ibrāhīm ibn al-Mu‘tāsir, who, in his two surviving works, evokes the prosperity of the region, on the road from Badajoz to Aλacér do Sal (Kṣar Abī Dānim), the principal port of the amirate.

Evora prospered until the capture of the city by the Portuguese warlord Giraldo Sempavor in 556/1161, as is proved by the presence of prestigious Muslim families like the Bani Wazīr who played an important part in the fitna which accompanied the decline of the Almoravids. Arab biographical authors and the geographer Yāktūt undertook the intellectual dynamism of the city during the 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries; Ibn ‘Abdūn al-Yabūrī (d. 528/1134) was one of its most distinguished representatives.

The perimeter wall, privileged witness of this Arab history, poses problems of dating. García y Bellido has dated it on the line of the Roman wall, and an “ancient” installation and construction of the wall. A double-sided inscription, discovered outside the site, evokes two phases of construction: that of the 4th/10th century, following the sacking of the city by the Galicians, and that of the restoration of the wall by Sidrāy b. Wazīr between 541/1147 and 546/1151. The discovery of an elaborate installation, at the base of the curtain, in tile and brick, traversing a Roman villa of the rūa of Burgos, as well as the general arrangement of the wall, seem to confirm construction in the Umayyad period and subsequent revival and restoration. The restoration of the 7th/13th century also corresponds to the last phase of the Islamic history of Evora, associated with a new period of autonomy under the government of Sidrāy b. Wazīr who minted coins in 540-1/1146-7.


**YABA TASH** (r.), lit. rain stone, in Arabic texts appearing as hadjaj al-matar, this being a magical stone by means of which rain, snow, fog, etc., could be conjured up by its holder(s). In particular, knowledge and use of such stones has been widespread until very recent times in Inner Asia.

Belief in the existence of stones and other means of controlling the weather has been widespread throughout both the Old and New Worlds (see Sir J.G. Frazer, The golden bough, a study in magic and religion, abridged ed., London 1922, 75-8). Belief in a stone seems to have been general amongst the early medieval Alacian peoples of Inner Asia, or at least, it is imputed to them by early Chinese sources and by Muslim writers on the early Turks; it may, accordingly, have been part of the Turks’ ancient shamanistic beliefs. Several Islamic writers on the Turks mention it from the early 3rd/9th century onwards. The early traveller in Central Asia Tāmtīn b. Bahr [q.v.] gives it as one of the wonders of the Turks, the stone being held by the king of the Toghughuzz [q.v.] and no-one else (cited in Ibn al-Fakīh, 329, Fr. tr. Massé, 388-9; also in V. Minorsky, Tamīn ibn Bahr’s journey to the Uyghurs, in BSOAS, xii [1947-8], 285). A certain Abu ’l-Abbad (the author of al-Imrāq) related from the Sāmānīd amīr Ismā’īl b. Ahmad [q.v.] that infidel Turks used the rain stone to bring down darkness and hailstones against the Sāmānīd army (cited in Yāktūt, Buldān, ed. Beirut, ii, 24-6, s.v. Turkištān). Abu Dulaf in his First Risāla attributes to the Khimāk [q.v.] a stone which attracts water (Ger. tr. A. von Röhr-Sauer, Des Abu Dulaf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkistan, China und Indien neu überetzt und untersucht, Bonn 1939, 21, 50); Gardīzī retails the story that the stone went back to Japhet, son of Noah, and was subsequently inherited by Turkish peoples like the Oghuz, Karluq and Khazar (Zayn al-akhbār, ed. Habībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 256). Mahmūd Khāshghāri says that he witnessed its use as part of a magical ceremony (kahdana) amongst the Yaghma [q.v.] in Semirec’e (Dīnān lughāt al-turk, Tkhīr. at Atlay, iii, 5, 159, s.v. yah.“)

Belief in the rain stone’s powers apparently passed from the early Turks to the Mongols (with the original yah “appearing in Mongolian as djadz). Its use appears, e.g. in the story of Cingiz’s rise to power, when the son of Cingiz’s then ally Wang Kūn used it for bringing down snow on their Nayan enemies (Secret history of the Mongols, Ger. tr. E. Haenisch, Die Gegenen Geschichten der Mongolen, Leipzig 1948, 43, and Cingiz’s son Töly employed the services of a shaman from the Turkish tribe of the Kangūl [q.v.] to conjure up snow and icy weather against the Tungusic Đürčen in northern China some thirty years later (Rasjūl al-Dīn, tr. J.A. Boyle, The successors of Genghis Khan, New York 1971, 36-7). Such practices have lasted amongst Mongol peoples almost to modern times, being attested amongst inter alios the Kalmyks, the Buryats and, in the early 20th century, the Khalkha of the Oros in Inner Mongolia (Mostaert). Information about beliefs of this kind seems to have reached Marco Polo, where in his travel narrative he mentions the “devilish enchantments” of the Turco-Mongol Kar’a’unas/Caraonas in bringing down darkness upon their enemies, and the magical powers of Kasmirī and Tibetan shamans in the circle of the Great Khan Kubilai at his palace of Shan-tu in northern China (Yule-Cordier, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, “London 1902, i, 98, 105, 166, 168, 301, 309-11; and cf. also The
mission of Friar William of Rubruck, Eng. tr. P. Jackson, London 1990, 244). The use of the bezooar (see below) as a rainstone had, in fact, been known also to the Chinese since T’ang times (see B. Laufer, Sino-Iranica: Chinese contributions to the history of civilization in ancient Iran, repr. Taipei 1967, 525-8).

The rain stone was identified by such 19th century writers as Grigoriev and Tomaschek with nephrite, found in the valleys of the rivers running down from the Kun-lun Mountains to the Tarim basin and in the region of Lake Baikal (cf. Marquart, Streifzüge, 79), but it seems more likely that the original rain stone was the bezooar (Pers. pad-zahr), which is a calculus or concretion formed in the alimentary tract of certain animals, mainly ruminants (see Laufer, loc. cit.).

The origin of the Turkish word yada is unclear, but it is improbable that it has any connection with the precious mineral jade (Ar. yashm [q.v.]) or—at least more likely—with Pers. gādī “magic”. W.B. Henning cited a Sogdian word ʾgādī with a possible meaning “rain stone”, and the origin of yada may well be ultimately Persian. See the extensive discussions in G. Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, Wiesbaden 1963-75, i, 286-9 no. 157, iv, 123 no. 1822; Sir Gerard Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, 881a; Molnár, Weather magic in Inner Asia, 104-16.

Beliefs in the rain stone have been attested amongst Turkic and Mongolian peoples of the Volga basin, Central Asia, Siberia and Mongolia by travellers in these regions during the 19th and early 20th centuries; see the material brought together by Molnár, op. cit., 70-101.

Finally, one might note a curious mention, in Ibn al-Adim’s account of al-Mutanabbi’s [q.v.] alleged youthful claim to prophethood, of a “rain bead” (sadbūt al-matar), utilised by Arab tribes accounted of South Arabian or Yemeni genealogy, which could direct rain away from a particular spot, i.e. prevent rain from falling rather than attracting it (see W.P. Heinrichs, The meaning of Mutanabbi, in J.L. Kugel (ed.), Poetry and prophecy, Ithaca and London 1990, 137-9).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see J.A. Boyle, Turkish and Mongol shamanism in the Middle Ages, in Folklore, lxxix (1972), 184-93 (repr. in The Mongol world empire, 1206-1370, Variorum, London 1977, no. XXII), and the recent comprehensive work on the rain stone, A. Molnár, Weather magic in Inner Asia, Bloomingtom, Ind. 1994. (C.E. Bosworth)
This work also presents, for essentially didactic reasons, a very composite structure. All the modes of exegesis are deployed here (ma'āṣir, ḍikhr, ābād, ẓāhir, and ẓāhirat), but without any element of disorder. The sequence and the thread of the text are rapidly apparent to the reader in the systematic correlation which the author establishes between the exoteric and esoteric planes. Extensive contributions from the sources of mystical exegesis are then exacted: al-Kushayrī here comes close to Ibn al-ʿArabī (through the influence of al-Shārānī) and Ibn ʿĀṣir Allāh (whose ḥikam are subjected here to commentary by the Egyptian scholar al-Munawārī (q.v.)). The Dhīḥah is also accompanied by literary digressions such as would not primarily be expected in a work of taṣfīh, such as those from al-Ṣafādī and al-Maḳārī for ḏahab, al-Damīrī for zoology (theriomorphic psychology), al-Taftazānī for logic, and Ibn Khallikān and al-Ghūbrīnī for biographical notices.


Yaḍīlī (P.), lit. "a souvenir, a keepsake" and, by extension, numismatics any special issues of coins struck for a variety of non-currency purposes. In Islamic history the striking of coins was a special responsibility and prerogative of the ruler [see sīhrā] together with having his name mentioned in the Friday bidding prayer [see qurṭa].

In general, coinage serves two major purposes. Primarily it is a medium of exchange between a government and its people, i.e. to facilitate taxation payments or to support internal and international commerce. Governments therefore generally try to provide coinages of consistent design and quality that will be familiar to their users and thus readily acceptable as legal tender.

Coinage has also traditionally been used for a variety of secondary purposes. Through their very nature coins are precious objects identified with the authority that issued them. Because of its intrinsic metallic value and officially guaranteed prestige, coinage is ideally suited as an outward and tangible sign of royal favour, its distribution being seen as a useful and eagerly-awaited feature of ceremonies of all kinds, both official and private. For a description of when coins might be used on special occasions, see māḥāfī (official court ceremonies); mawārikh (processions); nīmāhā.

One of the features of māḥāfī was the regular donative payments made to the army, civil service and court officials [see also nāhām]. These could take the form of bags of coins given to the troops to recognise their services and ensure their loyalty. Since these were expected to be spent by their recipients, it would be normal for the mint to strike currency coins for this purpose. Donations were regularly provided on the accession of a new sovereign when fresh coins would be issued bearing his name and titles. Moving up in the social hierarchy, however, the emphasis on the receipt of crude cash payments gives way to the desire for donations of a more ceremonial and symbolic nature, which usually involved the striking of specially designed coins. These pieces could take several forms. Some would be larger and heavier than normal, either struck as gold or silver medals of special design and iconography, with arbitrary weights bearing no relation to the standard currency, or as multiple weight dinārs and dirhams (q.v.) which, more often than not, would bear conventional legends to demonstrate their affinity with the regular coinage. Others would be of normal size and weight, but with special designs and legends which might indicate the purpose for which they were struck. Thirdly, fractional denominations of lighter weight and special design could be issued to display the riches and generosity of the donor to his subjects. The smaller size of these pieces would permit the striking of more coins from a given amount of metal and have the incidental advantage of being less likely to cause injury to those over whom they were thrown or tossed.

As a general rule, far more "souvenir" issues were produced during periods of peace and prosperity than in times of war and economic dislocation. For obvious reasons, relatively few of these special issues have survived from the time in which they were struck. Currency coins were issued in large quantities and held by a great variety of people: soldiers, merchants, townsmen and travellers. Those that have survived were concealed in hoards, either buried in the ground or hidden in the walls of buildings. Those that remained in circulation, however, would, when they became obsolete, be returned to the mint and melted down for conversion into new coin or, as today, sold to scrap metal merchants for conversion into tableware and jewellery. Special coins, yaḍīlī, danāṭī al-sīla, i.e. presentation issues, were struck in much smaller quantities and were nearly always saved, but mounted for suspension and converted into jewellery. When they became worn or a better use was found for their metal, they could either be exchanged for current coin, returned to the mint for restriking or sold to a scrap metal dealer.

Thus while numismatists have a clear picture of the history of currency coins in Islam they have only a fragmentary knowledge of presentation issues. Historians mention that coins were given away or scattered on ceremonial occasions, but only rarely make any record of what these pieces actually looked like. As a result, the rôle played by the few survivors in the daily life of the states that struck them can only be guessed at. This is particularly true of issues from the earlier centuries of Islam. Later, when European travellers started to publish their memoirs of the Ottoman, Ṣafawīd and Mughal courts, a much clearer pattern emerges. Our understanding of the subject is further enhanced by surviving local histories and court records. Beginning in the 11th/17th century, states began to issue regular ornamental coinages which could be classified as stamped fixed weight ingots. These have largely been employed as an adjunct to domestic saving, an important function that has certainly...
contributed to the continued striking of gold and silver coins at a time when precious metals have entirely lost their monetary rôle. Thus while court ceremonial has largely disappeared from the Islamic world, commemorative and largesse coinages, but a summary of some of the more interesting issues known from individual dynasties will give a flavour of the subject.

There is little evidence of donative or largesse issues during the Umayyad period. The design of the standard dirhams and dinars was inviolable and was only very rarely modified. The only variations known have the additional mint name Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minun ("Mine of the Commander of the Faithful"), from the years 89, 90 and 91, and Ma'din Amir al-Mu'minun bi al-Hidjaz, struck in 105. There has been a good deal of conjecture about these coins, because the extant writings of Islamic historians provide no clues as to their actual place of origin or to their distinctive purpose. It is thought that the metal from which they were struck probably came from the caliphal mines in the Hidjaz and that they may have been minted at the site. Michael Bates of the American Numismatic Society has established a die linkage between the 105 A.H. issue and a contemporary coinage struck, presumably, in Dimashq. It is possible that the metal was presented at a special ceremony as tribute to the caliph, who may then have shared the dirhams among his courtiers.

The first period 'Abbasid coinage, struck ca. 122-228/770-833, was of largely standard design until the accession of the caliph Hârun al-Rashîd [q.v.] in 170/786. During his reign the earliest special issues began to appear, but all are extremely rare, being known from only one or two examples. They appear to have been associated with events in the caliphal family and may have been used in court ceremonies to mark those events. It was said that gold coins bearing verses and weighing 101 mithkâls (ca. 429 gr) were struck for Hârun's son Dja'far al-Barmakî [see AL-BARMAKÎ], and that 4,000 of them were found in his palace at the time of his downfall. Arab historians have mentioned danâsîr al-sila weighting as much as 1,000 mithkâls, but as yet the largest piece actually known is no more than 10 mithkâls. It is likely that if these gigantic coins ever did exist they were cast as ingots rather than struck as coins, because the technology of the time did not permit the use of dies large or strong enough for the purpose.

Coinage certainly played a significant rôle in the rivalry between al-Amin and al-Ma'mûn, and the political messages contained in the legends on the reverse of the dirhams were an important item in the propaganda war between the contending parties. Through his coinage reform in 206/821-2, however, al-Ma'mûn largely put an end to this propaganda activity by ordering the mints to strip all political information from the coin legends.

The second period 'Abbâsid coinage (ca. 218-334/833-946) saw, however, the introduction of a true system of donative coinage which took several forms. The first were standard silver dirhams and gold dinars of careful manufacture, whose dies took up the entire face of the blank. The caliph al-Mutawakkil then introduced broad, thin-flan coins, usually struck at his court in Sâmarra'î/Surra man ra'a. These bore standard legends, executed in superior calligraphy, struck in the centre of the flans, but leaving a broad empty outer margin. They were probably distributed as special donative payments to troops and civil servants. While their broad outer margins made them easy to convert into jewellery without defacing the legends, their thin flans made them particularly vulnerable to wear and damage. This special medallion style of coinage was widely copied by other dynasties and is frequently found in today's collections.

The next category could be termed the court coinage on which the names and titles of the caliph became the main focus of the legends, with the kalima, denomination and date relegated to the single outer margins. The name of the mint did not usually appear, an absence which is not readily explicable. These coins were issued in both gold and silver and were distinguished by calligraphy of the highest quality. The blanks were prepared in a variety of sizes and weights—small and thick, broad and thick or broad and thin—and their weights often varied widely within the same year. It is assumed that these pieces were distributed at important ceremonies in the caliphal court and that they were not intended for circulation.

The third type of donative is the rarest of all. This author knows of only two examples, both of which are more in the nature of family medallions than donative coins. The first is a dirham of al-Mutawakkil with a portrait of a facing male figure on the obverse and the caliph's name in the margin, and on the reverse a camel being led by its driver with the name of the caliph's son Dja'far al-Mufawwad and the date 241. The second is an unpublished type with a man on horseback on the obverse and the name of the caliph al-Mu'tamid in the margin; on the reverse is an elephant with the name of the caliph's son Dja'far al-Mufawwad and the date 238 in the margin. These two unique examples cannot conjure up an entire world of private figural medalllic coinage struck for the pleasure of the caliphal house, but if further examples come to light a clearer picture of these family commemorative issues should emerge.

A number of exceptional pieces bearing the name of al-Mukta'dîr are known, the most frequently encountered being copies of Hindushâhî [see HINDÉ-SHÂHS] issues. On these, one side shows to the right a horseman riding with the inscription bi 'llâh Dja'far (the caliph's personal name) and on the other a Brahmin bull to the left with al-Mu'tâzâz bi 'llâh above. Another issue depicts a rabbit within an octagram on both faces. Al-Râdî also had a magnificent five-dirham weight silver piece with a handsome cloud-like pattern in the centre of the reverse field.

Very few special issues are known from Spain and North Africa. A magnificent 10-mithkâl's weight dinar of the Almohad ruler Abu 'Hasî 'Umar was published by Brethes, a photograph of which appears on the cover of his catalogue, and multiple dinars are also known from the time of the Sa'dian Sharîfs. The high standard of coinage design and careful manufacture maintained by the North African dynasties may well have made the regular preparation of medallic issues unnecessary. The Fâtîmids are known to have struck very few special issues, although the quarter dinars and one-sixteenth dirhams would have been an ideal size to use as largesse coins.

In the east, the successors to the 'Abbâsid pre- pared a series of marvellous gold medals showing figures of men, as well as lions attacking antelopes or birds of prey attacking animals on both obverse and reverse. These were clearly not intended for circulation. This author, however, once saw a 10-mithkâl's weight dinar of 'Abdul al-Dawla which was probably used at the time of his coronation in Madînât
al-Salam in 367/977. Many other such pieces may have been struck for court ceremonies, but their identity will be forever hidden because they were probably melted down for other uses in times of financial stringency. Some of the survivors appear to have been strongly influenced by the Bûyids' interest in their supposed Sâsânid heritage and depict the ruler in the guise of a Sâsânid monarch. The Bûyids Fâhîr al-Dawla of Rayy and his successor Mâdjî al-Dawla also struck huge epigraphic multiple dirhams on broad thin flans with extended legends in al-Muhammadiyya (i.e. Rayy) which were probably used as donatives for their troops.

The Great Salâdjuqs Alp Arslân, Malik Shâh and later rulers also struck a number of dinârs with extended Kur'ânic legends inscribed in tiny calligraphy on both faces, probably used as amulets by the pious as they are usually found mounted for suspension. The Istanbul Archaeological Museum possesses a multiple-weight presentation dinâr weighing 30 mîkgâls struck by the Rûm Salâdjuq Kaykhusraw II in Dâr al-Mulk Kûnya in 635 A.H. The Il-Khânîd rulers Mahmûd Ghazan, Oldjeytu and Âbû Saîrîd, issued a variety of multiple-weight gold and silver coins bearing extended legends which could have been used as impressive ornaments. Elsewhere in the east, many other medallic pieces of varying quality bearing inscriptions of people and animals were manufactured for a similar purpose. While the official issues were usually struck, many were cast and still others were light-weight sandwiches of thin uniface flans stuck together to make a showy but inexpensive amulet.

In addition, these dynasties all struck tiny coins, fractions of both the dirham and dinâr, which were used for showering guests at important audiences, or brides at wedding ceremonies, or for presenting to newly-circumcised boys, or for throwing into the crowds of excited spectators watching public audiences or ceremonial processions. In more recent times, the tiny silver akçe [q.v.] of the Ottomans was ideally suited for scattering in this way because of its small size and light weight. Specially struck Ottoman presentation coins made a relatively late appearance in the late 11th/17th century when the standard gold coin, the sulânî, began to be broad thin flans for use as jewellery. Multiple examples of the standard Ottoman gold of the time, but at a slightly lighter weight, were regularly issued by all the later rulers beginning with Süleyman II. Aside from their use as donatives, they were also available for sale to the public in return for the heavier, normal weight coins for conversion into jewellery. This custom became institutionalised during the reign of 'Abd al-Hâmid II [q.v.], when the imperial mint in Istanbul manufactured the so-called zinet altun. The proceeds from their sale were applied to support the state pension fund, and these ornamented broad-flan coins are still manufactured by the Turkish Republic. In Ottoman Egypt, under the Khedive Ismî'îl Pasha [q.v.] the government issued small quantities of 500-piastré presentation gold and regular issues of tiny 10 and 5 kwûsh/piastré largesse gold and similar 20 and 10 para largesse silver coins. These were specifically used to enhance wedding celebrations.

In 96 mm. The intent behind the striking of this is clear as expressed in its legends: “When Shah Djin was so interested in the beautiful designs on the coin that he spared a large treasure to St. Petersburg, it is said that the Emperor Nicholas I was so interested in the beautiful designs on the ingots that made up the shipment that he spared a few sets from re-melting to donate to the Imperial Museums and members of his family. Several examples of these subsequently passed into the public domain. It is clear that the Kadjars, like many other treasurers, would have found it more convenient to retain their bullion in the form of thousands of large coins rather than millions of small ones.

This is particularly borne out when we turn to India, which was famous for the magnificence of its coinage. The Ghûrîd conqueror Mu'izz al-Dîn Muhammad b. Sâm, is known to have struck the 10-mîkgâl presentation coins in the year 598. His successors in the Sub-continent, the Dîhî Sultans and their contemporaries, also struck the occasional multiple-weight gold and silver tankas. However, it was the Mughals who really transformed their coinage into works of art. The treasury regularly stored its precious metal in the form of gigantic coins, most of which have now perished. Their exotic nature and extreme rarity was emphasised when the largest coin in the world, a giant 1000-tola weight piece which was probably valued at 10,000 silver rupees together with the second largest, a 100-toala coin, was offered for auction in Geneva in November 1987. (These appeared subsequent to the article Mughal.) The first was struck by the Emperor Djinângir in Agra in 1022 A.H. in his eighth regnal year, weighing 11,935.8 gr with a diameter of 210 mm. The second was struck by Shâh Djinân in Lâhâwîr in 1048 in his twelfth regnal year weighing 1,094.5 gr with a diameter of 96 mm. The intent behind the striking of this is clearly expressed in its legends: “When Shâh Djinân became ruler of the world in generosity he gave away treasures in a single moment. So that he could bestow one hundred mohurs instead of one, he commanded one hundred mohurs to be made into one mohur.”

Aside from their use as treasury reserves, they were occasionally brought out to be presented as gifts to members of the royal family, high-ranking courtiers, ambassadors or important visitors from foreign countries. It is likely that financial need on the part of the recipients made them return these coins to the mint to be exchanged for their equivalent value in currency mohurs or rupees as the need arose. In his first regnal year, the Emperor Djinângir defied Islamic convention by striking a mohur bearing a sensitive portrait of his father Akbar in old age, and in his sixth to ninth regnal years he distributed a series of his own portrait mohurs as a special mark of favour to his boon companions. All of these extraordinary coins are described in Hodivala's Historical studies in Mughal numismatics. For the use of the specially struck mîkgâls in Mughal India, see MTiHAR. Beginning in the reign of Shâh Djahnân I, it became usual to manufacture blanks that were of full weight and standard alloy but smaller than the dies with which they were struck, so that frequently a third or more of the legends were “off flan”. The resulting coins did not do justice to the die-sinker’s work, but on occasion special efforts were made to cut blanks to their correct size so that they could receive the full impression of the dies. These were known as nazârdina mohurs or rupees. As the Mughal state became poorer, nazârdina coins were produced with greater regularity because gigantic coins were no longer given away, and thus the need for low-value donatives increased.
Today the use of coins as regal largesse has virtually died out. The last state to employ them was the Sultanate of 'Umân, whose rulers, Sa'îd b. Taymur and his son Sa'îd b. 'Ali, depended on Sa'îd's reliance on gold currency coins struck in gold for distribution to members of their courts. 'Umân and nearly all other Muslim countries now follow the modern custom of selling silver and gold mohur coins, see the American numismatist, A. E. B. Canby, The National Museum of Iran, p. 106. Neutral publications that occasionally illustrate presentation coins, see Habsburg Feldman S.A., Sale of two giant Arab Islamic coins preserved in the National Museum of Iran, June 1984 (which includes an extensive bibl.), September 1984, December 1984 and April 1985; for North Africa, J.D. Brethes, Contributions à l'histoire du Monde par les recherches numismatiques, Calcutta 1923; for the two large Muslim coins, see Habsburg Feldman S.A., Sale of two giant gold mohur coins, Geneva 1987. There are scattered publications that occasionally illustrate presentation coins amongst the great museum catalogues. See S. Lane Poole, Catalogue of oriental coins in the British Museum, 10 vols., London 1875-90; H. Lavoix, Catalogue des monnaies musulmanes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, 3 vols, reprts. of 1887-96 edition, Bologna 1977, and G. Hennequin, Musée national du Président Kennedy, Paris 1985; I. and C. Artuk, Istanbul Aslami Müesseseleri Türkçesi İslam sikkelere katalogu, 2 vols., Istanbul 1971; N.D. Nicol, R. el-Nabarawy and J.L. Bacharach, Catalogue of the Islamic coins, glass weights, dies and medals in the Egyptian National Library, Cairo 1982; M.F. al-'Ush, Arab Islamic coins preserved in the National Museum of Quitar, i, Doha 1984, and Ibrahim Djabir, ii, 1992. For the many recent discoveries, the reader is directed to the coin auction catalogues of Baldwin (London and Dubai), Hess (Lucerne), Bank Leu (Zurich), Münzen und Medaillen (Bazel), Peus (Frankfurt), Sotheby's (London) and Spink (London and Zurich).

YĀDGĀR — YĀDJUDJ wa-MĀDJUDJ


R.E. Darley-Doran

YĀDJUDJ wa-MĀDJUDJ, sc. Gog and Magog, the names of apocalyptic peoples known from biblical (Ezekiel xxxviii, xxxix, Apocalyptic, xx. 7-10) and Kur'anic eschatology (Kur'an, XVIII, 93-9), refer to Dhu '1-Karnayn erecting a barrier/rampart (sadd/radm) against each other. Still others hold (yamud'ad) that Gog and Magog are offspring of Eve's menstrual blood (ms. Al-Mas'udī, Munabbih, they are neither ins (human) nor inn (animal). Al-Tabari reports that only Yadjudj descends from Adam, whereas Mādjudj is an offspring of Eve's menstrual blood (ms. Aya Sofya 4004, fol. 152a). According to Wahb b. Munabbih, they are neither ins (human) nor inn (animal). Al-Tabari, Tafsir, viii, 280, but other traditions say that they are the offspring of Yaphet, XVIII, 99: "On that day We shall leave them surging (yamud'ad) against each other". Still others hold that the names are of non-Arabic (dājəmi) origin (cf. Jefery, Foreign vocabulary, 286-9). The two names form an onomastic rhymed pair, like Hārit and Mārūt, which in spring (yansilund) bears great resemblance to the Syriac Agog wa-Magag as found in the Song of the Angel, which in turn renders Hebrew equivalents of Gog and Magog. Arabic etymology explains the names as yaf'ul and mādufl forms of adju, lit. "to blaze fiercely", "to be intensive", and also "to make a rustling noise by running", because Yadjudj and Mādjudj move so swiftly or powerfully, see e.g. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Razi, iv, 509, who gives other explanations as well (Lane, Lexicon, s.v. adju). Others see them as fāl forms of yadda and madda, with the second component derived from madā, "to be agitated with waves" following Kur'an, XVIII, 99: "On that day We shall leave them surging (yamud'ad) against each other". Still others hold that the names are of non-Arabic (dāj̄əmī) origin (cf. Miquel, Geographie, ii, 508).

Origin, number and appearance. The traditions around Yadjudj and Mādjudj, as found in the Islamic sources, are very heterogeneous. Sometimes they are considered as children of Adam but not of Eve, for they are said to originate from Adam's nocturnal emission of semen mixed with earth (Ka'b al-Abhrā, quoted by Ibn Hadžar, xvi, 221). The Strat al-Islamdar holds that only Yadjudj descends from Adam, whereas Mādjudj is an offspring of Eve's menstrual blood (ms. Aya Sofya 4004, fol. 152a). According to Wahb b. Munabbih, they are neither ins (human) nor inn (animal). Al-Tabari, Tafsir, viii, 280, but other traditions say that they are the offspring of Yaphet (ibid., ix, 83; cf. Gen. x. 2).

Yadjudj and Mādjudj are many peoples, each of them counting 400,000 (al-Tabari, loc. cit., ix, 83), or they are nine times as numerous as human beings (ibid., ix, 85), while al-Kazwīnī says that only God can count them (Ağā'id, 448). According to Ibn 'Abhās, five of the six parts (ağād) of the world belong to Yadjudj and Mādjudj and only one part to the other peoples (al-āleft). Ibn al-Fakih, 300. Al-Tabari reports that Yadjudj and Mādjudj exist in three kinds: the first are as tall as a cedar, the second as broad as they are tall, the third can cover their body with one ear and lie down on the other (Tafsir, viii, 283; cf. al-Kazwīnī, 'Ağā'id, 448). For al-Zamakhshāri there are only two kinds: one extremely tall, the other extremely short, while for al-Kazwīnī (loc. cit.) they have the stature of a middle-sized man (rağuj marbūd). Al-Tabari also reports that Dhu '1-Karnayn explored their country and saw that their length is half that of an average man but that males and females are equally tall. Instead of fingernails they have claws, their teeth are like those of predators, their gums are strong as a camel’s and they grind their teeth when chewing. They foresee their own death; no male will die before having fathered one thousand children, and no female before having given birth to the same number; they mate like animals. Their food consists of the tāmin (q.s.) which in spring falls down from Heaven. If they do not get it, they become barren (al-Tabari, Tafsir, viii, 281 f.; cf. al-Mas'udī, Munabbih, ed. Pellat, i, 144). According to other traditions, they are cannibals (al-Tabari, Tafsir, viii, 279). (For further details on their physique, see Miquel, Geographie, ii, 509). However, Yadjudj and Mādjudj are not always represented as fabulous creatures (see below).
Eschatological role. In Islam, their eschatological role is directly connected with the barrier which Dhu 'l-Karnayn/Al-Iskandar (Alexander the Great [see AL-MAQPI]) erected against them. According to the Kur'an, Yadjudj and Madjudj will be held back by the barrier until the end of time. Their coming is one of the "signs of the Hour" (ṣīyāt al-sā'a, see sā'a. 3; for a classification of these signs, esp. that of al-Bazānī (d. 1103/1691; Brockelmann, S II, 529), see Attema, 164-6; cf. Kapteyn, 58, 60). Yadjudj and Madjudj, before Dhu 'l-Karnayn built the barrier, used to come out every spring in order to eat all that is green and to carry away all that is dry (cf. al-Zamakhshīrī, 498 ff.). Al-Ṭabarī describes the eschatological scenario as follows: every day Yadjudj and Madjudj scrape the barrier until they can almost see the sun shining through it or, as Ka'b al-Ahbar relates, until the sound of their axes can be heard by their neighbours on the other side. When they are about to break through, their foreman tells them to go back and finish the work on the next day. But every night, after they have left, God restores the barrier so that it becomes stronger than it was before. Only when their foreman adds in ḥadāth allāh, are they able to dig their way through. In a tradition recorded in Dienné [q.v.], Injūlahh is a young man who, when his name is pronounced by his father, will eat away what remains of Madjudj's barrier (Mommsensteeg, In de staat aan de Muntenbier, 87-8). After that, Yadjudj and Madjudj spread over the earth. When on the march, their vanguard is in Syria and their rear in 'Irāq. They cover the earth, eat everything they can find and drink the waters of the Euphrates, the Tigris and the Lake of Tiberias. According to Abū Sa'id, they also kill human beings. Man and beast take refuge in fortresses. Having reached Jerusalem, they think they have exterminated life on earth. They then shoot arrows against the sky and when these fall back stained with blood, they believe they have destroyed Heaven as well. Then God, at the intercession of Jesus, sends down worms (naghfa) which penetrate their noses and ears, come out at their necks and kill them. Their corpses are eaten by the beasts or, according to other traditions, are carried away to the sea by rain which purifies the earth (al-Ṭabarī, Tafsir, viii, 283, 289, ix, 85-5). But according to al-Zamakhshīrī, 500, they cannot reach Mecca, Medina and Jerusalem. Al-Kazwīnī, 'Aqīdīb, 488, on the other hand, describes "living creatures" (hayawānī) who apparently have nothing human among them, who dwell on some mountains near the barrier of al-Iskandar and are short-sized (five spans high), broad-faced, and black skinned with white spots, who climb trees and do not associate with human beings.

The traditions regarding Yadjudj and Madjudj, as found in the canonical hadīth works, were collected by Attema, 134 ff. He distinguishes three groups: traditions according to which people thought that the Hour was imminent and that Yadjudj and Madjudj had already begun to make a breach in the barrier during the lifetime of the Prophet (al-Ṭabarī, 61.25, trad. 27; Muslim, 521, 3; al-Tirmidhī, 31.23; Ibn Majdūd b. Yaman, 25.6; Dāwūd, 34.1; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, ii, 341, 529, vi, 428, 429; traditions which say that Yadjudj and Madjudj were met when the Muslim armies, during the conquests in the east, had come in contact with peoples "with broad faces, small eyes, gray mops, running down from every hill" (cf. Kur'an, XXI, 96), their faces like shields covered with leather" (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, v, 271; see also below); and traditions according to which Yadjudj and Madjudj are continuously trying to break through the barrier in the way described above (Ibn Majdūd, 56.33, trad. 10; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, iii, 77).

The eschatological role of Yadjudj and Madjudj in Islam has parallels in Jewish and Christian traditions, cf. Lust in Bibl. The Biblical data on Gog and Magog were popular themes in the sermons of the Syrian Christian Church (e.g. Ephrem Syrus, Ḥymni, iii, 194-213). Ps.-Methodios, Ṣīyāt, 14-5, gives a vivid description of these impure and deformed descendants of Yaphet.

Location and identification. The barrier built by Dhu 'l-Karnayn against Yadjudj and Madjudj fills the gap between two mountains (cf. Kur'an, XVIII, 93: al-sā'dūn, XVIII, 96: al-sā'dūn). Kur'an commentators think that these mountains are those of Armenia and Aḏharbāȳdājūn (al-Ṭabarī, Tafsir, viii, 278; al-Bayḍāwī, 573), that they lie between these two regions, or that they are situated in the furthest north (Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rūzī, 348; al-Bayḍāwī, 573) or in the most eastern part of the land of the Turks (al-Ṭabarī, viii, 281). Thus the barrier was located in the Caucasus, in the north in general or in the east. Geographers writing after Ibn Khurraḍādjbihū (see below) concentrate on the far east. Ibn al-Fakhrī, 298, 300, writing in the 3rd/9th century, says that the distance between the land of the Kḥazar and the place of the barrier is two months, and that Dhu 'l-Karnayn measured the width of the gorge between the two mountains, this being the dividing line between the land of the Turks and the regions to the east of them. According to Ibn Hawkal, 482, Rūs and Kh̄ârazmian merchants used to import silk and skins from the regions (nawābī) of Yadjudj and Madjudj (cf. Miquel, Geographie, ii, 507). In the traditional division of the world into seven climes (see miṣr, the lands of Yadjudj and Madjudj are located, with variations, between the fifth and seventh climes. In al-Ṭabarī's (d. 284/997) chronicle, they are located in the sixth clime (Ta'riḵī, 93). Al-Isk̄aḥrī (d. 339/950) gives a larger number of climes, says (9) that they are found in a northern direction if one traverses the land between the Sakāṭhiba [q.v.] and the Kīmākiyya [see KIMĀK]. Al-Idrīsī (d. 565/1120) divides the climes into ten parts, the tenth being the in each clime. He charts Dhu 'l-Karnayn's barrier in the ninth part of the sixth clime (Opus Geographicum, 934, 938; Idrīsī-Jaubert, 416, 440). It also comprises the land of the Khošākh [see KESK], and that of the Kūrgašt, which has much rain and snow. To the south, according to some geographers, the lands of Yadjudj and Madjudj are adjacent to China [see AL-SIN]. For the differences in view between Ibn Rūṣṭa (d. ca. 930/913-5) and al-Masʿūdī (d. 345/956) on the location of Yadjudj and Madjudj, see ibid., cols. 618b-619a. In the neighbourhood of Yadjudj and Madjudj other peoples are found who are mentioned in the Bible as offspring of Yaphet (Gen. x. 2), namely, Tārsis, Mansak (Manshak, Mashak) and Kumāra (Kumāra) (cf. al-Dinawārī, al-Ak̄bār al-taṣādīq, 2; cf. al-Kazwīnī, 'Aqīdīb, 448, who mentions only the Mansak).

By an often-used play of words based on Arabic tarāta "to leave, leave out", the Turks are said to belong to the peoples of Yadjudj and Madjudj. Originally, the latter were twenty-four peoples. When Dhu 'l-Karnayn locked them up behind the barrier, one people were absent and thus were left out (turāta), either because they were away on a raid (Ibn al-Fakhrī, 299), or because they believed in God (cf. Ibn Ḥijām, K. al-Taḏūn, ed. in Lutsbarski, 302). In a tradition transmitted by al-Ṭabarī (K. al-mansūkh, 272 YADJUDJ WA-MADJUDJ
61.25), the Turks are explicitly connected with the end of the world: “The Hour will not come before you have fought a people whose footwear is made of hair,” who fought the Turks who have small eyes, a ruddy face (hunut al-wudhajj), a small and finely chiselled nose (dajjul f al-unnat), whereas their faces are round and broad (ka ana wa-ja'aj tabanam al-madjudjat al-muturaka; cf. Lane, Lexicon, s.v. ´k`, 1850, and above). Arabic poetry and adab literature use Yadjudj and Madjudj as a metaphor for great numbers, e.g. “hungry soldiers as numerous as Yadjudj and Madjudj” (al-Farazdak (d. ca. 110/728), Dlwan, 396, quoted frequently), or for destructive power, e.g. “as if, in wickedness (fasjd), they were Yadjudj” (ibid Ibn al-Ta’ajudj (d. 584/1188 [g.v.], Dlwan, 75). The barrier serves as a metaphor for impenetrability: “If I were to give you a single dirham, I would open a door to my possessions which neither mountains nor sands could dam, even if I were able to build before them a barrier like the barrier of Yadjudj and Madjudj” (al-Dhajj, K. al-Bukhald, 208); “O, if only the barrier of Yadjudj were between you and me” (Abu l-Atchhiya (d. 210/825) [g.v.], Dlwan, Appx. a. 199). See the farthermost imaginable place on earth: “Send me to Kaf [g.v.], and behind the rampart (radn), and to the barrier (sadad), and to Yadjudj and Madjudj, to a place even Dhu ’l-Karnayn did not reach and al-Khadjir never knew about” (Abu Hayyajn al-Ta’ajudj (d. 414/1023 [g.v.], Bkdr, iv, 156). The paired names of Yadjudj and Madjudj are the subject of several anecdotes. At a funeral, a stupid person confuses their names with those of Harut and Marut (cf. Marzolph, Al-ajawdhir, d. 40/659 [g.v.], ed. ‘Arafat, London 1971 [cf. Nicholson, A literary history of the Arabs, London 1907, 18]; Hudzd al-ulam, tr. Minorsky; Husrij, K. al-Dajur, fi l-mulah wa l-nawdat, ed. ‘A.M. al-BidjawI, Cairo 1933, 80, 240, 250, 358; Abu l-Dajur, Tawzif al-arhabah fi al-fadl al-sundum wa l-habab, ms. Gotba (Cat. Persic, ii, no. 1692) fols. 24a-26a; Abu l-Sawajr, fi al-hamka wa l-muhalla, ed. Baku in, 191, 168; Ibn al-Bakhd, 298-301; Abn Hadjajr al-Askalajr, Fath al-btr, xvi, 222 l. 19). Yadjudj and Madjudj play a more prominent role in two early poems, one by Hassan b. Thabjat (d. 40/659 [g.v.]; ed. ‘Arafat, 471-3, tr. Nicholson, 16), and the other by ‘Alkama b. Dij Djadjan (2nd/8th century); see on him al-Hamdanj, Ilalt, ii, 300-1; Lofgren, ‘Alkama b. D. Gadanj. Both describe how al-Ikandar built the barrier (von Kremer, Uber die sudaрабische Sage, 71 ff; edem, Arabische Gedichte, 16), Yadjudj and Madjudj are also mentioned in an eschatological wrjza (see RagzJ by ‘Abd Allah b. Ru’ba al-‘Adjudj (d. 97/715) (ed. Beirut, 345-6), as well as in several ragj verses by ‘Abd Allah’s son Ru’ba (d. 145/762 [g.v.]; ed. Abharedh, nos. 19, 33, 55 in which the coming of Yadjudj and Madjudj is mentioned as an apocalyptic phenomenon, also connected with the peoples of ‘Ad and Tuba’ (aw.). In the legendary literature on al-Ikandar [see al-Khadir; Islkandar-nama; SfJa Islkandar, in shr SfJaBiya], Yadjudj and Madjudj are in general described along the same lines as in tafsr and hadith (see above). A remarkable exception is ms. Aya Sofya 4004, in which Yadjudj and Madjudj appear more humanlike. The storyteller is aware of the fact that the frequent contacts between the “Muslims” and individual “Yadjudjis”, and the diplomatic exchanges between al-Ikandar and Yadjudj and Madjudj took place during the miltat Ibrahim period, i.e. in pre-Islamic times. The language of Yadjudj and Madjudj, described as “the inaccessible language of the Turks, which is incomprehensible” (al-Dajur al-Turk al-mughlak as-hiya ta tabhum; ibid., fol. 154 l. 2), is translated into Arabic by al-Khadir. In this manuscript, the king of Yadjudj and Madjudj is called Kdnun, their religion qualified as worship of sun and moon, and their dwelling-place is said to consist of seven walls. Twice a year they make raids on the neighbouring town of Assfn (fol. 151 l. 3), whose king Wadi Kanfr asks al-Ikandar to erect a barrier against them. He only starts doing this after Gabriel has revealed to al-Khadir God’s eschatological plan concerning Yadjudj and Madjudj.

The possession of the town was hotly disputed during the Crusades. The Franks, who made it a vassal duchy of the kingdom of Jerusalem, were able to hold it until the Third Crusade (1099-1187). The Fatimid vizier al-Afdal sought in vain to take it from them in 1101, 1102, and 1117. After his murder, the caliph al-Ámil besieged the town in 1122 but was driven back, and again in 1123 as a result of the destruction of his fleet by the Venetians. After the battle of Ha'jin (583/1187) [see tattin] most of the coast towns surrendered to Salah al-Din, and Yafa to his brother al-Malik al-Ádil. Richard Coeur-de-Lion recaptured it for the Crusaders in 587/1191. Salah al-Din besieged it in 1122 and regained it for the Saracens; he could not, however, take the citadel, drove the Ayubid troops out of the town and refortified it. At the truce of al-Ramla, the Christians were confirmed in possession of Yafa.

By 593/1197, however, al-Malik al-Ádil had again taken Yafa, destroying the fortifications and, it is said, killing 20,000 Christians in the fighting. In the following year, Saxons from eight Latin castles occupied the town, but abandoned it again in 595/1199, whereupon al-Ádil regained it by a coup-de-main. After the Fourth Crusade (1204), the town was again in the hands of the Franks. The Emperor Frederick II restored the fortifications in 1228, as did Louis IX in 1250 after his release.

In the Mamluk period, Yafa belonged to the district of al-Ramla, one of the four districts of the coast, which were part of the mamlaka of Dimashq; for a time, however (under Salah al-Din's successors), it was under that of Ghazza (al-Dimashq), ed. Mehren, 230). The Mamluk sultan Baybars attacked the town unexpectedly on 20 Djumada II 666/8 March 1268, and took it and its citadel in one or two days (inscription on the White Mosque at Ramla, ed. van Berchem, Inscriptions Arabes de Syrie, Cairo 1897, 57-64). He destroyed the town with all its houses, walls and the citadel. A certain amir Djamal al-Din . . . b. Ishak, according to an inscription preserved in Yafa, built there in 736/1335 the sanctuary of Kubbat Shajah Murad which is still in existence (Clermont-Ganneau, Materiaux inedits pour servir à l'histoire des Croisades, Paris 1876; idem, Archéological researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1894, ii, London 1896, 154). When the kings of England and France were planning a crusade in 1336, al-Nasir had the harbour of Yafa.
destroyed to make it impossible for the Franks to land there. For the same reason, the town as well as the area of Abyan [q.v.], and whose sultanate later became a member state of the Federation of South Arabia.

After the battle of Marjd Dābš [q.v.] in 922/1516, the whole of Syria passed to the Ottomans. Yafa, which was in ruins, only began to revive gradually in the second half of the 17th century, especially after its quays were built. From 1770 onwards, the Pasha of Dimayq fought for several years with ‘Ali Bey and his followers for the town, in which the Mamluks perpetrated a frightful massacre on 19 May 1776. The French behaved even worse after the capture of the town by Napoleon (6 March 1799). 4,000 prisoners were shot on the shore. Immediately after the.entry of the garrison, plague broke out in the French army which suffered heavily. İbrâhîm Pasha, son of Mehmedmed ‘Ali, occupied Yafa in 1831, which reverted to the Turks in 1840. An earthquake in 1838 destroyed many houses and a portion of the defences.

Jaffa was always the port of entry for Christian pilgrims to Jerusalem, and it had many hospices to accommodate the new arrivals. In the late 19th century, two colonies of the Protestant German Tempelgesellschaft from Wurttemburg were founded at Wilhelma and Sarona to the north of Jaffa (1870-1), whilst there were Jewish agricultural colonies to its south. Under a concession from the Ottomans, in 1890-2 a metre-gauge railway was constructed by a French company from Jaffa to Lydda and Jerusalem (widened to standard-gauge by the British authorities after the occupation of 1917 and after). In 1909 the Jewish garden suburb of Tel Aviv (“Hill of Spring”) was founded adjacent to Jaffa. During the First World War, the Ottomans deported the whole population of Jaffa-Tel Aviv out of fear that they would help advancing Allied troops; but the British forces of General Allenby entered Jaffa unopposed on 16 November 1917, and the population gradually returned thereafter. Anti-Jewish riots broke out at Jaffa in May 1921, the most serious of these in the early years of the British Mandate of Palestine [see MANDATES], and soon afterwards, Tel Aviv was separated from Jaffa with its own municipal status.

In the inter-war period, the port of Jaffa was adversely affected by the development of that of Haifa [see Haifa] (1933) and further declined after the Arab political strike of 1936 closed it for almost a year, during which goods for Tel Aviv began to be landed by lighter. The better-off Jewish population began to move into Tel Aviv, leaving Jaffa with a poorer, predominantly Arab population. After 1948, almost the entire Arab element, which in 1941 had numbered 62,000, fled, and the largely deserted town was two years later incorporated into the municipality of Tel Aviv-Yafo in Israel. The decayed and inadequate port of Jaffa was shut down in 1965, superseded by the modern port of Ashdod further south. Tel Aviv-Yafo now has a population (1994 estimate) of 355,200.


[F. BUR.-[C.E. BOSWORTHT]}

YĀFĪ, an ancient and important collection of tribes of the Yemen who established themselves in the lofty mountain ranges in Sarw Himyar to the north and north-east of Aden [see ‘ADAN], about 120 km/75 miles distant. Yāfī is divided into the Upper and Lower Sultanates, with al-Mahdājah the capital of the former and al-Kāra, the old capital of the sultans of the Banū Kāsid, that of the latter. The former has five tribes: Kaladī, Sa’dī, Yazīdī, Yahārī and Nākhībī. The latter also has five: Mu‘allāḥī, Mawsāfī, Žābī, Buشف and Hadramī.

They were certainly pre-Islamic in origin and the Old South Arabian inscription RBS 4613 contains the form yfīn. The Yāfī, who were agriculturists and figure prominently as mercenaries, are mentioned also in the 4th/10th-century Sīfat Dzāyrat al-Arab of al-Hamdānī (ed. Müller, 89, 95, 98). Inhabiting such inaccessible country, the Yāfī were seldom completely controlled by any central authority. They served the Rasulids [q.v.] as mercenaries, though they did not pay them taxes (Serjeant, Yafī, 83). In Middle-, 12th/13th-17th/18th centuries, originally as mercenaries, although they eventually wielded some independent power there. Indeed, in the early 12th/13th century rival contestants for the Kāthīrī sultanate in Hadramawt called in Yāfī tribesmen to assist them. Many were employed in the same way in India also, notably in Ḥaydarābād. In 1903, the British Government of India entered into a series of treaties with various sections of the Yāfī in exchange for stipends (Arab tribes, 205-15), although it was reported in 1909 (ibid., 63) that the Aden Residency had little contact with Upper Yāfī. It was only after the Second World War that the government in Aden was able to develop their relations with the Yāfī, and then almost exclusively with the Lower Yāfī, some of whose territory was in the fertile cotton-growing area of Abyan [q.v.] and whose sultanate later became a member state of the Federation of South Arabia.
In the field of hagiography, he wrote an Ansâ al-mahdîyyâ fi manâkib al-šaâkh 'Abd al-Karîm [al-Šâbî]. He also courageously upheld the sanctity of al-Ḫallâj and Ibn al-ʿArâfî (al-Suyûtî, Taʿyîd, 71; Massignon, op. cit., ii, 41, 46, 309-10), and it was not surprising that his disciple Šâh Niʿmat Allâh should translate into Persian and write commentaries on the works of Ibn al-ʿArâfî.

It would be an abuse of language to call al-Yâfî an historian, since his Mirâṭ al-qâtân wa-ḥibt al-yâkôn (Haydarâbâd 1339/1920) is mainly a compilation drawn from Ibn al-ʿĂthîr, Ibn Khallîlûn and al-Dhahabî. He wrote many mystical poems (especially on the Prophet, whom he claimed often to see in dreams or in night vigils), but very few of these have been published.


(Œ. GEOFFROY)

YÂFİTH, the Japheth of the Bible.

He is not mentioned by name in the Kûr’ân (although he is alluded to in VII, 64, X, 73, XI, 40, XXIII, 27 and XXVI, 119), but he is familiar with all the sons of Noah [see Xviii: Hâm, Šâm [ẹ̀ ẹ̀ ẹ̀], and Yâfîth (the pronunciation Yâfîth is mentioned as possible in al-Tabârî, i, 222). The Biblical story (Gen. ix. 20-7) of Hâm’s sin and punishment and the blessing given to Sâm and Yâfîth is known in Muslim legend, but it is silent about Noah’s planting the vine and becoming intoxicated. Al-Kisârî totally transforms the story: in the Ark, Noah could not sleep from anxiety, so when he came out of the boat, he fell asleep on Sâm’s chest. The wind revealed his nakedness, Sâm and Yâfîth covered him up and Hâm laughed so loudly that Nûh was awakened. As a result, he uttered the following curse: prophets shall be born descendants of Sâm, kings and heroes of Yâfîth and black slaves of Hâm. However, Hâm’s descendants intermarried with Yâfîth’s family such that the Abyssinians, Hind and Sind were born to Kûk b. Hâm, and the Copts were the descendants of a union between Kûk b. Hâm and a descendant of Yâfîth.

Yâfîth’s descendants are variously given, sometimes according to the biblical tradition (al-Tabârî, i, 217), sometimes with variations (al-Kisârî, i, 101). He is usually regarded as the ancestor of Yâdînî and Mâjdînî [g.v.] of the Turks and the Khazars, more rarely of the Slavs [see Šârâlûh]. Persia and Rûm are sometimes traced to Sâm but sometimes to Yâfîth. To Yâfîth is also attributed Cyrus, who killed Belshazzar, son of Evilmerodach, son of Nebuchadnezzar, and Yazdagird. In sum, Sâm is the father of the Arabs, Yâfîth of Rûm, and Hâm of the Sûdân. Of the three, the Semitic tradition naturally prefers Sâm. Yâfîth is only rarely spoken of unfavourably, as he is in the case of al-Tabârî, i, 223, where we are told nothing good comes from Yâfîth and his descendants are deformed. On the other hand, the 72 languages of the world are divided as follows: 18 to Sâm, 18 to Hâm and 36 to Yâfîth. He is the blessed son of Noah.

YAFITH — YAGHMA


YAGHMA [see YUGMA]

YAGHISTAN (p.), lit. "the land of the rebels" (*yagh* "rebel", *istän* "region") referred to different sanctuaries used by Muğḫidhūn [see MUGHAN] against the British authorities in the 19th and early 20th centuries, in the various independent tribal areas, mainly inhabited by the Pakhtuns, in the hinterland of what became the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) of British India such as the Mohmand Agency, Bunrū, Dūr, Swāt, Kohistān, Hazāra and Čarmānnd (Extending into the Kunār province of Afghanistan and Bāḏajaw in NWFP). A popular term rather than a formally recognised one, the name was in use long before the British colonial period, historically referred to as Yāghistān al-kadīm, and sometimes as Rīyāsah-hā Yāghistān.

Though Yāghistān comprised mainly mountainous terrain, the Muğḫidhūn carefully selected their centres around fertile valleys, lakes and rivers in order to be self-reliant as regards agricultural products and to find hideouts to support their guerilla warfare. With the rise of Muslim resistance, first to Sikh rule in Pandjāb and Kashgīr and then to the gradual British colonial expansion in South Asia, the Muğḫidhūn from different regions started gathering in Yāghistān. In spite of their initial success under the charismatic leadership of Sayyid Ahmad Brelwī [q.v.], the movement suffered a setback on Bālākūt on 6 May 1831 in which Ahmad Brelwī and most of his companions were killed by the Sikhs. During the first Afghan British war (1839-42), the Muğḫidhūn leader Mawlawī Naṣīr al-Dīn sided with Dūst Muḥammad [q.v.] by sending a contingent of fighters from Yāghistān to Kābul and Ghāzna. After him, the leadership of the Muğḫidhūn gradually passed first to Mawlānā Wilāyāt ‘Ali (d. 1852) and then to his younger brother Mawlānā Ināyāt ‘Ali (1858). Through an effective network of devotees, which extended as far as Bengal, the Muğḫidhūn regularly received fresh recruits, money and moral support in their frequently-changing centres in Yāghistān, such as Sīrānā, Malka and Ambīla. The Yāghistānī Muğḫidhūn maintained close contact with their supporters, and at times used secret messages in code. Though most of the *djehad* centres in Yāghistān were attacked and destroyed by British Indian forces during the second half of the 19th century, the resistance of the Muğḫidhūn continued under such leaders as Nāḏīm al-Dīn Haddā Mūllā (d. 1902) and Sū’d Allāh Khān Mūllā Māstān (branded as the Mad Mulla by his opponents; d. 1916).

In 1902, the Muğḫidhūn leader ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Wilāyāt ‘Ali chose Aṣmāst in Būnīr near Swāt valley as his headquarters. During the First World War, a rival centre slowly grew up and prospered in the Afghan part of Čarmānnd, where leaders such as Mawlawī Muḥammad ‘Ali Kaṣfir (see his Muğḫidhūtā-i-Kūbdar wa Yāghishtān, Lahore 1986; Mawlawī ‘Abd al-Karīm Karīmīdī (d. 1922), Mawlawī Muḥammad Bāghīr (d. 1934); Ḥādīdī Tarangāt (d. 1937) and Mawlawī Faḍl Ilāḥī Wazīrābādī (d. 1951); see his Kesā’yi-Yāghishtān, Gujrānwāla 1981) led a number of skirmishes against the imperial army in Shāhbadar, Čādka, Mohmand Agency and many other places in NWFP. At times, the Yāghishtānī Muğḫidhūn also developed alliances with a number of anti-colonial movements such as ‘Ībāb Allāh, Diṃmād Rahāhīnīya, Ḥūkūmāt-i Muwakkatā-yī Hind and Diṃmīyyat al-‘Aznār.

With the independence of Pakistan in 1947, Yāghistān gradually became part of the historical past. The original *djihād* movement also lost its impetus, although the independent character of certain Pakhtūn tribes (e.g. the Afrīdis) and their systems (e.g. the dīrāq [q.v., in Suppl.]) in these areas is still recognised by Pakistan. Many tribal Muğḫidhūn and the activists of the *djihād* movement took part in the struggle of the Kashmirī Muslims against India in 1948 and thereafter, and subsequently in the popular Afghan uprising against the Soviet Russian-supported communist regime in Kabul.


(Mohammad Yusef Siddiq)

YAGHMA, in Arabic orthography Yaghmā, a Turkish tribe of Central Asia mentioned in accounts of the early Turks and their component tribal groups. P. Pelliot thought that the Chinese Yang-mo presupposed a nasalised form *Yangma* (Notes sur le "Turkestane" de M.W. Barthold, in *T’oung-Pao*, xxvii [1930], 17). There are sections on the Yaghma in *Hudūd al-‘ulam* tr. 95-6 § 13, cf. comm. 277-81, and Gardizi, *Zayn al-akhbār*, ed. Ḏahībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 260. Abū Dūlāf does not mention them by name in his *First Rūsūl*, but Marquart thought that his Bughhradj tribe referred to the Yaghma and that his mention of the place al-Khargūtī (*tent* = Ordu-kand "army camp") referred to their centre of Khashgh (cf. A. von Rohr-Sauer, *Des Abū Dūlāf Bericht über seine Reise nach Turkestane, China und Indien neu übersetzt und untersucht*, Bonn 1939, 18, 19-20). Gardizi makes Yaghma originally a chief of the Topghuzghūz [q.v.], hence the Yaghma would appear to have been associated, at some early date, with the latter tribe. The *Hudūd al-‘ulam* states that the ruler of the Yaghma was indeed from the princely line of the Topghuzghūz, and has information on the two rulers of the Yaghma, this division being perhaps the result of a tribal split. The first, most important location, spanned the central and western T‘ien-Shan range, from the Naryn river in eastern Farghāna across the mountains to Khashgh [q.v.] in eastern Turkestan, possession of which town was at some point disputed by both the Yaghma and Karluk. The second location was in Semireč[e (see vīrī sū), in the Ili valley and around the Issik Kol, where Mahmūd al-Khashghāfī, *Dīwān ḏāhil al-tūr, Tūshīr. tr. Atalay, i, 92, places them alongside the Čigīl and Tūshī (cf. also Barthold, *Zwei Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türkten Mittelasiens*, Berlin 1935, 75-6, on these locations).

The anonymous *Muğḫal al-tauvīrīg*, ed. Bahār, Tehran 1318/1939, 421, calls the ruler of the Yaghma Bughra Khān (cf. the Bughhradj of Abū Dūlāf), and the appearance of this *dāhīte* or totemistic title amongst the early Karakhānīds [see İLEK-KHANS] has led to suggestions that the latter dynasty arose from the Yaghma, especially as early centres of the Karakhānīds were at Khashgh and Ozkend [q.v.] in eastern Farghāna. O. Prisak, in a series of studies, has averred that the Karakhānīds stemmed from the ruling clan of the Karluk, with the Yaghma and Čigīl as the two most
important tribal elements of the Karluk confederation; see the discussion of these views by P.B. Golden, in D. Sinor (ed.), The Cambridge history of early Inner Asia, Cambridge 1996, 395-7, see also Golden. An introduction to the history of the Turkic peoples. Ethnogenesis and state-formation in medieval and early modern Eurasia and the Middle East, Wiesbaden 1992, 201. The Yaghma would have still remained a distinct body within the Karluk Karahanate, although Golden notes that it is somewhat strange that al-Kushshari, himself writing under the Karakhânîds (and frequently mentioning the Yaghma in other connections) nowhere links the rulers of the Karakhanids specifically with the Yaghma or Karluk. After the Karakhânîd and Saljûq periods, the Yaghma seem to drop out of historical mention.

**Bibliography:** In addition to references given in the article, see J. Marquart, Über das Volkstum der Komaunen, in Abb. Akad. der Wiss. in Göttingen, philos.-hist. Kl., N.F. xii, no. 1, Berlin 1914, 93-5.

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**YAGHMA DJANDAKI,** the 'agyalhâl or pen-name of the Persian poet Mîrzâ Abû '1-Hâsan Râhîm (ca. 1196-1276/1278-1859), often called by his fellow-poets Khabba-zâن „wherefrom“ from the expression repeated monotonously in his obscene verse.

He was born at Khûr in the Djandak oasis in the central desert of the Dasht-i Kavir, roughly halfway between Yazd and Simmân. He began his life as a camel-herd but by the age of seven his natural gifts had been noticed by the owner of the oasis, Isma'îl Khan 'Arabi-'Amîrîn, whose secretary (munshi-bdshi) he ultimately became. His first nom-de-plume was Madjânîn. In 1216/1802 Isma'îl Khan, after a rising against the government, had to flee to Khûrânân, while Djandak was occupied by Dhu-l-Fikr Khan, representative of the governor of Simmân and Dâmghân. Yaghma was forcibly conscripted as an ordinary soldier but at Simmân his gifts obtained him the post of secretary to the governor. In 1223/1808 as a result of a false charge, the poet received the bastinado and his property was handed over as plunder (yaghma) by the soldiery. The poet's innocence was proved and he regained his freedom but the act of injustice had embittered him. He then assumed the pen-name of Yaghma and composed a scurrilous satire, Sândîrîyya, on Dhu-l-Fikr Khan. Exiled, he wandered in Persia and via Baghdad and Yazd reached Tehran, where fortune shone upon him again and he gained the good graces of Hâdîjî Mîrzâ Akâf, the first minister of Muhammad Shâh Kâdîr. Yaghma was appointed wa'rîr the governor of Kâshân, but a new satire (khâshâst ãl-jûbat) against a family of Kâshân notables caused him to be ostracised again and he was denounced as a kâfîr from the pulpit of the mosque. His wandering life was resumed. We know that he accompanied Muhammad Shâh to Harât. He only returned to his native land as an octogenarian to die at Khûr on 16 Rabî' II 1276/16 Nov. 1859 and was buried near the tomb of Sayyid Dâwûd.

Yaghma's works in prose and verse were collected in his Kitâb-yi 'a'imâr published in Tehran (?) in 1283/1866 with a preface by Hâdîjî Muhammad Isma'îl (389 fol. pp.).

Yaghma practised all varieties of verse, and his poems (ghazal, rîghâ, kîs'a, tarabî-band) show a great mastery of language and form. The most original part perhaps of his work is in the field of funeral chants (nauna-yi sina-zan) which he invented. They were obviously intended for the public lamentsations in Muhab-râm [see tâzvâ]. They are in the form of a mutazâd in which each line is prolonged by a refrain which the audience is intended to murmur as a spontaneous echo. These nauna are composed in simple and unadorned language. E.G. Browne, LHP, iv, 344, mentions the popularity of this genre among the poems of the constitutional period (1905-11).

Probably not well acquainted with Arabic as a result of his defective education, Yaghma employed in his prose letters a simple Persian style (farsi-nigdn) with a minimum of Arabic loan words; he is thus a precursor of 20th-century attempts, especially under the Pahlavi, to create a Persian purged of extraneous elements. He also extensively annotated his personal copy of the Bûhânh-i khiâl dictionary, the ms. of which was handed down to his family. Yaghma's most characteristic work however, was his satirical, slanderous and obscene poetry, his hâzîjîyât. They have been viewed as denunciations of contemporary society, but other critics have merely seen them as expressions of personal grievances. In his mixture of ribaldry and simple piety, as expressed in his nauna, Browne suggested Verlaine as a modern European parallel. Yaghma also wrote verses in his native dialect of Khûr.


(V. MINORSKY)

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**YAGHMA'I,** Habîb (b. Khûr, 17 December 1898, d. Tehran, 14 May 1984), Persian poet and literary editor.

A descendant of the early Kadîr poet Yaghma Djandaki [q.v.], Habîb Yaghmaîî was born in the small town of Khûr near Djandak and Biyâbânak in the central desert of Persia. He first studied with his father, Hâdîjî Asâl Allah Muntâkhab al-Sâdât Khûrî, and subsequently left Khûr in 1916-17 for the nearby towns of Dâmghân and Shâh-rud in order to pursue his education. In Dâmghân he studied at the Nâźîmîyâ school founded by 'Abd Allah Yâsâ'-iî in 1917. In 1921 he went to Tehran and enrolled first in the Alliance school and, a year later, in the Teachers' Training College (Dâr al-Mu'allîmîn-i 'Ali). This period is further marked by Yaghmaîî's entry into Tehran literary circles. In 1923 he joined the Literary Society of Iran (Angâman-i Adabî-yi Irân) and in the following year he began his collaborations with the literary section of the radical paper Tâfîn published in Tehran by Muhammad Farrukhî Yazdi [q.v.]. In 1927-28 Yaghmaîî studied at the School of Law and Political Science (later a Faculty of Tehran University). He returned to Khûr in 1928 as the head of the Birth Registry Office there; in the same year he took charge of the Office of Education and Endowments (Amâk') of Simmân. In 1930 Yaghmaîî began teaching Persian literature at different high schools in Tehran, including the Dâr al-Funûn. In 1934 he joined the Publication Department of the Ministry of Education. From 1943 to 1946 he was the editor of Nâmâ-yi Farhangiân, the organ of the Iranian Academy, and in 1944 he became an editor (for volumes 14, 15, and 23) of Amâkîyâ wa Pasa-râzîh, a cultural and educational journal. In 1948 he launched his own literary and historical journal, Yaghma, which was published regularly for thirty years (1948-79). In the same year
he also served for a few months as the head of the local office of the Ministry of Education in the city of Kirmān. In 1949 he returned to Tehran as an Inspector of the Ministry of Education, and he also acted as head of the Publication Department of the Ministry of Culture in 1952. In 1962-3 Yaghmāṭ taught at the Teachers’ Training College and at the College of Foreign Languages and Literatures, receiving in 1976 an Honorary Doctorate of Literature and Humanities from Tehran University.

Yaghmāṭ belonged to a generation of Persian literary scholars who, though conservative in their preference for literary style and diction, contributed significantly to the development of Persian literary education and scholarship in the 20th century. In its entire thirty-year period, the journal Yaghmāṭ served as a forum for literary and historical studies. In addition to his own writings, such as an earlier historical romance (Dakhma-yi Aqīlān) (Tehran 1933, 1957) and a collection of poems (Sanā'ī, Tehran 1972), Yaghmāṭ compiled several historical and literary surveys and also edited a number of texts, including the Gargād-nāma of Asadī Tūsī (Tehran 1936, 1975) and the Persian translation of the Taḏrīs of al-Tabarī (Tehran 1960-65, 7 vols.).


(Alī Gheshmāri)
be a distinct Jewish dialect which they referred to as al-yahudiyya (see Ibn Sa'd, ii/2, 66; al-Wâkidî, Kitâb al-Maghâzî, ed. M. Jones, London 1966, i, 392; and G.D. Newby, Observations on an early Judeo-Arabic? in JQR, N.S., xlii [1970], 212-21). Thus, there was a considerable degree of awareness of Jews and Judaism, as there was of Christians and Christianity, in the society into which the Prophet Muhammad was born.

2. In the Kur'ân.

Despite the general Arabian familiarity with Jews and Judaism and despite the traditions that Muhammad himself had met Jews prior to his theophany, there is no specific mention of Yahud (or Nasrâ), Christians, or any other non-pagan religious group for that matter) in the revelations from the Meccan period.

Only the term Banû īsā’lîl (q.v.) (the Children of Israel), which is not found in what can be identified as genuine pre-Islamic poetry (Horovitz, Koranische Untersuchungen, 91), appears in the Meccan sūras. Most of these references are to the biblical Israelites, although a few clearly are to contemporary Jews (e.g. XXVI, 197; XVII, 101). In some Meccan and Medinan sūras (e.g. XLI, 59; LXI, 14), Banû īsâ’lîl refers to both Jews and Christians of the time of Jesus, with allusions perhaps to some remnants of Judaico-Christians, such as the Ebonites or the Elchasaites, who may still have existed in Muhammad's own days (concerning the latter, cf. P. Crone, Islam, Judaism and Christianity. And Byzantine Iconoclasm, in JSAI, ii, [1980], 59-95, and J. Danielou, Christianity as a Jewish sect, in The crucible of Christianity, ed. A. Toynbee, London 1969, 282).

As noted above, the words Yahud, Yahâdî, and Hâd appear first in the Medinan sūras—albeit a total of fifteen times, compared with the forty-three specific mentions of the Banû īsâ’lîl throughout the entire Kur'ân (the verbal form īlādâhu hâdâ—those who are Jewish—appears ten times.) During this fateful time, fraught with tension after the Hidjâra, when Muhammad encountered contradiction, ridicule and rejection from the Jewish scholars in Medina, he came to adopt a radically more negative view of the people of the Book who had received earlier scriptures. This attitude was already evolving in the third Meccan period as the Prophet became more aware of the antipathy between Jews and Christians and the disagreements and strife amongst members of the same religion. The Kur'ân at this time claims that it will "relate [correctly] to the Children of Israel most of that about which they differ" (XXVII, 76).

Whereas the term Banû īsâ’lîl appears in the Kur'ân in both positive and negative contexts, the term Yahud is most frequently negative. The Yahûd are associated with interconfessional strife and rivalry (II, 113). They believe that they alone are beloved of God (V, 18), and only they will achieve salvation (II, 61). Their ignominy stands in marked contrast to Muslim heroism, and in general, conforms to the Kur'ânic image of "wretchedness and baseness stamped upon them" (II, 61).

In the Hadith, the Yahûd are mentioned most often in traditions that emphasise the differences between Muslims and non-Muslims, as for example with regard to sexual mores, purity laws, and various customs and practices (cf. Abû Dâwûd, Sunan, k. al-nikdâh, bâb xlviii; Muslim, Sahîh, k. al-hayâd, bâb xvi; and especially al-Bukhârî, Sahîh, k. al-anbâhâyâ, bâb 1, 2-10) and that express disapproval of non-Muslim practices (cf. ibid., k. al-nilâs, bâb xvi). By contrast, when the tradition allows for a more positive, or at least neutral, identification with Jews (and perhaps Jews and Christians generally), the term Banû īsâ’lîl is more likely to be used, as in the well-known hadith that it is not a transgression to relate traditions on the authority of the Children of Israel (al-Bukhârî, k. al-anbâhâyâ, bâb 1, 9). However, the designation Yahûd now becomes very common, and frequently the term Yahud appears in contexts that are most frequently negative, as in Muhammad's encounters with the Jewish tribes in Medina (the Banû Kaynûkâ'), al-Nâdîr and Kurayyazu (q.v.); and with the inhabitants of the oasis of Khaybar, all of which are related in the greatest of detail in the Sûra and the Maghdûzî. For example, the rabbis of the Jews in Medina are singled out as "men whose malice and enmity was aimed at the Apostle of God" (Ibn Hâshâm, Sûra, Cairo, 1955, i, 516; bâb al-âhâr al-Yahûd, ahl al-ghûrûr wa a'-laddawâ hî Rasûl Allâh). The Yahûd in this literature appear not only as malicious, but also deceitful (e.g. al-Wâkidî, Maghdûzî, i, 363 ll.), cowardly (Ibn Hâshâm, ii, 57) and totally lacking resolve (ibid., 236). However, they have none of the demonic qualities attributed to them in mediaeval Christian literature, neither is there anything comparable to the overwhelming preoccupation with Jews and Judaism (except perhaps in the narratives on Muhammad's encounters with Medinan Jews) in Muslim traditional literature. Except for a few notable exceptions, such as Huayyâ b. Abkâtab, a leader of the Banû 1-Nâdîr, and the Kurayzî chieftain Ka'b al-Asad, the Jews in the Sûra and the Maghdûzî are even heroic villains. Their ignominy stands in marked contrast to Muslim heroism, and in general, conforms to the Kur'ânic image of "wretchedness and baseness stamped upon them" (II, 61).

4. In mediaeval Islamic law, literature and society.

Because of the decidedly more negative connotations of the term Yahûd, as opposed to Banû īsâ’lîl, the latter increasingly became the polite usage in Arabic when referring to Jews (in a semantic parallel to early modern French usages juif versus israélite). Al-īsâ’lîl was the usual nisba for distinguished Jews, such as Mûsâ b. Maymûn al-īsâ’lîl al-Andalusî (Ibn al-Kîfî, Ḥakama', ed. Lippert, 317) as well as for Jewish converts to Islam, such as the poet Abû Ishaq...
b. Sahl al-Isra'ili [q.v.]. This use of the term Banu Isra'il as more euphemistic than Yehud was merely a tendency, particularly in religious literature and was by no means consistent in any case. Mediaeval Arab historians and geographers on the whole referred to Jews as such without either a negative or positive connotation. Thus for example, Ibn Khurṣadādishīb refers to Radhanite Jewish merchants as tādādar al-yahūd al-ḍālamīyya (Masālik, 153), while al-Masʿudī refers to the Jews of ʿIrāq as Banū Israʿil and as Yehud (Tanbih, 79 and 113). Naturally, Yehud is invariably used when authors make a distinction from Christians or specify them alongside Christians, as does, for example, al-Ḥukkaddas when describing the population of Jerusalem (167).

The perception of Jews in the Middle Ages was on the whole even more condescending than that of Christians. In fact, the great 3rd/9th century essayist al-Ḍāhīṣ notes that the Muslim masses perceived the Christians as being "more sincere than the Jews, closer in affection, less treacherous, less unbelieving, and deserving of a lighter punishment [on Judgment Day]." He goes on to analyse the historical and sociological reasons for this popular preference, namely, that the Jews had opposed the Prophet in Medina and generally belonged to a lower socio-economic stratum of society than either the Christians or Zoroastrians (al-Raḍāʾī, 401, 406, see also al-Qanādī, ed. I. al-Madbī, Cairo 1926, 13-14; see also Wasserstrom, Between Muslim and Jew, 19-46).

Despite what may have been the greater social prejudice in early Islam towards the Yehud, Islamic law made no distinction between Jews and other tolerated non-Muslims. Administrative decrees meant to interpret, amplify, and execute the qanādī al-dīnīyya al-dhimmī, al-Mukaddas! when describing the population of Jerusalem, made no distinction between Jews and other tolerated non-Muslims. Administrative decrees meant to interpret, amplify, and execute the qanādī al-dīnīyya al-dhimmī, as Jews and referred to it by the Judaeo-Arabic word sināḥī (Goitein, Med. soc. ii, 278).

Mediaeval Muslim theologians devoted only a very small part of their polemics against other religions and doctrines to Judaism. There is nothing in Islam comparable in quantity and rarely in sheer vitriol to the Adversæ Judæarum literature of the Church. With the exception of Ibn Hazm's Risāla fi l-ʿadād al-ʿalā ilān al-Naqbīyya al-Yahūdi (Rasāʾil Ibn Hazm, ed. I. Abūs, Beirut 1981, 41-70), which is prompted more by the sentiments stirred up by Jews holding high office than by specific theological questions, there are relatively few independent expositions of the falseness of Judaism. Most of the latter seem to have been written by Jewish converts to Islam anxious to prove their neophyte zeal by exposing the errors of their former faith. Among the best-known of such works are al-Samawʿal al-Maghribi's Shiʿām al-Yahūd (ed. and tr. M. Perlman, New York 1964 [= PAFJR, xxiii], Saʿīd b. Hasān's Khud Masālik al-nazār (ed. and tr. S. A. Weston, in JAOIS, xxii [1904], 312-83), and ʿAbd al-Ḥakīk al-Islāmī's Saʿīf al-ʿalā ilān al-ahd al-Yahūd (ed. and tr. E. Alfonso, Madrid 1998). All three of these treatises are rather late, dating from the 6th-8th/12th-14th centuries. Earlier anti-Jewish treatises did exist, but none prior to Ibn Hazm's from the 5th/11th century has survived. In marked contrast to these militant polemics are the admirably academic and dispassionate descriptions of Jews and Judaism in the histories and compendia of religions and beliefs, such as al-Burdīnī's al-ʿIlār al-ḥakīsī waʾn al-ṭarrān al-ḥalīsī (ed. E. Sachau, Leipzig 1878) and especially al-Salhānsī's al-Mīlāl wa ʿl-nāhil (ed. W. Curotton, London 1842-46 and numerous other editions).

5. In folklore.

Jews are occasionally depicted in Arabic folktales or mentioned in popular proverbs, but once again, neither quantitatively nor qualitatively comparable to their place in the folklore of western Christendom. The Alī layla wa-lyla contains, in addition to pious tales belonging to the sināṭīyyāt [q.v.] genre in which the principal characters are called Israelites (see the examples cited in M. Gerhardt, The art of story-telling, Leiden 1963, 365-69), some isolated Jewish individuals who are identified as Jews simply to provide colour and spice to an ethnic mosaic of characters, such as the Jewish doctor in the Hunchback cycle of tales (ed. M. Mabdi, i, Leiden 1984, 280-379).

Overall, Jews are mentioned only peripherally in later Arabic folklore, although perhaps somewhat more in the Maghrib than in the Levant, since no indigenous Christians remained in North Africa after the Almohad period. Proverbs and folktales stereotypically portray the Yehud as sly, untrustworthy and occasionally malevolent (E. Westermarck, Wit and wisdom in Morocco, London 1930, 130-1, nos. 468-73). However, there are also examples of more positive images in which the Jews are depicted as useful and even better than a vile Muslim (ibid., 131, nos. 474-6).

6. In the modern era.

Increased European commercial, missionary and imperialist activities within the Muslim world during the 19th and 20th centuries introduced anti-Semitic ideas and literature into the region. At first these prejudices only found a reception among Arabic-speaking Christian protectes of the Europeans in Syria, Lebanon
and Egypt and were too new and too palpably foreign for any widespread acceptance among Muslims. However, with the ever-increasing conflict between Arabs and Jews in Palestine during the period of the British Mandate, the language and imagery of European anti-Semitism began to appear in political polemics both in the nationalist press and in books (Stillman, *New attitudes toward the Jew in the Arab world*, in *Jewish Social Studies*, xxxvi [1977], 197-204; idem, *Antisemitism in the contemporary Arab world*, in *Antisemitism in the contemporary world*, ed. M. Curtis, Boulder and London 1986, 70-85). For more than two decades following 1948, this trend increased greatly, but peaked by the 1970s, and declined somewhat as the slow process of rapprochement between the Arab world and the state of Israel evolved in the 1980s and 1990s; it remains to be seen how the tensions arising in 2000 will affect the trend.


**YAHYA B. ‘ABD ALLAH B. AL-HASAN B. AL-HASAN B. ‘Ali, Medinan ‘Alid leader of a revolt in Daylam and Zaydi imam. His mother was Kurayba bt. Rukayh bt. ‘Abd Allah, a sister of the prophet. His father was Muhammad al-Nafs al-Za‘kiyya [q.v.] and Ibrāhīm, leaders of the Hasanid revolt against the caliph al-Mansūr in 145/762. As a much younger brother, born perhaps around 128/745-6, he did not participate in that revolt. He was partly brought up and taught by the Imam ‘Shī‘ī imām Dja‘far al-Saddīq [q.v.], presumably after the imprisonment of his father in 140/758, and Dja‘far (d. 148/765) made him one of his legatees. Yahya seems to have revered him. He followed him in his ritual practice and transmitted legal doctrine mainly from him. He appears in Imāmi books as a transmitter from Dja‘far.

Yahya took a prominent part in the revolt of the Hasanid al-Hasayn b. ‘Ali Shāhīb Fakhrī [q.v.] in Medina in 169/786. After the collapse of the revolt he, his brother Ibrāhīm [see ibid] and some others found shelter with a tribesman of Khuzā‘a who aided them to escape by boat to Abyssinia. There they stayed for some time with the king. After returning to Arabia, the two brothers met with a group of loyal supporters at Shī‘ī al-Hadārīmā near Mecca. They agreed that Ibrāhīm should seek support in the Maghrib, while Yahya first went to Yemen. The sources give different accounts about his peregrinations during the following years. According to the best one, he went from Yemen to Upper Mesopotamia, Armenia, and then to Baghdād. Having been discovered, he fled again to Yemen and stayed for eight months in San‘ā‘ with a man of the Anbā‘. It was at this time, perhaps in 174/790-1, that al-Shāhīb [q.v.] studied with him and became one of his chief followers. He then went, on his own, to Khurāsān and wrote, probably just after the murder by poison of his brother Ibrāhīm by an agent of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, to Šarwīn b. Surkhāb, the Bawandid ruler of Fīrīm in the mountains of Tabaristan, requesting asylum for three years. Šarwīn responded positively but guided him to Dja‘far, king of Daylam, who would be in a better position to protect him. That he, in accordance with another account, also travelled to Dja‘far’s Balkh, Transoxania and stayed with an unidentified “Khākhān of the Turks” (perhaps the Afgān of Ushārūsānā), is more doubtful. It is to be noted, however, that al-Fadl b. Yahya al-Barmakī, when sent to capture him, first defeated the Khākhān, who had intruded deeply into the territory of Islam. This is confirmed by two lines of contemporary poetry by Abū Thumāma al-Khaṣṣī.

Yahya arrived in Daylam in 175/791-2 and was soon joined by a substantial number of supporters. In 176/792 he proclaimed his rising against the caliph. Al-Rashīd was deeply alarmed and sent al-Fadl b. Yahya as governor of Dja‘far, Rayy, Dja‘far, Tabaristan, Kūmis, Dunbāwānd and Rūyān with an army of 50,000 and much money to meet the challenge. Al-Fadl took al-Tā‘īrīn, sent his henchmen to Aḥlabah at Aţbāh in the Elburz mountains from where he sent letters to Yahya and Dja‘far offering pardon to the former and a million dirhams to the king. A report that al-Fadl had earlier advised and helped Yahya to seek refuge in Daylam and that al-Rashīd, informed of his treason, sent him against the ‘Alid in order to test him, is hardly credible. Yahya eventually accepted an ironclad letter of amnesty and safety for himself and seventy followers, formulated by himself and handwritten by the caliph and endorsed by legal scholars, judges, and prominent ‘Abbāsids, together with lavish gifts. He obtained a further letter of safety from al-Fadl and then surrendered. Later, he explained that he surrendered because the wife of the king of Daylam pressed the latter to accept al-Fadl’s offers out of greed and because there was discord between himself and some of his Kūfīan followers who would not accept his Shī‘ī prohibition of *mash‘* atā ‘l-‘khayfiyyān [q.v.] and drinking of date wine. The son of the Kūfīan Bātri leader al-Hasan b. ‘Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy on one occasion led the prayer of his followers without waiting for Yahya, who then performed his prayer separately, knowing that al-Hasan’s son practiced *mash‘*. The latter remarked to his companions, Why should they allow themselves to be killed for a man who did not consider prayer with them licit?

Yahya was received by the caliph in Baghdād with great honours, and the event was celebrated as signifying a reconciliation between ‘Abbāsids and ‘Alids. He is said to have received gifts of 200,000 or 400,000 dinārs from both al-Rashīd and al-Fadl. The caliph, however, sought to keep him under supervision in Baghdād, against the letter of pardon which guaranteed him the right of free movement anywhere. Yahya participated in a pilgrimage to Mecca and then was allowed by al-Fadl, without the caliph’s knowledge, to move to his family estate Aţhābāb outside Suwyāk near Medina. The caliph asked al-Fadl to bring him back, but the latter evidently insisted on keeping the terms of the pardon. Yahya now used the money he had been given to pay the debts of the Shāhīb Fakhrī and support needy ‘Alids. There is no evidence that he had any seditious designs, but the caliph remained
deeply suspicious. He appointed two members of the fiercely anti-Alid family of al-Zubayr as governors of Mawzī to check on Yahya b. Waqqas b. 'Abd Allah (d. 180/897) and then his son Bakrār (181/937-909). Soon after his accession, Bakkār complained to al-Rashīd that Yahyā was behaving like a second caliph and was venerated by the people, who visited him from everywhere. He insinuated that the ‘Alīd was engaged in treason and advised the caliph to recall him in order to forestall a major rebellion. Al-Rashīd ordered Yahyā to be sent back to Baghdaḍ.

There are numerous reports, partly of a legendary character and contradictory, about the vicious treatment of Yahyā by the caliph after his recall. It is clear that Yahyā was confined, rather than kept in prison, for part of the time. One well-informed account speaks of three occasions on which he was imprisoned (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 624). In 184/800 ‘Abd Allah b. Mus‘ab, now at the caliphal court, told al-Rashīd that he had received a call (daw‘a) from Yahyā to back his seditious aspirations. He suggested that, given the enmity between Zubayrids and ‘Alīds, Yahyā must have already received the backing of everywhere at court for his designs and that the caliph thus could not trust anyone of his wives, servants, and army leaders. Al-Rashīd confronted him with Yahyā, who denied the accusation and demanded that the truth be established by oath of himself and his opponent. This was done, and ‘Abd Allah b. Mus‘ab, according to the account, died on the same day. His death (27 Rabī‘ I 184/29 March 800) was, in any case, accepted by the caliph as a vindication of Yahyā.

Al-Rashīd felt, however, increasingly frustrated by his letter of pardon. He was particularly infuriated by Yahyā’s refusal to identify his seventy supporters protected by the pardon and accused him of protecting all his Shī‘a followers by claiming, whenever one of them was caught, that he belonged to those granted amnesty. He convened a group of legal scholars, among them the Hanafī Muhammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī, and prominent men to have the letter declared invalid. When al-Shaybānī categorically stated that the letter was valid and irrefutable, al-Rashīd in his anger hit his head with an inkstand. Abu l-Bakhratī Wāḥib b. Wāḥib then declared the letter invalid and cut it up with a knife. According to one account, al-Rashīd on that occasion set up Yahyā b. Khālid al-Barmakī to testify that Yahyā b. ‘Abd Allāh had secretly sent his propagandists who had obtained the pledge of allegiance of the common people of Baghdaḍ for him and that a man had been apprehended on the way to Balkh with letters summoning the people of Khurāsān to rebellion. Such a role of Yahyā b. Khālid is not implausible since he had in 183/799 undertaken to have the Shī‘a Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm [q.v.] murdered in order to protect his son al-Fadl, who had aroused the caliph’s anger by failing to carry out his order to kill him. Al-Rashīd, however, still had suspicions to execute Yahyā in public. He handed him over to the Barmakīs Dja‘far b. Yahyā, indicating to him that he wanted him dead. Dja‘far is said to have been ready to carry out the caliph’s wishes, but then was persuaded by Yahyā to let him escape on a commitment that he would immediately leave for Byzantine territory and stay there as long as al-Rashīd was alive. Yahyā was apprehended at Māṣṣīja and was brought before Muhammad b. Khālid b. Bakrār, governor of the border towns, who recited half a sura from the Qur’ān telling that Allah would protect the Barmakīs if they were faithful. Yahyā was therefore released.

Yahyā’s revolt paved the way for the spread of Zaydī Shī‘ism among the Daylamīs and in Ṭabarīstān and Ghīrān. A number of Daylamīs were converted by him to Islam and are said to have built his house and mosque in their country. They later used to call themselves ‘helpers of the Mahdi (inšī‘e al-mahdi),’ Bībliography. By S. Gellner and E. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1953, 54: Ya‘qūb, 492-3; Wāḥib, Akhbār al-kudūd, ed. al-Marrāghī, Cairo 1947-50, i, 248-9; Ẓabarī, iii, 552-64, 612-24, 669-72, tr. C.E. Bosworth, The ‘Abbāsīd caliphate in equilibrium, Albany 1989, 16-34, 113-31, 205-8; Ahmad b. Sulaymān al-Rāzī, Akhbār Fakhkh wa-khabar Yahyā b. Ẓawwād, ed. Abu ‘1-Faradj al-Isfahānī, Cairo 1940, 453-86; and index; Arabic texts concerning the history of the Zaydī Imāms, ed. W. Madelung, Beirut 1987, esp. 55-70, 79-84, 173-208; Tārīkh Baghdaḍ, xiv, 110-12; C. van Arendonk, Les débuts de l’Imāmat Zaydite au Yemen, tr. J. Ryckmans, Leiden 1960, 65-70, 317-19; D. Sourdel, Le vizirat ‘alābādī, Damascus 1959-60, index; Jarrar, introd. to al-Rāzī, Akhbār Fakhkh, esp. 53-8, 69-88.

YAHYĀ b. ‘ĀDAM b. Sulaymān, Abī Zakariyyā al-Kūfī, Kur‘ān, hadīth and fiqh scholar, d. 203/818. He had the nīshāb al-Kurāshī and al-Umawī because, through his father ‘Ādām who was probably of Persian origin, he was a client (mawla) of a certain Khālid b. Khālid b. ‘Umar b. Abī Mu‘āṣir al-Umawī, also al-Makhtāzīm (e.g. in al-Nawawī, but according to Schacht in EP), this is a mistake), and the lākaḥ is al-Aḥwāl (Sezgin, i, 520; Shākir, 8). His biography as transmitted is very sparse. Born after 130/747-8, probably c. 140/757-8, he grew up and for the most part lived in al-Kūfā, as the nīshāb al-Kūfī seems to indicate. He possibly lost his father, also a traditionalist, before he was born (al-Dhahabī, Suyūr, 1962), almost nothing is known about his life. It is said that he visited the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd in al-Hīra, together with his teacher Abī Bakr b. ‘Ayyāṣ (d. 193/809) (Sezgin, i, 520), after Yūkīt, Irāqī), but it is not clear whether such information permits us to conclude that he was a “distinguished” man. His good reputation, if not his renown, is supported by the fact that the Persian scholar, Irākī father and governor-in-law of al-Ma‘mūn, al-Ḥasan b. Sahl (q.v.), prayed over Yahyā when he died around the middle of Rabī‘ I 209/21 September 918 at Fām al-Sib, not far from al-Ḥasan, shocked by the murder, perpetrated in 202/818 near Sarākhs (q.v.).
of his famous brother, the pro-Iranian vizier and former Barmakid pupil al-Fadl b. Sahl [q.v.], performed this ceremony at the place where he possessed an estate where he later had his refuge (Ibn Khutayba, Mu'arrif).

In spite of this, the deceased was apparently considered as a son-in-law at this place; perhaps he had fled there from the restlessness of al-Kūfa in those days, unless al-Hasan had ordered him to come, alone or together with others, on his own behalf or in the name of the ruler, in order to benefit from his spiritual and moral authority. Yahyā’s life span comprised six scribes, apparently without him having entered the services of any caliph or having held public posts in the juridical, political or administrative fields (as did his colleagues Abū ʿUyūsuf and Abū ʿUbayd [q.v.]).

It is as if he lived only for the acquisition and transmission of learning; he never became dependent and kept out of everyday disputes on religion and politics while sharing this abstention from politics with other conscientious men of his time (Shākir, 11-12). From the spirit of his way of working and the reports about him, it seems that he grew up in the austere style of early Islam, that he was marked by a profound study of the Stra and Sunna of the Prophet and the ʿulūf [q.v.], by piety, honesty and a conciliatory character, and that he was led by well-grounded principles of religious law which he intended to transmit faithfully; he thus probably aimed at an ideal harmonising of the so-called ʿahdāt and maʿṣūmatāt [q.v.] on the basis of Kurʾān, Sunna and fikhr. In doing this he found himself in a relatively independent and uncommitted legal position within a juridical system that, moreover, had not yet solidified. His contemporaries and the legal position within a juridical system that, moreover,

Among his teachers one finds such illustrious names as al-Hasan b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbbās, ʿAyyāsh and his brother Abū Bakr b. ʿAyyāsh, Sufyān b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān, Sufyān b. ʿUyayna, ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nakhaʾī, Ibn al-Muhārak, Wakiʾ and Ḥamdān b. Salama; among his students were Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥanbāl, Ibn Abī Ṣāḥib and Yahyā b. ʿAbd al-ʿAlī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Nakhaʾī, (allegedly used during the maghāzī and the futūḥ by the Prophet, the same one as mentioned in the “Rightly-Guided Caliphs”) and the Successors, or by individual persons such as Ṣamʿ b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Zuhri. The work also preserves older types of (Arab and to a lesser extent, Sāṣānī) landed property, poll tax, taxes on land and property in their dependence on the status of the land, on conquest vs. capitulation, on the various kinds of yield, income and also irrigation [see ḫawāṣṣ, ḥizāṣ, ʿaghr, zakaṭ], of modalities of pur-
chase and lease, etc. The book puts a high value on authentic tradition whose timeless model character it upholds, but does not go much into the practical applications. In the realm of history, Ibn khatib al-khayrābī was likely to be satisfactory in real life. But Yahyā also left some “lee-way”: adaptations to new situations, should they become necessary, could always be done by caliphal fiat.


YAHYĀ B. ‘ADI, Christian Arab philosopher and theologian, translator and commentator of the works of Aristotle. Coming from the Christian town of Takritā on the Tigris (but given a Persian genealogy in some of the manuscripts), he spent his active life in Baghdad, where he earned his living as a copyist and bookseller (warīd); his father, ibn ‘Abī ‘Aṣwān, was a bookseller in the rule of reason (see Khalil Samir, in Arabica, xxi [1974], 111-38, xxvi [1979], 158-78; the latest of several editions by Dād Ḥātim, Beirut 1985).

Most significant as a philosophic statement in the context of Muslim Arab society are his treatises on topics discussed in Islamic theology, not in a theologic discourse, but by applying the tools of demonstrative logic to various concepts of kalām. Such diatribes are devoted to (1) the meaning of tawḥīd, the unicity of God (ed. Khalil Samir, Makālat at-ta‘ālīf, Jounieh 1980); (2) the establishment of contingent being (ed. C.-R. Ehriq-Eggett, Die Abhandlung über den Nachweis der Natur des Möglichen von Tahāb ibn ‘Aḍī, Frankfurt am Main 1990, Ar. text ed. by idem, in ḤAW, v [1989], [Arabic part] 63-97); (3) the refutation of atomism (ed. G. Endress, in ḤAW, i [1984], 153-79); (4) the concept of “acquisition” (al-ta‘ālīf) by man of the acts created by God, current in contemporary Ash‘arīsm (ed. and tr. S. Pines and M. Schwarz, Yahyā ibn ‘Aḍī’s refutation of the doctrine of acquisition, in Studio Orientalia memoriae D.H. Beneth dedicata, Jerusalem 1979); and in the same vein, (5) he established, against the claims of the Arab grammarians, philosophical logic as the universal tool to control correct reasoning ‘Aḍī defended the position taken by Abū Bishr Mā‘tā, “On the difference between the arts of philosophical logic and Arabic grammar”, ed. Endress, in Jnal. for the Hist. of Arab Science, ii [Aleppo 1978], 30-50, 156; Ger. tr. and comm. by idem, Grammatik und Logik: arabische Philologie und griechische Philosophie im Widerstreit, in B. Mojsisch (ed.), Sprachphilosophie in Antike und Mittelalter, Amsterdam 1986, 163-299.

As a Christian theologian, Yahyā b. ‘Aḍī defended the Monophysite concept of the Incarnation against Nestorianism, and made use of the same theological-philosophical model for his apology for the Christian faith, notably the dogma of the Triune God, against Muslim polemical arguments. God is one in substance, but constituted of three essential attributes (ṣifat) called personae (hypostases, ʿākāsim); goodness (ḍīdān), wisdom (ḥikmā), and might (kudrā). This interpretation of the Trinity reflects the primary divine triad of Neoplatonic theology (Christianised by Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita), and in the philosophical model of Ibn ‘Aḍī, is considered equivalent to the three aspects of the divine intellect thinking itself: absolute intellect (ʿākīl), intelligence (ʿākīl, thinking its own essence), and intelligible (muḥkāl, being its own primary object of knowledge). These essences—the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, in the language of religion—are perceived separately, but are inseparable from the divine substance. Incarnation is the conjunction of the divine logos—which
is one substance—with a human nature, of which the Virgin Mary is the most prominent. But his influence went well beyond this circle, and through Muslim philosophers and intellectuals like Abū Sulaymān al-Sigristānī and Abū Ḥaŷān al-Tawḥīḍī [q.v.], over the following generations he reached a wide readership of courtiers, scientists, and even mystakallimīn.


YAHYA b. AKTHAM, Abū Muḥammad al-Marwazi al-Tamīmī, fakhr who had been a pupil of al-Shāfiʿī, judge and counselor of 'Abbāsid caliphs, d. 242/857.

A native of Marw, he became Grand Judge (kādī) of Bagdad after having been appointed judge in Bāṣra by al-Ḥasan b. Ṣahl [q.v.] in 202/817–18. He soon became a member of al-Maʿmūn’s court circle as an adviser and boon-companion, thus exemplifying a trend under this caliph to take legal scholars rather than administrators as political counsellors. He accompanied al-Maʿmūn to Syria and Egypt and on the campaign against Byzantium of 216/831 (al-Taḥrīr, iii, 1104). There were persistent accusations against him of pederasty, and on al-Maʿmūn’s death he fell from power. Re-appointed Grand Judge under al-Mutawakkil during the years 237–40/851–5, he again fell into disgrace, deported for the Pilgrimage but died at al-Raḍāb in Medina at an advanced age on 15 Dhu l-Ḥijjah 242/14 April 857. He is said to have been the author of various works on fikhr, none of which has survived.


YAHYA b. ALI [see MUNADJJIM, BANU ‘L-].

YAHYA (or YUHANNA) b. AL-BITRĪK, Abū Zakariyyāʾ, scholar, who was probably a Mālikī, famed for his translations from Greek into Arabic, in the first part of the 3rd/9th century. Although the Arabic biographers (Ibn al-Nadîm, Ibn Ḫuldūn, Ibn al-Kūfī, and Ibn ʿAbī Ṣaḥīfah) devote to him short notices, his life is almost wholly unknown. His father al-Bīṭrīk was himself a translator in the time of al-Mansūr (1356–57/754–75 [q.v.]). The author of the *Fihrist* states that he was part of the entourage of the vizier al-Ḥasan b. Ṣahl [q.v.] and that he was part of a delegation sent by the caliph to the Byzantine lands in order to collect manuscripts. Ibn Ḫuldūn, repeated by Ibn al-Kūfī, calls him Ḫūnān and makes him a maṭrī (of al-Maʿṣūm [q.v.]), adding that he was a faithful translator but with a faulty knowledge of Arabic, and that he was more philosopher than physician. Ibn Abī Ṣaḥīfah’s works, rather curiously, that he knew Arabic and Greek badly, since, being a Latin (latīnī), he knew the language and literature of the Rūm of his time.

According to the Arabic biographers and to mentions in the introductions of manuscripts, a dozen or so works are attributable to him: Of Plato, the Timaeus (K. Tīmāʿawī). Of Aristotle, his Metaphysics (al-ʿAṣār fī ṣīrāt al-nafs). Of Galen, the Theriac of Piso (K. Taʿrīkh, al-Bīṭrīkī), Of Alexander of Tralles, a treatise on metaphysics (K. al-Bīṭrīkī). Finally, attributed to Hippocrates is a K. fī ṭaḥāruth or Fī ṭ-mawṣuṭ. The *Fihrist* further attributes to him two original works on pharmacology, the one on poisons, K. al-Sūmāʿī (partly extant), and the other on insects, K. ʿAqīnās al-halqārātī.

Yahya b. al-Bīṭrīk is also given as the translator of the *Secretum secretorum* (Sīr al-ṣawrīr or K. al-Sūyda fī ṭūdūr al-rūsiyya), the famous pseudo-Aristotelian treatise, which had a great renown in the Islamic world as also in the Christian West. The attribution of the Arabic version to Yahya is based on the preface (cited by Ibn Ḫuldūn), in which the translator relates how he allegedly procured the work and then transposed it from the Greek into rāmī and Arabic. Nevertheless, it seems now established that this treatise is an Arabic apocryphal work written towards the middle of the 4th/10th century, and that the preface belongs to the realm of literary fiction (M. Grignaschi, *L’origine et les métamorphoses du Sīr al-ṣawrīr*).


(Francois Micheau)
in six volumes), al-Hawi (on usul al-fikh, in three volumes), Ta'ek al-hamma (on the imamate, al-Inshā'a 'alā 'alamūt (18 volumes), Mughāl al-muqātil (against the Muhaddid), Ibn Bahar al-Muqadāsī's (ed. Cairo 1409/1989, with an extensive commentary warning against its Shi'i and Mu'tazil elements by Mukbil b. Hadīl al-Wad'ī). Whereas most Zaydis based themselves on the Mu'tazil theology according to 'Abd al-Dżabbar [q.v.], he preferred that of Abu 'l-Husayn al-Basrī [q.v.].

Works on grammar al-Halīf (a commentary on the Muhaddid), Ibn Bahar al-Muqadāsī's (ed. Cairo 1332/1914) is an interesting, intricately subdivided and voluminous work (more than 1,300 printed pages) on rhetoric, the third of whose three main sections (funūn) is devoted to al-ajdāz al-hamāmī [q.v.] for an evaluation and brief discussion of its sources, see al-Maʿānī wa l-bayān. 1. In Arabic. The inspiration for the book, as the author says (i, 5) was reading al-Zamakhshārī's commentary on the Kur'an, al-Kashshāf. He sees himself as writing in the tradition of 'Abd al-Khayr al-Dżurdžānī [q.v. in Suppl.], even though he knew the latter's two seminal works Da'llī al-ajdāz and Asūr al-badghā only from quotations.


YAHYĀ B. KHALID [see al-Barāmīka].

YAHYĀ B. MAṬI'B [see al-Baghdādī]. 'Awīn al-Murrī al-Ghāfālīnī al-Baghdādī, Aḥbāb Zakariyyā', traditionalist, b. 158/775 near al-Anbār, d. 233/847 on pilgrimage in 'Irāk, which became fully independent the following year, and sent persons for military education there, an experiment speedily terminated when these last Ottomans interceded. Yahyā remained loyal to the Turks until the end of the War in 1918, but after the Mudros armistice he took control of San'a and the whole country; some Turkish officials and soldiers remained in his service, including the last Ottoman salud, Mahmūd Nedīm Paşa. Thus what might be considered as a first “Arab revolt” left Yemen as the first independent Arab state. He now tried to build up his state as a sovereign one, with its “historic frontiers”, creating a militia and an army, enforcing the Shāfi'i in its Zaydi interpretation, and in 1920 changing the Zaydi Inma'īte into the “Mutawakkīl Kingdom of Yemen”. Nevertheless, wishing to remain accessible to all Yemenis, he delegated none of his power, governing from his palace, which housed the administration, with a modest style. Hostile to all bida, he honestly believed that all progress was inimical to his people, and he isolated the country from foreign influences as much as possible, so that his rule inevitably became tyrannical and obscurantist. The first difficulties he had were with the tribes, hostile to all state control and avert for subsidies. In 1922-3 his armies campaigned in the Djasf and in 1929 warfare was carried on by the Crown Prince Ahmad against the Shāfi'i Zaranīk of the Tihāma. After this, Yahyā took numerous hostages from leading families to ensure their fidelity. With dreams of establishing a “Greater Yemen” that would include the ancient kingdom of Himyar, from 'Asīr to Umān, Yahyā stirred up strife against the British along the eastern frontiers of his land, but with less success than against the Turks; reprisals led to the bombing of Ta'izz in 1928. A third enemy also appeared for Yahyā in the shape of the Su'ūdī family, who had conquered 'Asīr in 1920 and were now pressing southwards toward the Nadīrān oasis [q.v.]. Despite British attempts to restrain the Su'ūdīs, the latter occupied Nadīrān by 1954; but the question remained unsettled legally and remains a cause of discord to the present day.

Yahyā's policy of isolation was incompatible with his aims of independence and expansionism, which required a modern army and arms, necessitating recourse to outside powers. In 1931 he established links with 'Irāq, which became fully independent the following year, and sent persons for military education there, an experiment speedily terminated when these last
became infected with modernist ideas. But this was too late. Opposition grew from such modernists; from emigres and refugees in Aden; and even from sūfiyyah and ‘ulamā’ hostile to Yahya’s requirement of ba‘y’a in 1938-9 to his son Sayf al-Islām Ahmad’s eventual succession. A Movement of Free Yemenis (al-Adhār al-Yamaniyya) became active in Yemen in the mid-1940s. Yahya sent Ahmad to Aden in 1946 in an attempt at conciliation, promising some reforms and measures to open up the country. He had already joined the Arab League in 1945 and secured the admission of Yemen to the United Nations in September 1947.

However, an opposition plot had already taken shape, under the inspiration of an Algerian nationalist, al-Fāḍil al-Warāṭῑ, a disciple of Ibn Bāḍīs with close links with the Muslim Brotherhood, and led by an ‘Irāqi officer in Yemen, Ḫāmil Ṭimidī. ‘Abd Allāh b. Ahmad al-Wazīr was designated as future Imam. A first attack on Yahya in January 1948 failed, but before he could call up help from his son Ahmad, governor of Ta‘izz, a second assassination attempt succeeded on 17 February. The plot to seize power nevertheless failed through Ahmad’s success in rallying loyal tribes, but after his death in September 1962, his son and successor Muhammad al-Bāḍī was overthrown within a few days by Nasserist officers under Col. ‘Abd Allāh al-Sallāl. A “Yemeni Arab Republic” eventually emerged, which in May 1990 achieved Yahya’s dream of an enlarged, united Yemen.

**Bibliography:**


**YAHYĀ B. PĪR ‘ALĪ [see NEW’]**

**YAHYĀ B. SA‘DŪN [see AL-KURTUBI]**

**YAHYĀ B. YAHYĀ AL-LAYTHĪ** (d. 324/948), Cordovan fākīh, descendant of a Berber (Maṭmūda) who entered the Peninsula at the time of the conquest. His family, known as the Bānī Abī Iṣā, was always closely connected to the Umayyad family whom they served with the pen and the sword. Yahyā b. Yahyā was the first member of the family to devote himself to religious knowledge (*ilm*). He took part in movements of opposition against the Umayyad amir al-Hakam I, being mentioned among the participants in the famous Revolt of the Arrāḥāl (al-Rabad). He had to flee Cordova, unsuccessfully looking for refuge among his fellow tribesmen, but receiving it in Toledo. Once he obtained the pardon of the amir, Yahyā exercised great influence in religious and intellectual life during the reign of ‘Abd al-Rahmān II. According to the sources, this amir did not appoint any judge without consulting Yahyā, and their relationship is described as the ideal that should exist between the ruler and the scholar; the latter teaches the former, advises him and legitimates his rule before the people, whilst the ruler solicits the scholar’s advice. For example, ‘Abd al-Rahmān II is said to have accepted a heavy expiation dictated by Yahyā for having broken his fast during Ramadān.

The figure of Yahyā b. Yahyā is of great relevance for the study of a crucial phase in the formation of al-Andalus, the phase of the reception of the Mālikī school of law and of the appearance and consolidation of the scholars as a group. As regards the first aspect, Yahyā is considered to have introduced Mālik’s *Masʿūda* in al-Andalus. His transmission of this work became canonical in the Islamic West and was also widely diffused in the East. This role of introducer of the *Masʿūda* has been challenged by N. Calder, whose conclusions, however, cannot be accepted. It is true that there is ground to doubt that a direct relationship between Yahyā b. Yahyā and Mālik b. Anas existed, but the Cordovan was undoubtedly the pupil of Mālik’s pupils such as the Egyptians Ibn Wāḥib (d. 197/812) and Ibn al-Kāsim (d. 191/806) [q.v.]. It is also without doubt that Yahyā transmitted Mālik’s *Masʿūda*, as well as al-Laythī Sa‘dī’s *hadīth*. He also transmitted *masūda* from Ibn al-Kāsim that were compiled into ten books known as *Aṣghar Yahya*, its diffusion can be attested until the 6th/12th century. Yahyā had a decisive role in the Andalusī preference for Ibn al-Kāsim’s opinions over those of other pupils of Mālik. He was also the introducer of customs and doctrines that took root in al-Andalus, such as abandoning the Kur‘ānic precept of two arbiters sent to the house of a husband and wife to solve their marital problems, and substituting for it the practice of sending the couple to the house of a trusted man (*dīn amin*).

As regards the second aspect, Ibn Ḥaḍrī stated that there were two legal schools that became established thanks to riyāda and sulta: Abū Ḥanīfa’s school, and that of Mālik b. Anas in al-Andalus. Yahyā b. Yahyā was consulted by the amir on the nomination of judges, and he indicated only the names of his own companions and of those who followed his *maqāb*ah. Not every judge appointed by ‘Abd al-Rahmān II, however, was a protegé of Yahyā, as there were other rival factions, the most important being that of ‘Abd al-Malik b. Ḥabīb [q.v.]. Yahyā himself is said to have refused to be appointed judge, arguing that the amir would be unable to find someone with greater authority than his to deal with complaints against the judges. He represents in fact a phase in which political power needed a new type of expert for the administration of justice, not only for technical reasons (given the development of *fikḥ*), but also for reasons of religious legitimacy. His fame is directly related to the large number of his pupils, a number due to the influence he had with the amir, and also to his longevity. Yahyā b. Yahyā’s influence can be explained, apart from his training, also by his family connections and his intellectual abilities. He had an acute intelligence (he was known as *fikḥ al-Andalus*), great discerning power, ability for textual interpretation, a sense of opportunity and a realist understanding common to men far from religious extremism. He strove and succeeded in establishing in al-Andalus the model of scholarly behaviour that he had witnessed in the East, in order that scholars should be treated with the same respect, awe and reverence that his Eastern teachers enjoyed.

**Bibliography:** M. Fierro, *El alfaqui berber Yahyā b. Yahyā, “el inteligente de al-Andalus”*, in *Estudios...*
However, many of the accounts have become quite confused because of the idea that John lived in the era of Nebuchadnezzar [see sugra-nisa[atr]]. It is in the stories of John's death (see John's death in the Kur'an) that the extent of the confusion about him becomes evident. The Israelite king Josiah, it is said, killed John, the son of Zechariah, and Nebuchadnezzar attacked Israel as a result (al-Tabari, i, 657). The cause of this was the king's desire to marry his niece, something of which John disapproved. The conspiracy of the girl's mother then led to the death of John (cf. the story of Sibat al-Muluk, xiv. 9-11, Matt. vii. 16-29). Nebuchadnezzar invaded in order to solve problems that arose as a result of John's death (or God simply inspired him to do so). The source of the confusion here is likely the name Zechariah, a name that had already created mix-ups within the biblical tradition (cf. Matt., xxiii. 35, for the (mis-)identification of the author of the Biblical book of Zechariah with the Zechariah of Isa., vii). The prophet Zechariah of II Chron., xxiv. 22, was killed by King Joash. The Talmud (Gittin, 57b) speaks of his "blood bubbling up warm" after his death. Nebuzaradan, Nebuchadnezzar's commander, noticed this and he was told by the inhabitants of Jerusalem that "there was a prophet among us who used to reprove us for our irreligion, and we rose up against him and killed him, and for many years his blood boiled in the pan in which his severed head (which could still talk) had been placed. Al-Tabari, i, 715, reports that a drop of John's blood fell to the ground when he was killed and kept boiling until Nebuchadnezzar came to destroy Jerusalem; in a slightly different version (al-Tabari, i, 715), John's blood boiled in the pan in which his severed head (which could still talk) had been placed. Al-Tabari, i, 718, also indicates that he is well aware that many hold this story to be not true and to be a historical error, there being 461 years between the lives of Nebuchadnezzar and John the Baptist.

escaped to al-Rayy. From there he moved on via Naysabur to Sarakhs. There he stayed for some time. He then moved to Ahwaz al-Mazinf in pursuit of him. After three days Yahya's tomb at or near Anber was visited for centuries.

Yahya's hiding place and asked Nasr b. Sayyar, governor of Khurasan, to press al-Harfsh to surrender. A group of his district prefects in Sarakhs, Tus, and Naysabur to make him move on with his men. When Yahya reached the border of Khurasan at Bayhak, he decided to turn back, afraid of entering the territory of Yusuf b. 'Umar. Joined by seventy supporters, he defeated the superior forces moving against him from Naysabur, Tus, and Sarakhs at Bushtanakan (see Yākūt, i, 630), killing the governor of Naysabur, Amr b. Zūra ra al-Khaṭṭārī. With the booty, Yahya moved via Harmat al-Dūjūdīn, where the number of his men swelled to 150. Nasr now sent a strong army under Salm b. Ahwaz al-Mazīnī in pursuit of him. After three days of fighting at a village called Arghūyā, Yahya was struck by an arrow in his forehead and died, at the age of 28. Most of his men were also killed. His head was sent to Damascus where the caliph al-Walīd ex-

In 125/743 Yusuf b. 'Umar was informed of Yahya's hiding place and asked Nasr b. Sayyār, governor of Khurasan, to press al-Harfsh to surrender him. When Nasr's deputy in Balch, 'Abī b. Maʿīl al-Laythī, tortured al-Harfsh, the latter's son betrayed Yahya in order to save his father's life. Yahya and his companions were delivered as captives to Nasr in Marw, but when Yusuf b. 'Umar informed the caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd, he gave orders to release them. Nasr provided Yahya with money and two mules, ordering him to proceed to the caliph's court and instructing his district prefects in Sarakhs, Tus, and Naysabur to make him move on with his men. When Yahya reached the border of Khurasan at Bayhak, he decided to turn back, afraid of entering the territory of Yusuf b. 'Umar. Joined by seventy supporters, he defeated the superior forces moving against him from Naysabur, Tus, and Sarakhs at Bushstanakan (see Yākūt, i, 630), killing the governor of Naysabur, Amr b. Zūra ra al-Khaṭṭārī. With the booty, Yahya moved via Harmat al-Dūjūdīn, where the number of his men swelled to 150. Nasr now sent a strong army under Salm b. Ahwaz al-Mazīnī in pursuit of him. After three days of fighting at a village called Arghūyā, Yahya was struck by an arrow in his forehead and died, at the age of 28. Most of his men were also killed. His head was sent to Damascus where the caliph al-Walīd exhibited it in the palace and his body was crucified at the gate of Anber (Anbar), the capital of Dżuzdjan. With the booty, Yahya moved via Harmat al-Dūjūdīn, where the number of his men swelled to 150. Nasr now sent a strong army under Salm b. Ahwaz al-Mazīnī in pursuit of him. After three days of fighting at a village called Arghūyā, Yahya was struck by an arrow in his forehead and died, at the age of 28. Most of his men were also killed. His head was sent to Damascus where the caliph al-Walīd exhibited it in the palace and his body was crucified at the gate of Anber (Anbar), the capital of Dżuzdjan.

The violent death of Yahya made a deep impression among the Shi'a in Khurasan, and revenge for him became a major motive in the 'Abbāsid revolutionary movement, which had failed to back him before. Among the first measures of Abu Muslim after him became a major motive in the 'Abbasid revolution among the Shī'ā in Khurasan, and revenge for his father's death.

detached approach to critical reasoning that he clearly cherished.


YAHYA KEMÀL (with the surname adopted in Republican time of BEyATL), highly renowned Turkish poet and essayist, b. 2 December 1884, d. 1 November 1958.

His given name was Ahmed Âghâ, and his earliest published poems bear the name Âghâ Kemal. He was born in Uskûb as the son of Ibrahim Nafti Beg, who was mayor of this town, and Nâkhiyê Khiîmûn, the niece of the poet Leâkûfûlî Gâhib Beg (1826 or 29-1867). He was educated successively in Uskûb, Selânîf, Istanbul and Paris (*École Libre des Sciences Politiques*), and during his stay of nine years in Paris he frequented literary and political circles there. After his return to Istanbul in 1912, he taught history and literature in several educational institutions (*Dâr el-Shaikhâ Mektebi, Medresat el-Wâlîn*, Hezbêka Bâbûyê Mektebi, *Dâr el-Fûnun, Edebiyâtê Shu'besi*). From 1923 onwards he held various public offices, serving as a member of parliament for Urfa, Yozgat, Tekirdâg and Istanbul, and as ambassador in Warsaw, Madrid, Lisbon and Karachi. He retired in 1949 to Istanbul; his grave is in the Rumelhisar cemetery in Istanbul.

Yahya Kemal was of the opinion that poetry is a kind of music; he developed a personal style in which the prosodic rules of *arâd* [*q.v.*] are applied to the educated colloquial Turkish of Istanbul. A further characteristic of his style is that his poems, as well as his essays, reflect his attachment to Ottoman culture and heritage, his interest in history and his love of Istanbul; the main themes of his poetry are indeed love, patriotism, death and Istanbul.


YAHYA AL-MAKKI, Abû YûSûf YûSûf b. Mârzûk, an honoured court musician in early 'Abbasîd times and head of a family of court singers. He was born in Mecca as a *mâstûl* of the Banû Umâyya, but went to Baghûdât at the beginning of the reign of al-Ma'mûn (158/775), and still performed under al-Ma'mûn (198-218/813-33). It is said that he died at the age of 120. He was considered an excellent composer and an expert in the *hûdâyît* style of music. Ibn Dîmûsî *q.v.*, and both Ibrahim and Ishak al-Mawûsîl *q.v.* were among his disciples. He also composed a *"book of songs"* (*Kitâb al-Âghâm*), a collection of *"classical"* compositions, which he dedicated to *"Abîl Allâh b. Tâhir* [*q.v.*]. The book was criticised, however, for its incorrect attributions (*mânîhûlât*). It was corrected under the title of *Tâhîth Kitâb al-Aghâm* by his son Abu Qâfâr Ahmad b. Yahya, who followed his father as a court musician from the time of al-Ma'mûn until the beginning of the reign of al-Musta'sîn (248/862). Yahya's son, Ahmad b. al-Makki, dedicated his father's corrected song book, as well as his own voluminous *Kitâb al-Aghâm*, to Muhammad b. 'Abîl Allâh b. Tâhir. Both books are quoted in the *Kitâb al-Aghâm al-kabîr* by Abu l-Fârâdî al-Ishbâhânî. In his own compositions, Ahmad b. al-Makki favoured verses of his friend, the poet Dîbil [*q.v.*]. Ahmad's son Muhammad, i.e. Yahya's grandson, sang at the court of al-Mu'tâmîd (256-79/870-92). He was a *murtaddîl* singer who accompanied himself by using the traditional wand (*kadîb*). Muhammad's transmission of the *akhôr* of the al-Makki family was used as a biographical source by Abu l-Fârâdî.


YAHYA AL-NAHWî, the name in Arabic sources for Johannes Grammaticus (ca. A.D. 490-575), the Alexandrian philologist, commentator on Aristotle, and Jacobite Christian theologian, also known in Greek as Philoponus, lit. "Lover of toil" or "Diligent," referring to a group of Alexandrian Monophysitic lay Christians—the *philoponoi*—active in debating pagan professors of philosophy. In Alexandria, John Philoponus began his career teaching philosophy and then studied philosophy with Ammonius son of Hermias, the head of the Neoplatonic school there. Most of Philoponus' comments and Aristotole were written early in his career and are based on his master's lectures. In 529 Philoponus published his polemic Against Proclus on the eternity of the world (*Contra Proclum*), in which he defended creation ex nihilo against Proclus' famous eighteen arguments. He later directed his fire against
Aristotle's notions of infinity in his Against Aristotle on the eternity of the world (Contra Aristotelem), after which he probably revised his previously written commentary on the Physics, arguing now against the eternity of motion.

For these attacks on Proclus and Aristotle, Philoponus was vilified by another student of Ammonius, the pagan Neoplatonist Simplicius (cf. ca. A.D. 530), who, by referring to Philoponus as grammaticós, i.e. professor of philosophy (e.g. in Gal., CAG, vii, 119,7; in Phys., CAG, x, 1129,25), implied that Philoponus had not yet advanced to the stage of philósoφos (professor of philosophy), and that his attacks on Proclus and Aristotle were therefore preocious and baseless.


Accounts of Yahya al-naḥwī's life, including apocryphal events such as a meeting with 'Amr b. al-ʿĀṣ, are found in Ibn al-Nadīm, Fihrist, 254,19-255,5 (= K 354,3-357,13, and au 154,15-153,32). The bio-bibliographers list Arabic translations of the following works: On Aristotle's Categories: 248,21 (= K 35,5, and au 155,15-16); On Aristotle's De interprétatione: 249,9 (= K 35,18); On Aristotle's Prior Analytics (partial): N 249,9 (= K 36,8-9, and au 155,16-17); On Aristotle's Posterior Analytics: 249,13 (= K 36,14-15, and au 155,17); On Aristotle's Topics: Au 155,17-18; On Aristotle's Physics: 250,18 (= K 39,14; 245,5, and au 155,18); On Aristotle's De generatione et corruptione: N 251,7 (= K 40,21, and au 155,18-19); On Porphyry's Isagoge: Au 153,31-32; Refutation of Proclus on the eternity of the world: N 252,14 (= K 89,4-6, 356,5, and au 155,28-29).

That the force (reading kuwaatuwa) with N and au rather than K's masūbu of every finite body is finite: N 254,25-26 (= K 356,5-6, and au 155,28-29); Refutation of Aristotle: N 254,26 (= K 356,6-7, and au 153,29); Tafsīr mā bāda l-Aristātīs: N 254,26-27 (= K 356,7, and au 153,19) (on the identity of this work, as well as two other unidentified treatises, see Steinshneider, 167-168); Refutation of Nestorius: N 254,27 (= K 356,8, and au 155,28-29).

A number of medical treatises, including a medical commentary (cited by N 286,17; 287,13,22,24; 298,9; 293,7 (= K. 92,21; 93,1,6-7,14,19; 126,3; 127,17; 183,18-19, and au 17,21; 22,4-5; 23,11; 35,19; 71,16-17; 76,1) as well as commentaries on Galen's works (e.g. in De usu partium; N 264,26 = K 246,3, and au 155,29), are also attributed to Yahya; for a full list and a summary of Meyerhoff's objections to theirauthenticity, see Sezgin, GAG, iii, 157-60.

Despite the fact that Philoponus' commentaries on Aristotle were both astute and plentiful, the falāṣīfa mention Philoponus rarely as an authority, at least compared to Alexander of Aphrodisias. Although Averroes does cite Philoponus' infinite force argument in his commentary on Metaph., xii (Tafsīr mā bāda al-taḥlīl, ed. M. Bouyges, iii, 1628,10-15). Philoponus received no credit from the falāṣīfa for his theory of impetus, perhaps his most important contribution to later thought. According to Philoponus (e.g. in Phys., CAG, xvii, 641,13-642,20) someone who throws an object imparts a force to it that causes its continued motion. This is in contrast to the theory of Aristotle who, wedded to the notion that a moving object requires an external mover, explained projectile motion as resulting from the push given to the object by the following air. In his final discussion of impetus, Philoponus extends the theory to the moving heavens, to which God imparts a kind of dynamical inclination (De opificio mundi, ed. W. Reichardt, 29,2-3).

Whether Averroes' apparently similar notion of an inclining force (cf. K. al-dālī, Ilāhiyyāt, ed. G. Anawati et al., 379,4-13; Fi ṭ-samāʿ wa l-ʿālam, 3,18, and Fi ṭ-kawm wa l-ʿāfaḍ, 193,2-194,16, both ed. M. Kāsim) resulted from or developed independently of Philoponus' own impetus theory, is a question complicated by the fact that Averroes was not known to Philoponus. The philosophers' ambivalence about Philoponus may well have arisen from their perception that Philoponus betrayed Aristotle in the Contra Aristotelem (see al-Fārābī's counter-refutation, ed. and tr. Mahfī). This betrayal cast Philoponus into the camp of the theologians: Ibn al-Kūfī (306,1-2) mentions Philoponus' dialectical style of argumentation, and Averroes groups Philoponus with the Muslim mutakallimūn (Tafsīr mā bāda l-ʾalḥāf, iii, 1498,1-7).

On the other hand, Philoponus' well-known involvement in christological and trinitarian debates—the bio-bibliographers even claim (incorrectly) that he was a Bishop (usuf = episkopos): N 254,20 (= K 354,5, and au 154,5)—may have also inhibited the mutakallimūn from openly citing his celebrated arguments (e.g. in Phys., CAG, xvi, 428,19-429,20) against Aristotle's notion of infinity. For example, the Muṭṭalīf al-Khāyāṭī (K. al-Intīṣār, ed. H. Nyberg, 35,4-36,3) as well as the Ashʿarāʾīs al-Ḥāṣṣālī (Tabbūsī kalāsīfīsī, ed. Bouyges, 31,10-32,12) and al-ʾĀshbārastānī (Nāḥāyat al-ʾikādin, ed. A. Guillaume, 29,1-11) all appear to use, without attribution, one of Philoponus' arguments against the world's eternity (Philoponus ap. Simplicium, In Phys., CAG, x, 1179-127). For whatever reason, the fact remains that Philoponus' influence on medieval Muslim intellectuals, while profound, tended to be hidden.


John Philoponus' new

lology and Christian-


In his Philoponus Arabus is covered comprehensively by M. Steinshneider, Johannes Philoponus bei den Arabern, in Memoires de l'Academie Imperiale de St.-Petersbourg, VII, xiii/4 (1869), 152-76, and partially by I. Shakhū, Yahya al-naḥwī: man hawa wa-matāt kāna, in al-Maghrib, xvi (1913), 47-57; M. Meyerhof, Von Alexandrien nach Bagdad, in St. Fr. Ak. W., Phil.hist. KZ, xiii (1930), 389-429; idem, Johannes Grammaticus (Philoponus) von Alexandrien und die arabische Medizin, in Mitteilungen des deutschen Institutes für ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo,
YAHYA AL-NAHWI — YAKHSHI FAKIH

Yakan, was a grandson of Muhammad `All's sister. With Wafdist opposition, the Adlî ministry resigned c c Adlı-Curzon negotiations. Faced c c war status. As Foreign Minister in 1920, he did pro-
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YAKHIΣH FAKIH — YA’KUB B. AL-LAYTH

dynasty in Ottoman Turkish. However, his compilation has not survived as an independent work, and the only reference to it is that made by ‘Ashikpashazade [q.v.]. The latter records that in 816/1413, while accompanying Mehemmed T’s army on campaign, he fell ill and “remained behind at Geyve, in the house of Yakhshi Faqih, the son of Orkhân Beg’s irmân . . . it is on the authority of the son of the irmân that I relate the mendîqîb of the Ottoman House as far as [Baye- zîd I]” (V.L. Ménage, The mendîqîb of Yakhshi Fakih, in BSOAS, xxvi [1963], 60; ‘Ashikpashazade, Ta’dîk, ed. ‘Alî, Istanbul 1332/1914, 84). Ménage suggests that contrary to previous reports, it is not the material that ‘Ashikpashazade and the Anonymous Chronicles have in common which derives from Yakhshi Fakih but, rather, certain information that is unique to ‘Ashikpashazade. According to a variant reading in one manuscript of ‘Ashikpashazade’s history, Yakhshi Fakih had written a “turan, as in a” version of the mendîqîb that was seen by the younger historian.

Aside from ‘Ashikpashazade’s statement that Yakhshi Fakih was the son of Ishîq Fakih, irmân to sultan Orkhân [q.v.], no other biographical details are known.

Biography: For additional references, see Ménage, art. cit., in BSOAS, xxvi (1963), 50-4.

(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

YA’KUB, the Arabic name for the Old Testament Patriarch Jacob, son of Isaac, son of Abraham.

Ya’kub is mentioned by name in the Kur’an 16 times in ten sūras. The nature of his appearance tends to be formulaic in that he often appears in reference to other prophets and personages familiar also from the Bible. In what have traditionally been deemed earlier sūras, he appears in the following formula: “We gave [Ibrahim] Ishâk and Ya’kub . . .” (VI, 84; XIX, 49; XXI, 72; XXIX, 27). This has been thought by some scholars to demonstrate that in the early revelations Jacob was considered to be a son of Abraham and not his grandson. This notion might have been correct in XL, 71, where the divine narrator informs Abraham’s unnamed wife: “So We gave her the good news of Isaac, and after Isaac Jacob.” Certainly in II, 133, when Jacob on his death bed queries his sons whether they will remain believers, they reply: “We will worship your God, the God of your fathers Abraham, Ishmael and Isaac” (see also XII, 6). In other late sūras (II, 136, 140; III, 84; IV, 163), he appears in a different sequence: “Ibrâhîm, Ismâ‘îl, Ishâk, Ya’kub, and the tribes”, which seems to correspond more fully with biblical representations. In all of these references, Jacob is portrayed as an ancient and pious biblical prophet, but his character is not developed.

In XIX, 6, Jacob is mentioned in the context of the divine promise to Zakariyyâ of the impending birth of Yahyâ (cf. Luke i. 5-64). Here, the name Jacob carries that of the biblical Israelites as a whole, still without any character development.

We learn slightly more about Jacob in the Joseph sequence of sūra 12. Although mentioned by name only three times, he is referred to indirectly another twenty-five times. Jacob does not trust his sons (XII, 11, 18, 83) and they do not respect their father (XII, 8, 16-17, 95). Jacob’s prophetic nature is evident from his knowledge of Joseph’s future greatness (XII, 6), his foreboding of and response to the supposed death of Joseph (XII, 13, 18), and in his response to the sons’ plight in Egypt (XII, 83, 86-7, 96).

Post-Kur'anic literature, which clarifies the Kur'anic genealogical ambiguity by bringing it in line with that of the Bible, greatly expands the role and character of Jacob, often in parallel with the biblical narrative and Jewish aggadic extensions. Jacob’s homonim lâkîb is al-qâyîb “the pure”. He was to emerge from his mother’s womb before his twin, Esau, but after the latter threatened to block his mother’s womb and kill her, Jacob gave way. Esau resisted or disobeyed (‘asâ), so was called ‘Ays or ‘Ayâs, while Jacob was born grasping the heel (‘âdîb) of his brother. Jacob is called Isrâ‘îl because he is noble in the eyes of God (sâriyy Allâh) or because he travelled at night (yastrî ’l-layl) or yasrî bi ’l-layl to escape the wrath of Esau. Some exegetes has Jacob marry Leah as a test, it is not that material that ‘Ashikpashazade and the Anonymous Chronicles have in common which derives from Yakhshi Fakih but, rather, certain information that is unique to ‘Ashikpashazade. According to a variant reading in one manuscript of ‘Ashikpashazade’s history, Yakhshi Fakih had written a (“turan, as in a” version of the mendîqîb that was seen by the younger historian. Aside from ‘Ashikpashazade’s statement that Yakhshi Fakih was the son of Ishîq Fakih, irmân to sultan Orkhân [q.v.], no other biographical details are known. Biography: For additional references, see Ménage, art. cit., in BSOAS, xxvi (1963), 50-4.

(JULIEN GRÉGOIRE)

YA’KUB b. ‘ALÎ JFHIR [see GERMIYAN-OOJULLARI].

YA’KUB b. DÂ’UD [see ABD ALLÂH YA’KUB].

YA’KUB b. KILLS [see IBN KILLS].

YA’KUB b. AL-LAYTH AL-SAFFFAR (“the copper-smith”), Abû Yusuf, adventurer in Sistan and founder of the dynasty there of Saffârs [q.v.], functioned as amîr in Sistan from 287/861 and then as a military commander in the eastern Islamic lands until his death in 265/879, in practice independent of the ‘Abbasid caliphs.

The origins of Ya’kub’s family in Sistan were clearly humble, despite attempts of later historians to elevate his father al-Layth to the status of head of the guild of coppersmiths in the province. He was one of four brothers who were members of local bands of ‘ayyâr [q.v.], in the Sistan context something between anti-Khârijîte vigilantes, also called in the sources mutawwa’-a ‘volunteer fighters for the faith”, and bands of brigands and rowdies. However, little in Ya’kub’s later career shows him as a fervent warrior for the cause of Sunnî orthodoxy, and once in supreme power in Sistan, he did not hesitate to come to an agreement with the local Khârijîtes and to incorporate many of them in his own army.

Abandoning the trade of coppersmith, Ya’kub rose to power in the capital Zarang [q.v.] by first serving under but then setting aside the ‘ayyâr leaders Sâlih b. al-Nadr and Dirham b. Naṣr, and was recognised as amîr in Sistan in Muḥarram 247/April 861. He had first to dispose of the threat from the dispossessed Sâlih, who had fled eastwards to Bust and had sought help from the Zunbl [q.v.], the local ruler in southeastern Afghanistan, the regions of zamindâwar
Ya'kub b. al-Layth — Ya'kub Beg 255

and Zabolistan [q.v.]. Salih was captured and killed by the end of 250/early 865, and the Zunbul defeated and killed in battle in the region of al-Rukhkhadj [q.v.]. A major campaign in 256/869-70 took Ya'kub as far as Kabol, Bamiyan and Paghvhr, having marched through Zabolistan via Ghazna, in pursuit of the son of the former Zunbul. A further campaign into Zabolistan first secured the capture of the Zunbul's son at the fortress of Nay Laman (nothing more is heard of his fate) and then pushed on northwards to Balkh, where Ya'kub captured the city from the then ruler, Daud b. Abl Dawud [see BANIDJURIDS, in Suppl.]. These conquests also gave Ya'kub temporary control of the silver mines of Paghvhr and Badakhshan [q.v.], and coins of his were minted there from 259/872-3 to 261/874-5. These Safavid activities in eastern Afghanistān spell the end of the dynasty of Zunbulis who had blocked expansion of the Arabs there for some two centuries, and the Islamisation of that region, including the Kabol valley (but not the lands to its north, Kāfirsīstan [q.v.]) now presumably took shape.

Ya'kub was now ready to attack the Tahirids [q.v.], nominal suzerains over Sistan as governors of the East for the 'Abbāsids, although they had not in fact exercised any control over Sistan since 239/854. There were clashes in the frontier zone of western Afghanistān, where Tahirid and Zubbadī spheres of authority met, possibly over taxation, and in 253/867 Ya'kub attacked Haratā and Paghvhr, capturing various of the Tāhīrīya (members of the family or their partisans?). Negotiations over their release brought Ya'kub into direct contact with the 'Abbāsids caliphs for the first time, and al-Mu'tazz was compelled to award Ya'kub the governorship of Fars if he could secure it, explicit recognition for the first time of Ya'kub's rising power in the East. In 259/873, however, Ya'kub was ready for a final onslaught on the Tāhīrīya capital, Nišabhūr, at a moment when Tahirid authority was already being weakened in Khurāsān by pressure from the Zaydī Shī'is of Tabaristān and their Daylamī allies. Ya'kub entered the city in Shawwal 259/August 873 without striking a blow, captured Muḥammad b. Tahir, the latter's rebels and the later's heir to the Saffarid throne, Zayd [q.v.]. The 'Abbāsids caliph protested mildly in that same year at Ya'kub's annexation of Khurāsān, and more vigorously in 261/874, when 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd Allāh b. Tahir I assembled the pilgrims from northern and eastern Persia at Baghvdād, denounced Ya'kub's actions as being without caliphal authority and absolving them from allegiance to him.

Ya'kub's considered response was to spend the next two years consolidating his position in Kirmān, Fars and Khuzistān in southern Persia, having temporarily taken over Fars in 255/869 though unable to hold it whilst he was involved with the affairs of Khurāsān and the Caspian provinces. But in 261/875 Ya'kub re-appeared in Fars, defeated the local chief Muḥammad b. Wāṣil, and moved westwards to Ramhurmuz and Khuzistān, thereby threatening Lower Iraq and making feasible a junction with the Zanj [q.v.], rebels there against the caliphate (in practice, Ya'kub rejected overtures from the Zanj leader 'Ali b. Muḥammad, but the appearance of the Safavid armies undoubted bolstered the Zanj cause indirectly). The panic-stricken caliph al-Mu'tamid offered Ya'kub a vast array of governorships if he would halt his advance, but the latter refused and advanced into Iraq. However, in a battle near Dayr al-Ākūl [q.v.], near the Tigris (9 Radiyab 252/6 April 876), Ya'kub's army was decisively defeated, abandoning his baggage and allowing various of his captives, including Muḥammad b. Tahir, to escape. The threat to Baghvdād was thus lifted. Ya'kub spent the last three years of his life in Khuzistān and Fars, still strumming an alliance with the Zanjī, and died of an abdominal malady in Shawwal 275/June 879. He was succeeded as ruler over the Safavid empire by his brother 'Amr b. al-Layth [q.v.].

Ya'kub's meteoric rise and the great empire of military conquest which he assembled mark the first breach in the fabric of the united 'Abbāsids caliphate, for Ya'kub dismissed the 'Caliphal fiction' whereby all local rulers, however much autonomy they enjoyed in practice, acknowledged their authority as arising from an act of caliphal delegation. The provincial Persian Ya'kub, on the other hand, rejoiced in his plebeian origins, denounced the 'Abbāsids as usurpers, and regarded both the caliphs and such governors from aristocratic Arab families as the Tāhīrīds with contempt. Frugal in his mode of life and a fearless military commander, Ya'kub was sceptical in questions of inherited power and social prestige, and was an exponent of Realpolitik. He cannot have taken seriously the attempts of the eulogists, who inevitably gathered in his entourage, to link the obscure Layth family with the Sasanid emperors and the mythical first kings of Persia, nor is it at all certain whether or to what extent their work was inspired by New Persian emanating from his circle as showing Sistan as a cradle of the New Persian literary revival [see MUḤAMMAD B. WAŞİF].

Bibliography: 1. Sources. The main ones are Ya'kubī, Ta'hrī; Tabārī; Ibn (Abī) al-Azhār (in Ibn Khālīkīn's extensive biography of Ya'kubī, ed. 'Abbās, vi. 402 ff., tr. de Slane, iv. 301 ff.); Maṣʿūdī, Marāgī; Gardīzī and Ibn al-Āqīr [both using the lost history of the governor of Khurāsān by Muḥammad al-Sallām [q.v.]; Djūzdājī and, above all, the anonymous local history, the Tākīb-i Sīstān. 2. Studies. The pioneering study was that of Th. Noldke, Ya'kub der Kafkarschmedd und seine Dynaste, in his Orientalische Schriften, Berlin 1892, 187-217, Eng. tr. Sketches from oriental history, London and Edinburgh 1892, 172-206. The early career of Ya'kub is treated in detail by C.E. Bosworth in Sistan under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffārids (30-250/651-864), Rome 1968, 109-21, and his career of conquest in idem, The history of the Saffārids of Sistan and the Malikīs of Nīmrūz (247/861 to 949/1542-3), Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 67-180. See also idem, in Camb. hist. Iran, iv, 106-16; The New Islamic dynasties, Edinburgh 1996, 172-3 no. 84; and SAVIYĀRIDS. (C.E. BOswORTH)

YA'KUB BEG, Muḥammad, ruler of Kāshān 1282-94/1865-77.

He was born in 1820, or rather 1826-7, in Pishkend near Taškend. His father was Pīr Muḥammad Mīrzā (or Muḥammad Lātīf), who claimed descent from Timūr. Originally from Karakūt [q.v.], he became ʿĀdūl of Kurama and moved on to Taškend in 1234/1818. Ya'kub Beg's mother was the sister of the influential Shāykh Nīẓām al-Dīn, who tutored Ya'kub Beg in his youth. Traditionally, he should have become a mulā, but instead through his brother-in-law, Nūr Muḥammad Khān, governor of Taškend, he joined the Khokand army, and in 1262-1845, with the rank of kosh-begi [q.v.] was entrusted with the defence of Ak-Masjīd. Here he married a Kipchak woman from Juelik, who bore him his first son, Beg Kuli Beg, in 1263/1848. In 1270/1853 he had to abandon
Aks-Masjid to the Russians. When he defended Çim-kend in 1281/1864, he again had to retire to Tashkend, where he joined 'Alim Kul, as facto ruler of Khokand. In the same year, to remove a possible and not negligible pawn in the “Great Game”, Sayramli and Ottoman sources describe him as a possible and not negligible pawn in the “Great Game”. He presents his ideas on Mustafa Kemal in his monograph Atatiürk (1946).

Bibliography: Hasan Ali Yücel, Edebiyat tarihi, Istanbul 1961. Four of his novels demonstrate his deft use of irony. In order of their publication in book form, these novels are: Tarkand, Ankara 1934, (see kışka. 3[b]), which embraced the motto “Art for art’s sake”. After becoming conscious of the deleterious effects for Turkey of the Balkan War of 1912, his philosophy of art changed; he now argued that art was first and foremost the expression of a society, of a nation, and of a historical period. Hence all of his nine novels depict a specific period in modern Turkish history. In order of their publication, these novels are: Sodom and Gomorrah, 1928; Ankara (The stranger), 1932; Ankara (An exile), 1937; Panorama (1955-4), Hep o yarks (‘Forever that song’, 1956) [see kışka. 3(b)]. The most controversial of these novels were Nür Baba ve Yaban. Nür Baba was attacked for revealing Bektash secrets and presenting them in a negative light. Yaban dramatised the alienation of the intellectual from the masses for whom he purported to speak. All of his novels demonstrate his deft use of irony.

He was elected to the Grand National Assembly in 1923, and served as a representative till 1934. In 1932, he started to publish a journal called Kadro (“The staff”). Critical reaction from within his party to the journal’s ideas led him to be appointed ambassador in 1934. He served as an ambassador in various posts till his retirement in 1955. He recounts his years as a diplomat in his memoir Zoraki diplomat (‘Forced diplomat’, 1955). His other memoirs are: Ananın kitabı (‘My mother’s book’, 1957), Fatih yolunda (‘On the road to and for the nation’, 1958), Politikada 45 yıl (‘Forty-five years in politics’, 1958), Genellik ve edebiyat hattaları (‘Memories about youth and literature’, 1969). In 1912, he contracted tuberculosis, from which he suffered all his life. Perhaps because of his frail health, he was of a pessimistic bent, but nevertheless he always remained an idealist. He was a fervent admirer of Atatürk and his ideals, believing that Kemalism was the first humanist reaction to imperialism and as such had a universal dimension. He presents his ideas on Mustafa Kemal in his monograph Atatürk (1946).

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**YA’KUB AL-MANSÜR** [sec ABÜ VEŞIR YA’KUB AL-
MANSÜR]  

**YA’KUB PASHA,** physician and official for the Ottoman sultan Mehmed the Conqueror.  

Ottoman, Jewish and Venetian sources provide information about him, called Jacopo or Giacomo in Italian sources, yet due to the possibility that other personalities named Ya’kub or even anonymous ones may have been intended by some of the surviving texts, much of his life remains obscure. He was born around 829-34/1425-30 and came from the Italian town of Gaeta. Of a Jewish family, he remained a Jew through life, although it is likely that some of his descendants retained their original religion. The date of his conversion is not known, but it must have occurred before Müharram 888/February 1483, when a document establishing a pious foundation of his was witnessed by many high-level courtiers, the future Grand Vizier Mesih Pasha among them. No mention of his name later than this date has apparently been located. Thus an older assumption, namely, that Ya’kub Pasha was killed during the disturbances following the demise of Mehemmed II in 865/1461 cannot be correct. An Istanbul town quarter was apparently named after Ya’kub Pasha’s foundation, but by the middle of the 18th/19th century, both these had disappeared.

We do not know where Ya’kub/Giacomo received his medical training, but he appears in the entourage of the young Sultan Mehemmed II, whom he served not only as a physician but also in administrative capacities, among other things as a defterdar. Without stating his sources, Mehemmed Ibnel’ Aybînî in his Siyâsil-i ‘a’lamî (Istanbul 1938, 318-9; 1939, 330-8) claims that he also achieved the titles of usta and muâthîlib and was highly respected, placing his subject’s death in 889/1484. Ya’kub Pasha’s descendants may well have received a diploma exempting them from various taxes, the poll-tax (here called bešt khanatîlî) and the ‘awand among them. However, as the relevant diploma is only extant in a rather free translation into Hebrew, which moreover leaves out the name of the beneficiary, it is possible that it was granted not to Ya’kub/Giacomo but to some other, less well-known Jewish medical man of Mehemmed’s.

Writing before 965/1558, Taşgâhişâzade praises Ya’kub/Giacomo’s medical skills and records several anecdotes describing him. These seem to have earned him the sultan’s trust throughout the latter’s reign; however, during Mehemmed’s last illness, it was not he who treated the ruler but the Persian physician Lâfî. Already in 861-2/1457, Giacomò had received a gift of fine red velvet from the Venetian Senate, so that he must have been regarded as an influential figure at court. In 873-4/1471 the Venetian Senate contacted him through intermediaries after an offer on the physician’s part to have the sultan murdered, an overture to which the Senate responded positively.

However, there is no evidence that Giacomò of Gaeta ever followed up on his promises, nor was he at the Ottoman court ever accused of plotting with Venetians or others. He may in actual fact have been an Ottoman secret agent, exploring Venetian intentions on behalf of the sultan.


(SUFAVÀ FAQOOGH)

**YA’KUB AL-MA[N]-SUR** [see ABU YUSUF YA’KUB AL-
MANSÜR]  

**YA’KUB AL-MANSÜR** [see ABU YUSUF YA’KUB AL-
MANSÜR]  

**YA’KUB AL-MANSÜR** [see ABU YUSUF YA’KUB AL-
MANSÜR]
of ʿUthmān (ii, 186-206) seems to leave little room for any such compromise. While his hostility towards the Umayyads stands out clearly, as does his pro-

clivity for "All, the precise character of Al-Yaʿkūbiʾs religious orientation remains uncertain. His attitude towards the ʿAbedāsids seems, in general, to have been favourable though there are discordant notes. His char-

acterisation of ʿAbedās rule as mere ṣayyīm rather than as ḫaṣṣaṣ might suggest some ambivalence in his attitude towards the regime, for instance; and his account of the death of Māsāk al-Ḳā'im [q.v.], the seventh imām in the reckoning of the Twelve Shīʿa, while in custody of Ḥārūn al-Raʾshīd (ii, 499-500) is not complimentary to the ʿAbedāsids, even though the caliph is not explicitly blamed for the death. Though Al-

Yaʿkūbiʾ does not give ʿısdāḥ for his accounts, some of his information comes from ʿAbedās family sources (he himself was a marduk of the ʿAbedās family); but it also comes from the ʿAlīdīs (in particular, through Djaʿfar b. Muḥammad [q.v.], the sixth imām) (ii, 3; cf. also Duri, 67).

Owing perhaps to his secretarial background but, equally, in the interest of narrative embellishment, Al-

Yaʿkūbiʾ offers a generous sampling of letters which purport to have been written by some of the indi-

viduals who figure prominently in his accounts. He also shows considerable interest in the awāʿil [q.v.]. Other literary forms such as thefatḥā (a sort of war poem) are also common as well in his narratives. One noteworthy instance of the latter is the listing of scholars (usually characterised here as fakhrā) appended to the reigns of individual caliphs. Such lists seem intended to sug-

gest the early origin of religious scholars recognisable as a determine group—from the time of the Rihūl-

Guided Caliphs [see AL-KHULAFAʾ AL-RASHIDUN, in Suppl.] onwards—as well as the continuity of this institution in later generations. Yet it is odd that there are no such lists for the reign of Al-Maʿmūn— precisely the caliph who, with the midḥa [q.v.], inaug-

urated a strenuous conflict with many of the ʿulāmaʾ— or, for that matter, for any of his successors. This example may, however, indicate no more than the selective, anthology-like character of Al-Yaʿkūbiʾs work which belongs, in this as in other respects, firmly to the genre of adāb [q.v.].

Al-Yaʿkūbiʾs other major work is the Kitāb al-Buldān, which he completed in Egypt in 278/891, and which is an administrative geography of the lands of Islam, of the Turks and of the Nubians; portions describing Byzantium, India and China are no longer extant. Based on Al-Yaʿkūbiʾs travels in Armenia, Adharbay-

jān, India and North Africa, and, no doubt on his experience in the caliphal administration, this book provides much historical, topographical and statistical information on the regions it describes. Like the Tarīḫa, the Buldān is also a work of adāb. In their interest in the influence of climate on human life and culture (a theme already investigated by al-Daḥīz [q.v.]), their celebration of Baghdād as the unique and blessed meeting place of the peoples and cultures of the world (Buldān, 233 ff.; Mīqīl, iv, 225 ff.), and, in general, their concern to provide an abridgement (maḥkūmār) of such knowledge which “one cannot afford to ignore” (233), the Buldān and the Tarīḫa evince features com-

mon to many a work of the adāb genre.

Al-Yaʿkūbiʾ is also the author of a short treatise entitled Mushkīkāt al-nās li-zamānīnhim in which he shows, in a highly schematic and impressionistic fashion, some of the ways in which the life and tastes of people are modelled on those of the caliphs under whose reign they live (the caliphs are described in chronological sequence, from Abū Bakr to the ʿAbbasīd al-Muʿtaḍīd, d. 289/902 [q.v.]). In its attention to the supposed origin of particular practices and those who instituted them, as Millward has observed, this work is of interest as an early example of the awāʿil genre. More important, however, is this work’s testimony to Al-Yaʿkūbiʾs search for patterns in history, a concern which is occasionally also in evidence in both his Taʾrikh and Buldān (cf. Khalidi, Arabic historical thought, 124 ff.).

In general, the principal importance of Al-Yaʿkūbiʾs historical work is threefold. One of the earliest sur-
viving examples of “universal” history in Islam, it is especially noteworthy for its attention to the cultural peculiarities and diversity of the ancient, pre-Islamic nations and cultures it surveys. Also significant in this regard is his unusually extensive use of non-Islamic sources, e.g. biblical, midrashic and apocryphal mate-

rials, to provide a detailed account of the beliefs and practices of the peoples he describes (cf. Adang, 38, 71 ff., 117 ff.). Second, though the character of Al-

Yaʿkūbiʾs Shiʿī proclivities remains uncertain and, in any case, almost all classical works of history preserve traditions with many different tendencies (cf. Noth, 9-10 and passim), the Tarīḫa, like the work of al-Maṣʿūdī [q.v.], does provide much insight and information on early Shiʿī attitudes and, in so doing, supplements works with a decided Shiʿī perspective on what we know about the formation of religious identities in the first centuries of Islam. Finally, Al-Yaʿkūbiʾs work rep-

resents, even as it contributed to, the growth of adāb-
historiography, an increasingly ascendant trend which even the massive Taʾrikh of al-Tabarī [q.v.], based on the methodology of hadīth-scholarship, could do little to displace.
to be at variance with the moderate dyophysite christology formulated by the Fourth Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451; one divine and one human nature unites the person of Jesus Christ). Consequently, the “Monophysites” were considered as heretics by the leaders of the Imperial Church. In the aftermath of the Council, the situation in the Patriarchate of Antioch was much confused, with some members of the clergy and the laity professing a monophysite christology, and others, nicknamed Mazdaie (Melkites), i.e. followers of the Emperor (ma’ad), supporting the resolutions of Chalcedon. Allegiances, however, could change, and periods of fierce persecution by the imperial authority alternated with attempts at reaching a compromise. A complex mixture of cultural (a certain, but not absolute, opposition Greek-Syriac), nationalistic (erosion of the unitarian ideology of the Roman Empire), socio-economic (recession in Syria connected with social unrest; repression) and theological factors contributed to promoting feelings of a distinct ”monophysite” identity. The activity of Jacob Burdân (Arabic: Bardât, also Bardânî, d. A.D. 578), who ordained several bishops and appointed a monophysite Patriarch for the see of Antioch, brought about the result that, along with the Imperial Church, an independent monophysite Church came into being in the Patriarchate of Antioch. Its members were mainly Syriac-speaking, but also included some Arab tribes (Qhaṣṣān, Tāḥilib [gēr]) who belonged to the monophysite community and even had their own bishops. Before Jacob’s lifetime, the Monophysites had already crossed the classical boundaries of the Antiochian Patriarchate and settled in Sāṣānīd territory, sc. in Irāk, mainly in the region around Takrit. The name of the Jacobite Church is to be traced back to Jacob Burdân, but the Jacobites consider the christianisation of Edessa [see NASTUYYUN] as the true beginning of their Church.

Though in the course of history, the term ”Jacobites” was currently used by the Jacobites to designate themselves and was also known to Muslim heresiographers, in modern times the name ”Syrian Orthodox” or ”West Syrian” (the opposite of ”East Syrian”, i.e. ”Nestorians” [see NASTUYYUN] and ”Calhāna”), is preferred, with ”Syrian Orthodox” as the correct self-designation. In a more general sense, ”Jacobite” was also used as a synonym for all monophysite Christians, including the Copts (e.g. al-Mas’udī, Tanbih, 151).

I. The Islamic period

On account of a lack of contemporary Jacobite sources, it is a matter of discussion whether the advance of the first Islamic troops and their conquest of important centres of Jacobite Christians such as Edessa (16/637) and neighbouring cities in Mesopotamia and Syria were welcomed as a liberation from the persecutions by the Greeks. Echos of this assumption can be found in the writings of later West Syrian heresiographers such as the Patriarch Dionysius of Tell Mahrê (d. 840), the Patriarch Michael the Syrian (d. 1199) or the bishop and scholar Gregory Barhebraeus (d. 1286 [see AL-MAHIŇ]) in Persia, the West Syrian Metropolitan of Takrit, Marbīţā, took the side of the Muslims and opened the gates of the citadel to them (Barhebraeus, Chron. ecclesiasticum, ed. J. Abbeloos and Th. Lamy, Louvain 1877, iii, 123-5). On the other hand, the same sources frequently stress the cruelty of the Muslim invaders and seem to consider the consequences of their attacks as a just punishment by God for the sins committed by the Jacobite community.

During the reign of the first Umayyad caliphs, Christians had many opportunities ”as scribes, managers and administrators” according to Dionysius of Tell Mahrê to contribute to the development of the new society in Syria. Incidentally, we also know the names of West Syrians holding public functions. One of the best known was al-Akhtal, appointed governor of Mesopotamia (Chron. Miguel de Leyre, ed. J.-B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1910, iv, 447, ii, 474). During the reign of the same caliph, however, the Jacobite Church was also confronted with the problem of apostasy, mainly due to mixed marriages, as we may infer from some ecclesiastical canons issued by bishop Jacob of Edessa (d. 708), but also the first discriminatory measures aimed at Christians played a role here. Patriarch John II (d. 734) was the first to obtain official recognition of his dignity from the caliph himself (Marwān II).

In the ‘Abbasid period, with the transfer of the seat of government to Irāk, most areas populated by Jacobite Christians were situated relatively far from the capital, partly even outside Muslim territory. This situation led Jacobite church leaders open to the accusation of being on the side of the Byzantines (Fiey, Abbasides, 183). This did not prevent Patriarchs regularly undertaking the journey to Baghdād to obtain their investiture diploma, or even to appeal to the caliph against rival candidates or simply to settle matters of church discipline. The institution of the maphrīnate [see below] appeared to be a practical solution for the problem of the contacts of the Jacobites with the authorities in Baghdād. In 301/913, a patent delivered by al-Muktadīr to the East Syrian Catholicos Abrahām Abbrāzā (d. 937) regulates the official relationship between the Nestorian, Jacobite and Melkite hierarchies and the Muslim authorities, to the advantage of the Nestorians, who became the preferred interlocutors of the court (Fiey, Abbasides, 130). Only the Nestorian Catholicos was entitled to have his official residence in the capital. The creation of Crusader states in areas important for the Jacobite community, such as Edessa and Antioch (491/1098) and Jerusalem (492/1099), allowed the West Syrians to develop a cautious openness to the Church of Rome in theological and church political matters, without wishing, however, to submit to papal authority, as this openness was readily interpreted by the Latin clergy in Jerusalem and Antioch.

By the end of the 5th/11th century, much of the power of the ‘Abbāsids was taken over by the Sāljuq Turks, who settled in the traditional homelands of the Jacobites, including those territories which had so far remained outside Muslim rule. According to Michael the Syrian, the relations between Sāljuq and Jacobite leaders were, on the whole, relatively good. He praised their tolerant attitude in matters of faith, and he maintained good relations with the Rūm Sāljuq Kīlīdī Arslān II. An entire chapter of his chronicle is devoted to the origin of these ”Türkîye” or ”Türkîśe” (Chron. Miguel Syr., iv, 149 ff., 566 ff.).

In the later ‘Abbasid period, important parts of the Christian population had embraced Islam on account of the growing number of discriminatory measures. The Jacobite church was nevertheless able to maintain an extensive network of metropolitan sees and important monasteries, which, in the 13th century, extended from Acre on the Mediterranean coast to Tabrīz in Ardābīl. After the destruction of Baghdād by the Mongols (656/1258), the centre of gravity of power again moved eastward. The first Mongol leaders were initially well disposed towards the Christians, mainly East
Syrians, but the Jacobites also took advantage of this situation. Their Maphrian, Gregory Barhebraeus, frequently stayed in the Il-Khānid capitals of Tabrīz and especially at Ṭārākh, where he was able to study contemporaneous Persian accounts of the Mongol invasions such as the Ṭārīkh-i Ṭārākh-nāma by Ḏūqawayhī. By the end of the 13th century, however, the Mongols proclaimed Islam as the official religion of their empire. The 14th century was a period of decline, not only on account of the changed religious policy of the Mongol leaders, but also due to inner dissensions (see below). The Turco-Mongol incursions by Tīmūr Lang at the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries accelerated this process and brought about the destruction of important Jacobite centres in Amid (Diyārbakir), Mārdīn and the Tūr-ʿAbdīn. Thereafter, the West Syrians became almost everywhere a minority, living on the margin of society. Only some isolated villages in the Tūr-ʿAbdīn [q.v.] and northern Mesopotamia remained entirely Jacobite. Their immediate neighbours were mostly Kurdu tribes, whose feudal structure they shared, at least in some regions. In the Tūr-ʿAbdīn they also kept their own Aramaic language, surviving to the present day [see Tūr-ʿAbdīn. 4.]

This situation continued during much of the Ottoman period. The position of the Jacobites was still further weakened by the creation of a Uniate Syrian Catholic Church (1662 and, on a permanent basis, from 1783 onwards), to which many important members of the Jacobite community felt attracted. Since the end of the 18th century the Armenian Patriarch in Istanbul had become the sole representative of all monophysite Christians of the empire, a tangible proof of the marginal position of the West Syrians. Only in 1882 was the Jacobite church recognised as an independent millet [q.v.]. Due to their close ties with the Armenian community, the West Syrians became involved in the Turco-Armenian conflict. During the massacres of 1895-6, the West Syrians succeeded in conveying to the Turks that their community was different from that of the Armenians, hence they generally escaped unharmed; but this distinction from the Armenians (and the Assyrian Christians) was not made in 1915-16, when about one-third of the population of the Tūr-ʿAbdīn fell victim to the violence of the Ottoman soldiers and their Kurdish allies, amongst many other massacred Christians.

Though in 1923 the Patriarch had been compelled to leave Dayr al-Zaʿfarān, the age-old see of the Patriarchate (see below), the first years of the new Byzantine Monastery of Muṣṭafā Kermāl were relatively calm due to its non-religious, nationalist orientation. After his death in 1938, the West Syrians had to pay for the fact that the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) only speaks of the religious and cultural rights of non-specifie, “non-Islamic minorities”. According to the current interpretation by the Turkish authorities, only the Jewish, Greek and Armenian communities are recognised as such, and not the West Syrians.

From the 1960s onwards, many West Syrians from Turkey and the Middle Eastern countries emigrated to Western Europe and North America initially as economic migrants, but since the 1980s also as applicants for political asylum (see further on this emigration; Tūr-ʿAbdīn. 2).

2. Ecclesiastical structure.

The head of the Syrian Orthodox Church is the Patriarch “of Antioch and all the East”, “all the East” referring to a classical Roman administrative division in the region east of Antioch. In the pre-Islamic as well as in the Islamic periods, the Patriarch had no fixed residence, but mainly stayed in important monasteries outside Antioch, and in the Crusader period, also in Antioch itself.

From the 11th century till 1293 he used to reside in the monastery of Mār Basamwān near Malāta. In 1293 the seat of the Patriarchate was transferred to Dayr al-Zaʿfarān, near Mārdīn, which the Patriarch left only in 1923 for Ḥimṣ (Syria). Since 1959 his residence has been in Damascus, with a recently-erected clerical training school in Maʿarrat-Šaydnāya. Official texts are published in al-Majalla al-Barayyāna. The Metropolitan of Takrit, since the 11th century called Maphrejtan or Maphrian, was the official representative of the Patriarch for the eastern dioceses of the West Syrian Church. He had far-reaching powers, such as the right to convene synods and the ordination of metropolitan bishops. Since 1152 his actual place of residence was in Mawsil or its neighbourhood (monastery of Mār Mattāy). In the ʿAbbāsid period, he had to intervene frequently at the court on behalf of his coreligionists. The function was abolished in 1859, but re-established in 1974 for the ancient community of Syrian Orthodox in India. A schismatic patriarchate and maphrianate existed in Tūr-ʿAbdīn between 1364 and 1495.

3. The Church within the Islamic religious and cultural milieu.

(a) Apologetic and polemical literature. It does not seem that in the context of literary contracts with Islam (both in Syriac and Arabic), the Jacobites developed special themes absent from the writings of authors belonging to different Christian communities such as the Melkites or, especially, the Nestorians. Only in the field of christology had the Jacobites to be aware that their emphasis on the unity of the divine and human aspect in Christ was difficult to accept by Muslim thinkers, some of whom felt more sympathy for a “Nestorian” christology, which, by its presumed emphasis on the separation between Christ’s divinity and humanity, seemed less to jeopardise God’s transcendence. Thus the caliph al-Mahdī agreed with the East Syrian Catholicos Timothy I that the christological position of the West Syrians virtually amounted to theopaschitism. Yahyā b. ʿAdī [q.v.] took it upon himself to defend the traditional Jacobite christological position against an (otherwise unknown) Muslim thinker, Ahmad Abu ʿl-Ḥusayn al-Misrī, who partly supported the Nestorian point of view (E. Platti, La grande polemique anti-nestorienne de Yahya b. ʿAdī, CSCO, 427-8, 437-8, Louvain 1981-2).

The oldest example of West Syrian apologetics is the record (in Syriac) of a dispute between Patriarch John I d-Sedraw(y) (d. 768) and a Muslim amīr. Though the dispute itself may have been a historical event which took place as early as 24/644, the record is a literary fiction composed in a much later period (the end of the 7th or beginning of the 8th centuries A.D., see G. Reinink, The beginnings of Syriac apologetic literature in response to Islam, in Oriens Christianus, lxvi [1993], 166-87); It deals with issues such as the doctrine of the godhead of Christ, the Trinity, the superiority of Christianity and the presence of legislative texts in Christian scriptures. The language of this dispute is simple and straightforward, and lacks the philosophical terminology, which became characteristic of later West Syrian apologists. Thus the archdeacon Jonah of Nisibis (middle of the 9th century) defended the Jacobite creed with arguments based on Scripture, but, especially, on discursive reasoning. His work (in Syriac) was mainly directed against Jews and Muslims, but the author clearly expressed his preference for Islam which he considers to be more akin to Christian-
ity than all other outside religions, including Judaism. To substantiate this claim, he adduced what became in later times the classical argument of the Kur'ān's recognition of Christ as being born from a Virgin and Christ and as being "the Spirit of God" (A. Van Roey, *Nouveau de Nisba*, Traité apologetique, Louvain 1948). Nonnos' teacher Habib b. Khiydr Abū Rā'īta (first half of the 9th century) was the author of several apologetic treatises, all composed in Arabic. His intention was to present a Christian readership with a solid apologetic argumentation that could help them to formulate adequate answers to Muslim objections and questions. To explain the dogmas of the Trinity, he made use of the classical, Islamic method of reasoning by analogy (*kiyds*). His efforts to be understandable to Muslims by employing the philosophical and lexical terminology of contemporary Muslim mutakallimūn are especially noteworthy. In order to discourage conversion to Islam he analyses the different motives that caused Christians to give up their religion (*S.*. *Kif dhān hāditha Abū Rā'īta, a Christian mutakallim of the first Abbasid century, in Orient Christianus*, Ixiv [1980], 160-200). The problem of free will and predestination was treated by Moses b. Kēphā (d. 903). Chapter six of his treatise on this subject (in Syriac) is directed against the Mhaggraye (= muhtādūn or Sons of Hagar), whose mutakallimūn are depicted, without any nuance, as defending a strict determinist position (*Griffith, Free will in Christian kalam*, Moshe b. Kēpha against the teachings of the Muslims, in *Le Muséon*, c [1987] 143-59). Līk Abū Rā'īta, Yahyā b. 'Adī, the capable student of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī (*q.v.*), and the Nestorian philosopher Abū Biyār Mātū b. Yūnus (*q.v.*), tried to defend the Christian dogmas of the Trinity and the Incarnation with the help of a common, Muslim-Christian philosophical language, refuting one by one all single elements of the objections of his adversaries with great logical consistency. Due to the fact that he gives lengthy quotations of his Muslim interlocutors, some otherwise lost works have been preserved, e.g. of Abū Yusuf al-Kindī and Abū ʿĪsā al-Warrāq (D. Thomas, *Anti-Christian polemic in early Islam. Abu Isa al-Warrag's "Against the Trinity", Cambridge* 1992). Abū 'All Ibn Zurʿa and Muḥy al-Dīn al-Isfahānī, authors respectively of a treatise on God's Unicity and Trinity (*ed.* M. Allard and G. Troupeau, Beirut 1962) and of a refutation of Islam, were to continue the tradition of West Syrian apologetics in Arabic. The last important West Syrian polemicist writing in Syriac was Dōnysius bar Šalībi, Metropolitan of Āmīd (d. 1171). His tract against the Muslims contains a section that describes the different groups into which the Muslims were divided, and it offers Syriac translations for Islamic technical terms, as well as quotations from Syriac in the Kur'ān (Griffith, *Dionysius b. Salibi on the Muslims*, in *H. Drijvers et alii (eds.), IVth Symposium Syriacum 1984, Orient. Christ. Analecta* 229, Rome 1987, 353-6).

Apologetic elements can also be found in works not primarily composed to serve apologetic purposes. Several works of historiography contain passages on different aspects of Islam. An example is the secular chronicle of Barhebraeus devoting much attention to the biography of Muhammad, to *kalām*, etc. The same holds true for some theological writings composed primarily for the community itself, such as the *Kībat al-Mursid*, a general theological, ethical and liturgical handbook by Yahyā b. Ǧaṣrīf (end of the 11th century). In many passages, the author takes great care to make certain aspects of the Christian doctrine intelligible to Muslim readers by using a specific Muslim terminology such as *imām*, *ṣarīfa*, *sunna*, *nāṣib-mansūk* (to explain the relation between the New and Old Testaments), etc. Other examples of such works are the (not yet edited) theological summa of Jacob bar Ǧāḥkā (*d.* 1241) known as the "Book of Treasures" in Syriac with a passage on the *Tayyād* -"Arabs, Muslims*. The theological summa of Barhebraeus, the "Candelastra of the sanctuary" contains passages refuting the Muslim accusation of *tahāf* (*q.v.* -"Candelastra du sanctuaire. *IV. De l'Incarnation*, ed. J. Khoury, in PO, xxxi, Paris 1964, 110).

(b) Canonical decisions. The growing influence of Islam can also be gathered from a number of canonical decisions dealing with different aspects of the relations with the Islamic world. The Jacobite canonists were mostly worried about the apparently growing number of Christian women marrying Muslims. Jacob of Edessa allows these women to continue to receive Holy Communion lest they apostatise. The Patriarch Athanasius II of Balad (d. 686) denounces the participation of Christians in Muslim festivals. The Patriarch Giwargis (d. 785) states that Christians are not allowed to marry their daughters to Muslims. Those who do, as well as the women concerned, are not allowed to receive Holy Communion. The Synod of the Monastery of Şhilā (846) communicates all Christians who "marry Hanpē (lit. "pagans", but in this context to be interpreted as Muslims), Jews and Maq*“. Also, Dionsyus bar Šalībi, in his penitential canons, devotes some attention to women entering into relations with "Arabs and Turks". Another important issue was the problem of Christians converted to Islam but desiring to return to their old faith. Instances of how this problem was dealt with can also be found in historiographical works, e.g. the case of the apostate Mphriann Ignatius b. Kēfb (Chron. Michel Syr., iii, 127 iv, 554); Jacob of Edessa stipulates that rebaptism is not necessary, but a time of penitence has to be imposed. An allusion to mixed marriages is possibly to be found in a canon of bishop John of Márdīn (d. 1165), stipulating that children of *Magkmel* are only entitled to receive the baptism of John for the remission of sins, to be distinguished from the baptism administered to Christian children (*The Synodicon in the West-Syrian Tradition*, II, ed. A. Voolbus, Louvain 1976, 246).

(c) Cultural interaction. Though to a lesser degree than the East Syrians, West Syrians also participated in the transmission of Greek philosophy and science to the Arab world, thus contributing to the achievements of the first 'Abbasid period. Important translators into Arabic were 'Abd al-Masīh b. Nāʿima al-Ḥiṣnīf, Yahyā b. 'Adī and Ibn Zurʿa, all mentioned in Ibn al-Nadīm's *Fihrist*. Yahyā b. 'Adī was at that time still the teacher of a number of Muslim students. In a later period, however, this situation was reversed. Barhebraeus states "we from whom (the Arabs) have acquired wisdom through translators who were all Syrians, are now in the necessity of asking for wisdom from them" (*Cevil chron.*, ed. St. Ephrem the Syrian Monastery-Glanerbrug 1987, 90b). Authors like Jacob bar Ǧāḥkā, John bar Māʿḏnaḥ and, especially, Barhebraeus were influenced by Islamic thinkers, the latter not only in his scientific, medical and philosophical writings (especially from Ibn Sīnā and Naqqīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī) and in his chronicles, but also in his ecclesiastical treatises (the second part of his mononcanon, a work of canon law, is strongly influenced by *fikhi* and, surprisingly, in his works on spirituality: both the *Ethicon* and the *Book of the Dove* show influences from al-Ghazālī's *Iḥyā‘ al-dīn* (*H.* Teule, *Barhebraeus* *Ethicon*, al-Ghazālī and Ibn Sīnā, in *Islamochristiana*, xviii [1992], 73-85).
YA'KUBIYYUN — YAKUT

Bibliography: Partly given in the article; see also NASARA, with many bibliographical references.


Physical properties. Yakût is brittle, though it is the hardest of all minerals after the diamond (Alâshârîh, 48; 'Azhâr, 70; Nâkka'ûb, 8), having number 9 in Mohs' scale of hardness (Bauer, 263; Webster, 74). It is also the densest of all precious stones, according to al-Bûrûnî, and it has a very high specific gravity of ca. 4 with insignificant variations (saphire's specific gravity is 4.08, slightly higher than that of ruby which ranges between 3.99 and 4.06 (Bauer, 282). Al-Bûrûnî ('Dâshârîh, 77) states that, if the weight of a sapphire is not right to call our-
is 100, that of a ruby of the same size is 97 Vs, the ratio in integers being 800 to 777.

Yakuti is described in Muslim sources as resistant to fire. However, when the colour of the ruby remains unaltered, this of the sapphire under similar conditions will disappear; blue and yellow Yakuti turn white. Sapphire can be decolourised but it does not melt in fire. Resistance to heat without loss of colour is strictly a property of Yakuti al-mahmar.

The same authorities state that the immediate visible characteristics and distinctive features of yakuti are its vitreous lustre and its ghud’a (double refraction). Transparency is expressed by “abundance of water” (safwat al-ma’a), by malajif, i.e. shaflfiyya “translucency,” or by safi “clarity.” Uniform, intense and deeply saturated colour, ghud’a or katrat al-sibgh, is, in addition to glittering brightness, rashma, one of the good features that raise its value.

Defects or impurities appear in the form of “cleavage,” ghud al-saght, saq’tur, or sha’d “freckles” or “inclusions,” named: “cavities,” kharuk (sg. kharu); “fissures,” sa’d; “schists,” dud; “mud,” raym; or sometimes worms, dud. All of these could be removed from the stone by a drill; if left within, the stone will crack. Another defect is the uneven distribution of colour which gives an appearance of “piebaldness,” baktah. While the ruby is usually coloured uniformly throughout, the distribution of colour in the sapphire is often very irregular. Moreover, if the colour of the ruby is not uniform, it will become uniformly coloured through gradual heating (Bauer, 265, 282).

Cloudiness, ghumam, is one of the flaws mentioned by al-Kindî and Ibn al-Ahkâmî, who call it ghumam baya or sadaflíasia (i.e. milky and nacreous cloud), which sticks to the surface, and if not deep, disappears through rubbing. One of the flaws enumerated by al-Kindî is the namah or freckles, which appear as patches different from the original colour; if abundant and if deep and spreading, they will be difficult to remove (cited in al-Birûnî, Qamâhir, 38).

Medical and magical uses. Apart from the physical properties of yakuti, medicinal, psychological, and talismanic qualities were also attached to it. Ibn al-Ahkâmî quotes Aristotle, Ibn Sinâ, Ibn Zahîr and al-Ghâditî as saying that, if worn as a pendant or ring, yakuti repels pestilence vapours and poison, prevents attacks of epilepsy, and cures haemorrhage (Nukhab, 11). As for its psychological effect, Ibn Sinâ is quoted as saying that it is efficacious in strengthening the heart and boosting one’s mood. The talismanic property is characterised as attracting divine favour and thus fulfilling the wearer’s needs. The lucky wearer would also be assured of reverence among people and high regard by kings.

Prices and values. Besides size, high prices depend on the fulfillment of a set of quality conditions, namely, intensity of colour, ghud’a; “full” or “complete” transparency, ma’a; clarity, safâ; splendour, rashma; and freedom from flaws (al-Birûnî, Qamâhir, 50). This same author, depending on information he read in a manuscript on precious stones written in al-Şam, says that during the reign of the Umayyad Abd al-Malik [q.v.], yakuti almahmar and excellent larwa “pearls” were equal in value and price (loc. cit.). In the early ‘Abbâsid period, al-Mašîr [q.v.] paid 100,000 dinârs for the two half-mightkâl ruby called al-djâhâl (see below). Al-Dâjdhir [q.v.] stated that the price of half a mightkâl of Yamayyad al-Ma’mun’s ruby was 5,000 dinârs (Tabâsûr, 18-19). During al-Ma’mûn’s reign, the price of one mightkâl of bahramâni was 800 dinârs, and centuries later, in Ibn al-Akfarî’s time (9th/14th century), the prices of yakuti and other gems increased tremendously (Nukhab, 6-9).

Historical records of the ruby. The Richly-Guided Caliphs abstained from collecting gems, and distributed those obtained through booty among the Muslims. Only a few of the Umayyads filled their treasuries with gems, and these were later seized by the ‘Abbâsîs, most of whom had a passion for collecting and increasing their assets, according to al-Birûnî.

In particular, Hârûn al-Rashîd [q.v.] was known for his ardent passion for gems (Qamâhir, 57-6, 62-3).

Unset rubies were used by rulers either as a sign of power or out of a belief in their talismanic, medicinal, or magical powers. As described in the texts, especially in the K. al-Haddâya wa l-tâbâf erroneously ascribed to the kâdit Ibn al-Zubayr, a few known pieces were, when held in one hand, so large as to stick out from both ends of the fist. One was confiscated by the Umayyad Hûdîn from his governor in Baṣra. Of two others, which both looked like a handle of a mirror, one belonged to the Ghaznawî (Qamâhir, 57-8, 62-3). The other to a king of Cîyân. A fourth, which was carved in the form of a lion, belonged to the Ghaznavî Muhammad of Ghâzna [q.v.]. Still another piece, sculpted in the form of a phoenix head, was found by the Buwayhid Abû Kâlidjâr in the citadel of Iṣṭâkhr. Corundum stones were carved in the form of small bowls, spoons, goblets, bottles and knife handles. During the Umayyad period, Yaṣîd I sent a ruby bottle as a gift to the Ka’bah (Qamâhir, 67). A scent pomade container of ruby belonged to ‘Abda, daughter of the Fâtimid caliph al-Mu’izz [q.v.]. Ruby cabochons were set in rings, the most famous cabochons being known as al-djâhâl (“mountain”), most probably due to their huge size. One was bought by the ‘Abbâsid caliph al-Mahdi [q.v.] (Qamâhir, 61), and another by al-Mutawakkil [q.v.] (Qamâhir, 56; Q. al-Haddâya, 183). As a gift to the wife of Hudîn, he had a subha or rosary made of namamâl ruby beads, each the size of a hazel nut and grooved like watermelon slices (Qamâhir, 58).


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Yakut al-Musta’simi, Djamal al-Dîn Abu l-Durûr b. ‘Abd Allâh, famed Arabic calligrapher
YAKUT AL-MUSTAŠIMI — YAKUT AL-RUMI

(ca. 618-98/flz. 1221-98), who derived his nisba from his master, the last 'Abbasid caliph in Baghdad, al-Mustašim [q.v.], who brought him up and had him educated.

Although Kâdi Ahmad states that he was a native of Abyssinia, another tradition identifies him as a Greek from Amasia, later an important centre of calligraphers. A cunuch, Yakut had a school at Baghdad and his six most outstanding students were permitted to sign his name to their calligraphies, making the task of identifying authentic works by Yakut extremely difficult. Yakut himself was the continuer of the master of the six cursive scripts, 'Ali b. Hilâl, known as Ibn al-Bawwâb [d. 413/1022 [q.v.]], who had refined the scripts codified and regularised in the 4th/10th century by Ibn Mukla [q.v.]. His ability to imitate Ibn al-Bawwâb is illustrated by an anecdote in which he fooled his patron al-Mustašim into believing that an example of his own work was actually that of Ibn al-Bawwâb. However, his reputation rests on his calligraphic imitations rather than solely his skill in duplicating the work of his predecessor.

By cutting the nib of the kalâm, or reed pen, at an angle and maintaining a long point, Yakut produced a more elegant, rhythmic script than that of Ibn al-Bawwâb while still adhering to the rules of proportion established by Ibn Mukla for the six scripts, ḥiyâ both, muhaqkat, nask, taqfi, and rîf'd. Called the kâmil al-kalâm, or model of calligraphers, Yakut copied two qur'âns [q.v.], of the Kur'an every day and completed two Kur'âns every month. He is reputed to have produced 1,001 Kur'âns in his lifetime and to have given away 70 samples of his writing every day. In addition to being a demanding teacher, Yakut himself was an incessant worker. When the Mongols took Baghdad in 656/1258, Yakut took refuge in a minaret. He brought a pen and ink with him, but, lacking paper, he wrote on a linen towel, which in

During his six-year stay in Byzantine territory of non-Arab parents, reduced to slavery while still a very young child, and taken to Baghdad at the age of five or six. There he was bought by an almost illiterate merchant, 'Askar b. al-Nâṣr al-Hamawi (d. 606/1209; Ibn Khallikân, vi, 127; Sellheim, 95), who gave him a Kur'anic education, so that he could be useful to him in his business (al-Kâfi', iv, 80-1). In fact, Yakut made numerous journeys on behalf of his master to the island of Kîh (Kays [q.v.]) and to al-Shâm. Later, however, following a disagreement between the two men, he was emancipated and dismissed by his master (596/1199-1200), who afterwards re-engaged him. However, he had already become a copyst and a transcriber (suraç), which was how, in the period of his dismissal between 596 and 603, he was able to copy 300 mujaddilâls ('Abbas, vi, 2887) to earn his living.

The scholar. His training began quite early, thanks to the education that 'Askar had granted him, though also because of his intellectual curiosity, which he put to good use throughout his business travels. He perfected this throughout his life, through numerous profitable encounters and extended visits to libraries like that of Ibn al-Kâfi in Aleppo, and to those of Marw al-Shâhidjân [q.v.], where he said he stayed for three years (see below, 2, f.4); also to the libraries of the al-Samâni, Sharaf al-Malik al-Mustawfl, Nižâm al-Malik Muhammad b. Ishâq, al-Wâriz Madjd al-Malik, al-'Amîdîya, al-Āziyînâ, al-Ūkhâtûniyya, al-Kamîyâ and al-Dâmîyâ families (Mutâjam al-balâdîn, iv, 509-10/v.4, 114).

It is worth noting that, among his teachers, he included the following ('Abbas, vii, 2907-9): Abu 'l-Mu'âjadîjân al-Bâghdâdî for Arabic and metrics (Sâlim b. Ahmad, 'Udâba, no. 513); al-Wâdjiî al-Mubârâk b. al-Mubârâk al-Darîf, who taught grammar for many years at the Nižâmîya of Baghdad and of whom it was said that he knew Armenian, Greek, Ethiopian and "Indian" ('Udâba", no. 932); Abu 'l-Bâkâ 'l-Ukbarî al-Bâghdâdî [q.v.], the scholar of grammar, lexicography, exegesis, law, kalâm and Kur'ânic studies ('Udâba, no. 645); the grammarian Abu 'l-Yumûn al-Kindî ('Yazîd b. al-Hasan; 'Udâba", no. 504), whom he knew in Damascus; the historiographer Ibn al-Dubaythî [q.v.]; Abu 'l-Muzaffar al-Samâni ("Abâl-Râhim; Dâhâbî, Siyar, xxii, 107-9), the son of Abû Sa'd al-Samâni [q.v.], who allowed him to visit the two rich libraries owned by his family at Marw; Ibn Ya'ish [q.v.] ('Udâba", iii, 77/v., 841, 869; Sellheim,
107) by whom he was taught either in Aleppo or Baalbek. He had no other teacher specifically for geography or astronomy, and none of his pupils is known. As can be seen from the long citations that he makes from the history of Khwarizm by Mahmūd al-Khwārizmī, in which the latter attacks al-Shahrastānī [q.v.], he had but little appreciation of philosophy (Muḍḡam al-buldān, iii, 343/iii, 388).

He also had contact with learned friends and with his patrons. Among these were al-Kāfīd al-Ākram, az-zīrī of Aleppo, Ibn al-Kīfī [q.v.], whom he met in 609/1213 (Sellheim 96) and to whom he wrote a letter from Mawsīl in 617/1220 or 618, expressing his distress at the Mongol advance (al-Kiftī, iv, 86-7, with the answer on 87 ff.; Sellheim, 101-2). His profession as a copyist in Baghdad led him to share his love of books with his friend Abū Sa‘d Ibn Hamdūn (al-Hasan b. Muhammad; 'Abbas, vii, 287), the son of Abu ‘l-Ma‘ālī Ibn Hamdūn [q.v.], all of whom were great bibliophiles. He also formed a firm friendship at Mawsīl with the brother of Ibn al-Shārī‘ār al-Mawsīlī (al-Mubārak b. al-Bakr, d. 654/1256), which allowed him to have frequent contact with the latter, a great connoisseur of poetry and the poets (Ibn al-Shārī‘ār, Kāfīd al-qalmān, ix, 341; 'Abbas, vii, 2955). His encounters with Andalusi scholars also motivated him to gather documentary evidence on the geography and culture of their region. This was also the case in Baghdad with Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Sulaymān al-Zahirī, whom he claimed as a friend (Udabd‘ī, no. 991; al-Safādī, Wā‘fī, ii, 104-5), and likewise in Aleppo with Ibn al-Muwaffak (al-Kāsīm b. Ahmad al-Mursī al-Lūrāyī, d. 661/1263), who taught him the Spanish philological tradition, though he was probably also one of his sources for the geography of that region (Sellheim 104, no. 21, 108, 111; Udabd‘ī, vii, 152-3/A, no. 900).

2. His travels.

These not only gave him the opportunity of seeing many of the places to which he had devoted an entry in his geographical dictionary, with the exception of the toponyms of the Muslim West, where he never went; they also enabled him to collect scholarly and literary information from the libraries and sometimes from other sources for his dictionaries of scholars and poets.

The following survey of his travels is based on Sellheim’s map (see foldout, and cf. Wüstenfeld, Jicālī’s Reisen; ‘Abbas, vii, 2881 ff.).


d. Baghdad-Alep, 611/1214.

e. Aleppo-Syria-Damascus (the first Aleppo journey) 611-12/1214-15 (or 613/1216).

f. Aleppo-Khurāsān (particularly Nishāpur and Marw), 613-14/1216-17.

g. Travelling around Khurāsān (Balkh, Marw al-Rudh, Harāt, etc.), 616/1219.

h. Marw-Khārazm (Durjānīyā) 616/1219.

i. Khurāsān to Mawsīl, then to Aleppo, 617/1220 (618).

j. Aleppo-Syria-Damascus (the second Aleppo journey), 624/1227.

In addition to the pitfalls which were commonplace for travellers in that remote period, he met with particular difficulties. On one occasion he had to flee from Damascus where he had expressed certain anti-‘Alid ideas, which may have caused him to be considered a proponent of the Khāridjites; he was almost lynched, took refuge for a few months in Aleppo (al-Kiftī, iv, 62; Sellheim, 97), and continued his flight in the direction of Khurāsān (journeys e-f).

But a test, this time of a sentimental nature, awaited him at Nishāpur (Shādīgīyārk), where he bought a very beautiful Turkish slave of whom he was charmed, but from whom, to his great despair, he soon separated (Muḍḡam al-buldān, iii, 330/iii, 306-7; Sellheim, 97). The greatest peril, however, and the greatest disaster for him consisted of the advance of the troops of Čingīz Khān [q.v.] and it is known that Bokhārā [q.v.] among others surrendered to them in 615/1220 (travels k, l; Mar‘ūf, al-Ghazālī).

3. His works.

Dictionaries and historical works.

a. Muḍḡam al-buldān: the idea came to him at Marw in 615/1218-19, during a course with his teacher Abu l-Mu‘amāl al-Samā‘ānī. The first draft was finished not at Mawsīl, as is often thought, but at Aleppo, on 20 Safar 621/13 March 1224 (Sellheim, 103-4). He began what was to be the final version that same year and continued to revise it afterwards. He undertook the definitive edition on 21 Muharram 625/1 January 1228. This was for the library of his patron Ibn al-Kīfī, but in this last revision he did not reach the article “Rusafat Baghdad” (Sellheim, 108-9, no. 26; ‘Abbas, vii, 2916). This great work not only comprises geographical and toponymic information but also literary and poetic subjects and biographical details of prominent figures originating from the toponyms presented. Certain cities or regions are treated in more detail, such as Aleppo and district, and also Marw, etc., such places as Yākūt had stayed in for a long time. For the sources for this dictionary, see Herr and also Barbier de Meynard. The abridged version that “Abd al-Mu‘min b. ‘Abd al-Ḥaqq (d. 735/1339) made is limited to the materia geographic: Marvānd al-ḥadīth ‘ulā asma‘ al-umkina wa l-thilāl”, i-iv, ed. A.W.T. Juynboll, Leiden 1851-64, i-iii, ed. ‘A. al-Bīgāwī, Cairo 1954.

b. al-Muṣṭārik wa‘ d‘ as ‘l-muṣṭārik suk‘ is a dictionary that not survived to the present day. He began to assemble the material and perhaps even to draft it before his Usā‘bā (Udabd‘ī, i, 8). One of his principal sources was the K. al-Aghānī, and also the works of Ibn Sallām, Ibn Kutayba, al-Mazru‘abān, Ibn al-Mu‘azzaz, etc. The interest of this dictionary lay chiefly in the later poets whom he knew personally and from whom he received poetic pieces. It is perhaps even possible that some of the accounts found in the Muḍḡam al-usā‘bā in the state that we know them may have been included by Yākūt in his Dictionary of poets (‘Abbas, vii, 2920). He himself wrote poems and fragments of his poetry have been collected (Udabd‘ī, vii, 2928-39).

c. Muḍḡam/Abkhar al-qarbā (Mustawfī, 320) is a dictionary which has not survived to the present day. He included geographical and astronomical information but designating different places. He composed it in 623/1226, then reworked it until his death. Ibn al-Shā‘ī‘ār regards it as a sort of abridged form of the previous work.

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accounts that were not in that of Margoliouth. He did this by recourse to the part that was recovered from the abridged version of 'Ali b. 'Abd al-Salam al-Takriti (?), entitled Baghyat al-abbâb min Muîdjam al-udâbah, and to a part of the addenda of Mustafa Djawâd (‘Abbas, i, intro.). Furthermore, as stated earlier, the editors or copyists included in this may have been part of the original of his Muîdjam al-chîwâra.

Apart from the classical sources already indicated for this work (see G. Bergstrasser, in ZDMG, bdv,vii, 33, 184-218), attention should be given to the following histories: of Ifâshân, by Hamza al-Ifâshân [q.v.]; of Bayhak, by Abu ‘I-Hasan al-Bayhaki [q.v.]; of Khârazm [q.v.], by Mahmûd al-Khârazmî, or by al-Birûnî; of Marw, by Abu Sa‘d al-Sam‘ânî [q.v.]; of Harât, by ‘Abd al-Ra‘îmân b. ‘Abd al-Djâbbar al-Fârîdî [d. 546/1151]; and of Hamâdân, by Shûrûyyah Abu Shujjîdî [d. 509/1115] (‘Abbas, vii, 2929-5); a great number of other works, among them the Muîdjam al-sa‘afar of Abu Tâhir al-Silafî [q.v.], also could be mentioned.


The following titles of works which have also been lost.

Grammarical works.


Miscellaneous works.

Unudîn (or ‘Uyân) K. al-Aghdm (abridged); al-Mukta‘ab fi ‘l-nawâd, or K. fi ‘l-Nawasî, or K. al-Mahbîb, abridged as al-Dâmâra by al-Kalîbî [q.v.]; Durât al-ârîf. With regard to the AKBâr al-Muannualhî, they were most definitely a part of his Muîdjam al-chîwâra (‘Abbas, vii, 2913).


(Ed.)

YALAVAC [see MAHMUD YALAWAC].

YALÎ, YALÎ (r.), in modern Turkish 'yalî, literally, "bank, shore", but coming to mean in Ottoman Turkish "residence, villa on the shore", cf. Redhouse, A Turkish-English dictionary, 2192: a "waterside residence".

1. Etymology.

The Turkish word stems from the Greek: Homeric Gr. οὖςαλος, Modern Gr. γουλος. It must have appeared in Ottoman Turkish early, since it is found in A“śîk-paşâ-zade and Neshî (end of the 9th/15th century). It entered into place-names, e.g. Yalikavak, Yalikoy, Kâğıtikâyâ, etc., and spread into the Bal- khans in one direction (Serbo-Croat igolo) and into Persia in the opposite direction (Pers. yâlî "seashore, river bank").

2. Architecture.
There are less than 40 yalıs now left along the Bosphorus shores, and some of these have been altered by the use of concrete behind the original woodwork. Formerly, fire was prevented in some yalıs by having a layer of sand between the ceiling and the floor above. There might also be layers of charcoal with which to absorb the damp. The quays of the houses have always been vulnerable to the fast current of the Straits, and now to the wash from tankers and large freighters. The ideal yalı was built with as many windows as possible from which to enjoy the view. These windows were made to standard sizes so that they could be replaced quickly after a storm.

By the end of the 17th century there were many kiosks with large gardens, but it is accepted that the first true yalı was built in 1698 by the Grand Vizier Amişja-zade Hüseyn Köprülu Paşa [see Hüseyn Paşa, Amışja-zade], and it still stands, projecting dramatically over the water at Kanlica. The great salon, although in need of restoration, was never surpassed. It is almost independent of the mansion behind. In the centre of the salon is a magnificent fountain under a shallow dome, and three-sided sofa areas form intimate retreats like those of the Baghdad Kiosk at Topkapı Sarayı; they have splendid views of the sea and boats and the wooded hills opposite. Faded, but still impressive, the Ianian pictowork turns this room into a paradisical garden. Plans of yalıs vary, but central to the tradition is the landing on the first floor reached by a fine staircase. There are fine rooms at each corner which project over the quays or the gardens. There is concealed access to the harem wing from the central landing, but the harem, like the hammâm [q.v.], could also be set quite separately from the yalı itself. Surviving, or partly surviving examples of various types of yalı include the remains of the Aptullah Yalı at Emirgan; the Hasıp Paşa Yalı at Beylerbey; the Köçeôğullı Yalı and the Yılanlı Yalı at Bebek; and the former Osterog Yalı at Kanlıdili.

Turkish love of the open air and picnics required terraced gardens that were filled with ornate fountains, pools and flowers directly in front of the landings. In the evening, lanterns hung from tree to tree. Judas and magnolia blossom transformed the shores of the Bosphorus in the spring. The Paşa’s garden was divided from the harem garden by high walls, a few of which can still be seen. Up the hillside beyond the formal terraces there were parks, such as that at the Kudzhi Yalı at Anadolu Hisar.


(G. Goodwin)

**YALOWA,** modern Turkish **YALOVĂ,** a town and district of **Turkey** situated on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara (the town in lat. 40° 40' N., long. 29° 17' E.).

The district occupies the northern edge of the Armutlu peninsula which runs between the Gulf of Izmit to the north and the Gulf of Gemlik to the south, and ends in the Boz Burun cape, in the southeast of the Sea of Marmara. In Antiquity, it was the region of Piriya, incorporated after 280 B.C. within the kingdom of Bithynia, and like the latter, conquered by Rome in 47 B.C. The settlements of Pripolis and Drapenon were created there, as well as thermal baths established under the protection of Hercules and a shrine to Aesculapius. The Emperor Constantine the Great erected Drapenon into a town called Helenopolis, after his mother’s name, she having reconstructed the baths there. The town grew in importance because of its position on the road from Constantinople to Nicaea, and, amongst other visitors, received the Empress Theodora with a suite of 4,000 persons. At the time of the First Crusade, the retreat to Helenopolis of the people’s army led by Peter the Hermit and Theodore Sans Avoir, in face of the Seljuk Turks, witnessed the death of 25,000 Crusaders. In 1307 the town passed into the hands of Yalovaçoğlu, one of the Oğlan’s lieutenants, and it now took the name of Yalakabat, later replaced by that of Yalova.

In the 19th century, up to 1867, Yalova was a kadi of the central sandjak of the vilâyet of Khudâlawendîgâr [q.v.] or Bursa. It was then attached to the vilâyet of Istanbul, together with the whole of the sandjak of Izmid, then in 1888 made into a mutasarrîflik directly attached to the Ministry of the Interior. Yalova was at that time the chef-lieu of a nahiye dependent on the kadi of Kara Müres, with 27 villages and 2,426 houses. The town had ca. 1,025 inhabitants, 500 of them Muslim Turks, 250 Greek Orthodox and 275 Gregorian Armenians.

In 1938, under the Turkish Republic, Yalova was attached, at Atatürk’s prompting, to the il of Istanbul as an île of 496 km² with 36 villages. It had 22,235 inhabitants in 1950, 3,833 in the town and 18,422 in the villages. The town grew rapidly, thanks to its baths and hot springs being much frequented by people from Istanbul, it being a stage on the Istanbul-Bursa route, the place of boarding boats coming from Kabataş on the European shore of the Bosphorus or from Kartal, on the Asiatic shore of the Sea of Marmara, and on the route for road passenger transport connecting with Bursa via Orhangazi and Gemlik. According to the 1990 census, it had 65,823 persons. The rural population, 47,594 in 1990, is engaged in growing cereals, fruit trees (apples and peaches) and vegetables under glass. The towns of Çinarlık to Yalova’s west and Çiftlikköy to its east have also developed bathing facilities from tomato crops. The île of Yalova, with territories added to it totalling 817 km², in 1995 became an il, the population of which reached 163,916 (78,210 in the town of Yalova and 85,706 in the smaller towns and villages) in 1997. Yalova and adjacent coastal resorts were severely damaged by the earthquake of 17 August 1999, which killed over 2,500 people in the il of Yalova.


**YAM,** the Persian and Arabic transcription of the Mongol term ***jam (djam),*** originally denoting “road, route, direction”. In the 13th century, at the time of the creation of the Mongol empire, the term jam also signifies in general the postal service of the Mongol Khâns and sometimes a postal relay. Information regarding this state institution of the Mongols is available from Chinese, Persian, Arabic, Armenian and Western sources (see bibl. in Gazagnadou). The postal relay of the Mongol authorities seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese postal system (yi), dating from the time of Chengiz Khan (Waley, 50, 75); it was progressively diffused throughout the empire in tandem with conquests (Gazagnadou, ch. I). The very bureaucratic organisation of the post of the Mongols of China is quite
well known (Olbricht). On the other hand, a great deal less information is available on its functioning in the rest of the empire. But the topographical, technical, military and political constraints that the Mongol authorities were obliged to surmount in organizing the rapid circulation of postal couriers (yāmī, ulātī, līți), make it possible to deduce the major principles of the organization of the Mongol postal service.

The material and administrative organisation seems to have been as follows: relays were established every 18 to 30 km or thereabouts (Rajhi al-Dīn, i, 671), depending on the topography and on the type of animals used. There were two types of relay: either substantial buildings comprising accommodation, stabling, etc. (Djiwaynt, i, 24), or simple relay stations where the courier changed mounts (ulāgh). The network of routes marked out by postal relays probably covered several tens of thousands of kilometres linking hundreds of relays. Horses were used predominantly, but sometimes camels, dromedaries and mules were used, and even, in Russia, sleigh-dogs, if Marco Polo is to be believed (tr. Yule-Cordier, ii, 480, Fr. tr. Le devisement du monde, ii, 528). The number of horses or other mounts maintained at each relay varied between one and several dozens. For the whole of the Mongol empire, Marco Polo gives the figure of 200,000 post horses (Yule-Cordier, i, 453-5). The devisement du monde, i, 292-3). Each relay was supervised by a functionary (also yāmī, but here in the sense of the one responsible for the postal relay) who was required to oversee its efficient running and to report to the central authorities regarding the state and the requirements of his relay, especially in terms of mounts. This supervisor was in charge of employees, including ostlers (also ulātī, but here in the sense of the one responsible for the welfare of the post horses). According to J.A. Boyle, it seems that a postal service involving the use of chariots also existed (62 n. 270). Relays were usually entrusted to the charge of the nearest town or village. According to the importance of the information being conveyed, there was recourse to either express couriers or normal couriers. Mongol couriers, riding day and night and changing horses at regular intervals, could carry messages over hundreds of kilometres in record time. They were supplied with an imperial tablet (pāṣa) and a decree (yarlīgh) marked with a seal (tamgīh), these giving them absolute powers of requisition. Couriers of the yāmī only conveyed official correspondence of the Khān and of Mongol officials, never that of individuals, except by special imperial decree or in cases of corruption. The co-ordination of the Mongol postal service with the army seems to have been quite strong; at the time of the Ayyubid conquest of the Yemen in 569/1173 [see AYYUBIDS; TURANSHAH B. AYYUB] they also held San'ā’ and territory to the north and northeast of the city in the Dārīf area, which was occupied by the army. Other officials, including ostlers, were required to oversee the smooth operation of the yāmī and to ensure that it was maintained in some detail, giving their main watan as Nadjran and other territories as far north as the borders of the Hidjaz.

The decline of the Mongol empire did not result in the immediate disappearance of this postal system. On the contrary, each khanate attempted to retain it for as long as possible. The Ming dynasty, on expelling the Mongols from China, revived the strong and ancient Chinese postal tradition, which was maintained until the end of the 19th century. Among the Mongols of Persia and Irāq, as in the Golden Horde of Southern Russia and in Central Asia, the system of the yāmī was retained for better or worse until the end of the khanates. Their disintegration prevented the Mongol powers from retaining it on a stable network and on postal relays. The Mongol postal service influenced the regions in which it was installed so strongly that, in the 15th century, the term yāmī was still being used in the Persian world to denote the last postal relays (see, for example, Hášiṣ-Ḥ.] Ābru, Zubdat al-tawārīkh). In Russia, the postal relay service introduced by the Mongols continued for centuries. The efficacy of the yāmī so impressed travellers and enemies of the Mongols that it was borrowed by the Mamluks of Egypt during the sultanate of Baybars al-Bundukdārī. The Mongol yāmī may also have influenced the postal systems of the West in the Middle Ages (Gazagnadou). The definitive dissolution of the Mongol powers (14th-15th centuries) led to the disappearance of one of the most remarkable systems for the transmission of news of the pre-modern era.


YĀM, an Iṣmā'īlī tribe now inhabiting the area of Nadirān in southern Saudi Arabia, although at the time of the Ayyubid conquest of the Yemen in 569/1173 [see AYYUBIDS; TURANSHAH B. AYYUB] they also held San’ā’ [q.v.] and territory to the north and northeast of the city in the Dārīf area, which was occupied by the army. The territory is north and northeast of the city in the Dārīf area, which was occupied by the army. The territory is north and northeast of the city in the Dārīf area, which was occupied by the army. The territory is north and northeast of the city in the Dārīf area, which was occupied by the army.

(D. GAZAGNADOU)
Yam are of Hashid and one of the fifteen batm of Hamdan ('Umar b. Yusuf Ibn Rasul, Turfat al-shub in Vol. III and also in Suppl.; see also Sukutra).  

1. Definition and general introduction

2. Geography

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Madjmu' buldun al-Taman wa-kabd'il-

Arab, c. Yam b. Asba (Mutant kabd'il al-

c. c. Umar Rida Kahhala's two

c. iv, San

c. \[q.v\].

By the 19th century, al-Yamama had already be-

town a region of al-Khardj on the al-Riyad

e. Nāṣir-i Ḵusrav goes on to mention the palm groves of al-

Yamama and says that, when dates are plentiful, a

dinār. He ends by informing his reader that the route to al-Hasa

From ca. 1760 the office of the Dā'ī of the Yām became hereditary in the Makram family. In 1834 the then Dā'ī renewed relations with the Ottomans, and the tribe supported Turkish power in Yemen up to its end in 1918.

Bibliography: For older references, see A. Grofmann's El art. The major mediaeval historical sources are given in the text. Smith, The Aybids and early Rasulids in the Yemen, London 1974-8, ii, 68, 70-5: The Banū Hātim (II) were certainly of Yam and continued as a political force until about 590/1193. One or two of their amirs, despite their following forms of Ismāʾīlī Islam and their masters' waqf orthodoxy, found for them and high position with the Rasulīd administration in the north of the Yemen, particularly under the second Rasulīd sultan, al-Malik al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (647-94/1249-95 [see Rasūlids]).
3. History
(a) From pre-Islamic times to 1962
(b) From 1962 to the present day
4. Ethnology and social structure of the Yemeni highlands
5. The Arabic dialects of al-Yaman

1. Definition and general introduction.
The name is variously explained in the Arabic sources; some say it was given because al-Yaman lies to the right of the Kaḥba or to the right of the sun (al-Bakrī, ii, 856), others because Yūkān b. Abīr and his companions turned right on separating from the other Arabs (Ibn al-Fakhīr, 33, tr. Massé, 37-8; Yākūt, iv, 1034), while others again derive the name from the eponymous hero Yaman b. Kaḥtān (cf. al-Wāṣīlī, Taʾrīkh al-Yaman, Cairo 1872-97, 281). Sprenger thought that the Greeks and Romans transmuted Teman and Yaman by Eudaimon and Felix and included under Arabia Felix all the land south of al-Ṣāmāʾ. This coincides roughly with the delimitation of al-Yaman attributed to Muḥammad, who is said to have climbed a mound at Tabūk and, pointing to the north, said "All this is al-Ṣāmāʾ and turning to the south, "All this is al-Yaman" (Sprenger, Die alte Geographie Arabiens, Berne 1875, 9). The greatest extension of al-Yaman to the north actually corresponds very well with the boundary of Arabia Félix which, according to Ptolemy, vi, 7, 2, 27, began about 6 miles south of al-ʿAkbāb, with its northern frontier running from there northeastwards to the foot of the Šarāʾ range and then, turning east, crossing the northern edge of the desert of the Nafūd [q.v.], ending at al-Najdāf. Al-Wāṣīlī (282) also represents al-Yaman as bounded in the east by the Persian Gulf, in the south by the Arabian Sea, in the west by the Red Sea and in the north by the Gulf of Kuwzūm, the Syrian desert and Irāq. The frontiers given by the Arab geographers are considerably narrower. According to Ibn Khurraḍāḥībī (135, 137, 189), and al-Idrīsī (143-4), the northern frontier of al-Yaman ended at the tree called Ṭaḥlāt al-Malik between al-Muhḍīrā and Sarūm Rāḥ, south of Mecca. According to others, it began below Tahlīth, while al-Amūrī (iv, 1035) made the northern boundary run from Umān through Naḍrān; al-Hamdānī (Ṣīfa, 51; Yākūt, iv, 1035) more accurately traced it through Yābrūn, south of al-Yamāmā, via al-Hudjārya, Tahlīth, Diyarāsh and Kutna to the coast towards Kudumnur near Hamīdān [lat. 17° 52′]. Ibn Hawkal (18), who included two-thirds of the Ḍiyār al-ʿArab in al-Yaman, put the northern limit at al-Sirrān, Yalāmān and al-Ṭaʾīf, and made it run through the highlands to the Persian Gulf; this makes it intelligible why some geographers even include Mecca in the Tiḥāma of Yemen. Towards the east, al-Yaman extends over Ḥadramawt, al-Šībhr (Mahrā) and Zāfār (Dorār); even Umān is sometimes included in al-Yaman when it is not (as e.g. in al-Muqaddasī, 68) made a separate province. The whole of this extensive territory, which al-Dimashkī (ʿabd al-dawḥ al-dawḥ, 216) divided into 24 administrative districts (muḥāfaẓ [q.v.]), was in the early days of Islam divided into three: Ṣanʿāʾ, al-Djānād and Ḥadramawt (or Zāfār), under separate governors. The taxes under the 'Abbāsīds yielded 600,000 dinārs (Ibn Khurraḍāḥībī, 144, 249, 251). After al-Yaman broke off from the 'Abbāsid empire, its area diminished considerably and its administrative divisions varied substantially; sometimes the Sunni Tiḥāma, with its capital Zābīd [q.v.], was actually independent of the Yazdī Ṣīḥī fighlands with Ṣanʿāʾ as capital. When Carsten Niebuhr travelled in al-Yaman, he ascertained that the following districts were independent:

The geographical definition of al-Yaman becomes still narrower under the Ottoman Turkish rule. The šāmaṭi according to the provincial law of 19 Rabīʿ II 1331/28 March 1913 comprised the šāmaṭi of Ṣanʿāʾ, with the kādas of Ḥarāz, Kawkabān, Anis, Ḥadjās, Dhamār, Ṭarīq, Amrān and the šāmaṭi of al-Ḥudaydā, with the kādas of Zābd, Luhayya, Zaydiyya, Ḍjabāl Rāmī, Ḥadjār, Bayt al-Ḥaṭīf and Bāḏjīl; and the šāmaṭi of Taʾizz, with the kādas of Ibb, Udayn, Kaʿṭaba, Ḥudjariyya, Muhājā and Kāmārīma. In the north it was adjoined towards lat. 18° N. by the independent districts of Abū ʿArīsh, Kaḥtān, Wādāʿa and Būlād Yām (Naḍrān); in the east by the Balad Kitāf, Baraṭ, the oasis of Khābb, al-Ḍjāwīf with Arḥab and Nihm, and also Mārib, Ḥawwalān, Harrīb, Bayhān and Yāfī, as well as the Ḍajjī region; and in the south by the hinterland of Aden, which had been under a British protectorate since the later 19th century.

Bibliography: For the Arabic geographers and the European travellers in al-Yaman, see the Bibl. to Elʿ art. s.v. (A. Grommann)

2. Geography.
The highlands of Yemen form the southern end of the mountain chain that runs down the west coast of Arabia from the Ḥijāz [see AL-SARAT] and through ʿArīs [q.v.] and that becomes more lofty as it goes southwards. The chain is an uplifted block, falling away along lines of faulting on its eastern edge to the desert interior; the ʿArīs-Yemen highlands are in fact part of a single uplifted block that also comprises the Ethiopian highlands, cut in two by the rift valleys of the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. In Yemen, a core of granite and schists is overlain with sandstone and limestone, in turn covered by a layer of volcanic basalt some 100 m/330 feet thick. This is the highest part of the Arabian peninsula, with Djabal Ḥadīr Nābī Ṣuḥāȳb to the west-south-west of Ṣanʿāʾ rising to 3,760 m/12,336 feet; even the mountains in slightly lower ʿArīs reach 2,820 m/9,250 feet in Djabal Ṣuda. There is a steep western escarpment overlooking the Tiḥāma [q.v.] or coastal plain, but a less steep eastern one that slopes down to the sandy basin of the Ṣamāl al-Ṣabʿatān. In the southeastern part of Yemen, the highland plateau is connected with the almost equally high crystalline ridges of the Kāw mountains, which in turn join the much-dissected limestone plateau of the Djiōl or Djiwāl, which rises to 2,112 m/6,927 feet. The broad depression of the Djiwāl Mulays and Djiwāl ʿKhudayf, which contain the sand dunes of Ṣamāl al-Ṣabʿatān as their core, probably once, in a pluvial period after the Ice Age, contained a lake, but now its underground water drains to the east, through a narrow exit, to irrigate the oases of the Wādī Ḥadramawt. This wadi continues southwards, sometimes with surface water, for some 320 km/200 miles before turning southwards to the Gulf of Aden through the precipitous Wādī al-Ḥudayla [see further, ARAB, ʿARĪS AT- EL-III; ḤADRAMAWT. 3., in Suppl.].

In regard to climate, Yemen and the other lands of southern Arabia, Ḥadramawt and Zāfār [q.v.], benefit from lying within the sphere of the South-West
Monsoon which brings appreciable rain to the highlands between June and September. The Tihama of Yemen, about 800 km/500 miles wide, is very barren, as the rains fall on the higher mountain slopes, but these rains supply streams of water flowing down from the hills, often perennially, to irrigate the typically African crops of the “beehive” villages: millet, cotton, indigo (nil [q.e.v.]), wara [q.e.v.], madder, safflower, henna and other dye-producing plants and shrubs and bananas. Above the Tihama, the lower mountain slopes are semi-desert, with acacia and tamarisk scrub. But beyond 1,500 m/4800 feet, the monsoon winds bring rainfall amounting to more than 75 cm/30 inches per annum in e.g. the southwestern corner of the plateau, to the north and north-east of Ta‘izz, and in midsummer the hillsides are cloaked in cloud and mist, and there are heavy dews. These conditions are ideal for coffee trees [see KÁNWA], and the carefully-maintained multiple terraces also support plantations of fruits, nuts and the mildly narcotic qat or chat, Cathula edulis Forsk. [see KÁT]. The bulk of the rains and clouds fail, however, to mount the western crests, so that the high plateau to the east is in a rain-shadow, with a drier climate, and the fields of fertile wind-blown soil (loess) rely heavily on streams from the peripheral mountains for irrigating the staple crop, millet, and the orchards of vines (cultivated since ancient times; the early Arabic geographers mention vineyards in Sādīm Rab, Khaywān, Ṭījāfīr and the Wāḍī Dāla‘) and oranges. Unusually for Arabia, cattle are kept as draught animals. Temperatures may vary widely up here, with cold winter nights and frosty spells; ice is observed at Ṣan‘ā‘ on winter mornings more frequently than the occurrence of frost would appear to warrant, an anomaly due to the low atmospheric pressure at over 2,200 m/7,200 feet combined with low humidity, which results in such rapid evaporation of water that its temperature can drop to freezing-point when the air temperature is several degrees above it. On the eastern edges of the highlands at the mouths of valleys there are perennial streams and springs, and such oases as Mārib have extensive date groves. Irrigation systems here have always been complex; it was in this region that ancient South Arabian kingdoms like Saba’, Mani‘, and Marīb arose, and the Dam of Mārib achieved fame in both pre-Islamic South Arabia and in post-Islamic lore and legend.

The Red Sea coastline of Yemen runs for about 450 km/280 miles down to the Báb al-Mandāb with a trend slightly east of south. There are sandy, mangrove-fringed beaches sloping gently up to the coastal plain of the Tihama. The most significant ports of Yemen, together with Hadramawt and Zafār, would appear to warrant, an anomaly due to the low mediaeval Yemen must face is the plain fact that there is so little information available concerning what can be termed the pre-dynasty history of the country. The Yu‘firids [q.e.v.] (see below), centred on Shíbām Kawkabān, and rulers on occasion over Ṣan‘ā‘ itself, established the first local dynasty in Islamic Yemen in 232/847, and the period prior to their period, from the advent of Islam in A.D. 622, is what is more precisely meant by this term “pre-dynastic Islamic”. The fact of the matter is that we have no contemporary literary sources extant and are compelled to rely on either later non-Arabian sources (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, Ibn al-Athīr, al-Baladhūri [q.e.v.], etc.), or on even later Yemeni sources (e.g. al-Dīnādī, al-Khārazdī [q.e.v.], Ibn al-Dayba‘, etc.). All are equally disappointing, uninformative on the question of whence their data come, and in any case lacking in any detailed historical information.

Certainly under the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, when...
the Islamic conquests got under way, thousands of Yemenis must have joined the Muslim armies, and indeed, Yemen provided the vast majority of the manpower for these military endeavours of such historical importance (see 'Abd al-Muhsin Mad'daj M. al-Mad'daj, The Yemen in early Islam 9-233/630-847, a political history, London 1988, 64-101; also Radhi Daghfous, Le Yaman islamique des origines jusqu'à l'avènement des dynasties autonomes (F'-IIIe s./VIIe-IXe s.), Tunis 1995, i, 506).

The sources mention also any number of "representatives" dispatched to Yemen by Muhammad, but such accounts are full of conflation and contradiction. They become no more reliable for the later days of the Rightly-Guided, the Umayyads and the 'Abbasid caliphates. Surprisingly, the picture is not made any clearer after reference to the not inconceivable numismatic evidence available to us (see e.g. in particular Ramzi J. Bikhażi, Coins of al-Yaman 132-569 A.H., in al-Maḥṭūt, xxiii [1970], 3-127). Such representatives are usually described as governors (sing. wāll), though there were also on occasion kāfīs and teachers, as well as alms collectors (sing. ḍāmini al-sadāke). Some of those appointed, however, never reached Yemen for one reason or another and this further complicates the issue. The senior governor was the one appointed to Ṣan'a', although others were sometimes sent to al-Djanad, nowadays a suburb of Ta'izz (see below), and to Ḥadramawt, where they were on occasion to all intents and purposes independent and on other occasions evidently subordinate to Ṣan'a' (see G. R. Smith, The early and medieval history of Ṣan'a', in R. B. Serjevant and R. Lewcock (eds.), Ṣan'a', an Arabian Islamic city, 53-4, and al-Mad'daj, Yemen, table 1, 13-14, table 4, 148-49, table 6, 169-70, table 8, 190-92 and table 11, 220-52, for attempts at listing these representatives).

The interesting question is, of course, what precisely were the duties of these officials? Initially they probably controlled little or nothing outside the walls of the town. They appear to have had a force under arms for the day-to-day policing of the urban area, though it is clear from our sources that they could not impose their will by tyrannical means on the local population; a number tried to do this, and complaints though it is clear from our sources that they could not impose their will by tyrannical means on the local population; a number tried to do this, and complaints

As noted above, it is impossible to accept the naive assertion that with Bāghān's acceptance of Islam the whole population immediately followed. It is imperative that we now view the Islamisation of Yemen as a gradual process, taking place over at least three centuries. It is probably in this context, too, that we should see the appointments of governors to al-Djanad and Ḥadramawt. Ṣan'a', one assumes, still operated as a commercial and trading centre under some kind of special sanctity derived from the pre-Islamic mattram institution. Al-Djanad and Ḥadramawt may also have operated in a similar fashion, and trade as much as anything else would have played the major role in the dissemination of Islam in Yemen over the years. The Islamic history of Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion, 3rd-6th/9th-12th centuries. For the most part the history of the dynasties that held power in Yemen at this time can be seen in some detail in the entries devoted to them, and therefore only very brief notes are given below. The Ziyādids (203-409/818-1018? [q.v.]) take their name, the Banū Ziyād, from Muham-
The reasons for this conquest are several and complex, and cannot be dealt with here (see G.R. Smith, *The Ayyubids and early Rasulids in the Yemen*, ii, London 1978, 31). The outcome is clear. The advancing Ayyubid army wiped the Zuray'ids in Aden and the Mahdids in Tihamah off the historical map, and less dramatically brought an end to the Sulaymanids of northern Tihamah. Their solid military achievements during the years 569-628/1173-1230 paved the way for the political, administrative and cultural brilliance of their successors, the Rasulids.

The Rasulids [q.v.], who controlled vast areas of the southern highlands, Tihamah, and, at their zenith, as far east as Zafar, in what is at present the southern part of the Sultanate of Oman, and Hadramawt, brought unprecedented political stability to Yemen. Their period of power was between the years 626/1228-1545, and among their rulers were several who made their name as much for their literary and scientific efforts as for their political and administrative acumen [see rasulids, 3, 5].

Even the mighty and brilliant Rasulids could not withstand the internal squabbles of the house, the revolts of the mamluk troops and fickle tribes, and the ravages of the plague. Their rule in the southern highlands and Tihamah gave way in 858/1454 to a local Yemeni dynasty of mas'udiyah from the area south of Rad'i, the Tahrids [q.v.] or Barazi Tahir, a rule that was to last until 923/1517. The Tahrids were defeated by an Ottoman force in 922/1516 near Zabid, the main reason for this defeat apparently being the presence among the Ottoman troops of firearms, the first recorded evidence of their use in Yemen.

Ever fearful of the infidel Portuguese presence in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, the Ottoman Turks launched a massive naval expedition into the area and arrived off the Red Sea island of Kamaran [q.v.] in 945/1538. The Zaydi imams, who had taken much of the country after the downfall of the Tahrids, were about to be much reduced in authority as a period of almost one hundred years of Turkish rule began.

The first Turkish occupation of the Yemen, 945-1045/1538-1636. After their naval victory, the Turks began to expand inland. They were besieging Ta'izz by the year 946/1539, were marching on San'a by 951/1544, and the city was in Turkish hands by about 954/1547 after a hard siege. The capital of Turkish Yemen was thus established, and the kasr in the east of San'a became the official residence of the governor-general (beyslerbeys), the first being Othman Pasha [q.v.].

The Turkish invasion of Yemen sent the Zaydis in the north reeling for some time, and it was a while before they recovered. The recovery of their fortunes is first apparent in the person of the Zaydi imam al-Mutawakkil, son of Imam Sharaf al-Din Yahya, who had died in 965/1557. Al-Mutawakkil had actually advanced on San'a in 974/1566, and the Turkish garrison was compelled to surrender to him. The imperial divan in Istanbul, greatly disturbed at this turn of events, appointed Sinan Pasha [see sinan pasha, muhammad ii] as commander-in-chief of Yemen, and al-Mutawakkil was himself obliged to abandon San'a after a fierce counter-action against the Zaydis led by Sinan.

Intermittent resistance on the part of the Zaydis against the occupying Turks continued. Their struggle to recapture Yemen is associated with the imam al-Kasim b. Muhammad, generally known as al-Kasim al-Kabir. Before his death in 1029/1620, al-Kasim had struggled at first against Sinan Pasha al-Kaykhunya, albeit somewhat unsuccessfully, and later against the forces of Djafer Pasha. With al-Kasim's death in 1029/1620, and since the Ottomans remained in parts of the country, it was left to his son, al-Mu'ayyad, to expel them. Sinan's successor Mehemet Pasha, and his turn to succeed, was himself pushed back by al-Mu'ayyad. In 1038/1629, San'a fell to the Zaydis, as did Ta'izz in the same year. Whilst the Turks remained a danger, particularly in Tihamah, their surrender to the Zaydis in 1045/1636 brought an end to their first occupation of Yemen.

The major force throughout the country during this period of almost two centuries was the Zaydi imamate. It would be wrong to assume, however, that the political situation was a consistent one, for the imamate, as indeed had always been the case, was at times strong morally and physically, in which case the country was relatively stable and united and life more peaceful. Too often, however, a weak imam meant internal squabbles among the Zaydis themselves, other claimants to the imamate and tribal anarchy almost anywhere in the country. A few highlights of this period may be mentioned here, but the reader is referred to a more detailed history of the Zaydi imams in the article zaydyya.

The second Turkish occupation of Yemen, 1289/1872-1818. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 allowed the Ottomans ready access to maritime Arabia via the Red Sea, and during the latter half of the 19th century they had gained a foothold on the Red Sea coast at al-Hudaydah [q.v.]. Ahmed Mukhtar Pasha settled the affairs of A'rif [q.v.] and returned to al-Hudaydah, whence he was invited by the people of San'a, weary of the chaos caused by disaffected tribes, to enter their city. The Ottoman general entered San'a in 1289/1872, when there appeared to be no recognised imam and thus began a second Turkish involvement in Yemen which was to last until the end of the First World War.
After an administrative overhaul that resulted in the appointment of Turks into the administration and the removal of Yemeni officials, the Ottomans opened up a military campaign in the north that had just begun. Certain successes, notably the capture of the stronghold of Kawkabán, rarely taken in all the history of Yemen. In 1296/1879, a new Zaydi imām, al-Hādi Sharaf al-Dīn, proclaimed himself ruler, and for the decade of his reign he fought with some courage against the Turks.

After Imām Šaraf al-Dīn's death in 1307/1900, the Zaydis turned for their imām to the Hāmid al-Dīn family, wherein the imāmate was to reside until its abolition in 1962. Al-Manṣūr b. līlāh Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā Hāmid al-Dīn was elected as imām. Al-Manṣūr proved completely uncompromising in his struggle against the Turks, and in the words of one Yemeni historian, his wars against the Turks "would fill several books (dāfūrī)" (Abd al-Waṣā b. Yaḥyā al-Waṣā'ī, Ta'rikh al-Yaman, Cairo 1346, 134). When the Turks sent an emissary to al-Manṣūr in 1309/1891, the latter gave a reply implying that the Yemenis were quite capable of providing a government themselves, one that, moreover, ruled in accordance with the laws of Islam. He accused the Turks of all manner of un-Islamic practices and forwarded complaints about their abuses to Istanbul, the Turkish officials being charged with serious corruption.

On al-Manṣūr's death in 1322/1904, his son Yaḥyā was elected imām with the title al-Mutawakkil alā Allāh [see Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, Al-Mutawakkil]. Yaḥyā continued the policy of all-out opposition to the Turks, giving instructions that Turkish-held towns were to be attacked and besieged. The anti-Turkish cause was helped by failure of the rains and the ensuing famine. In addition, it is clear that the long arrears of pay of the Turkish occupying troops led to much discontent. There are reports, for example, of a serious mutiny in San'ā' in 1324/1906. The Porte's attempts to make peace with Yaḥyā failed. Although a Turkish force with Arab volunteers left San'a a few miles to the north of the port, they were forced to surrender in Aden when the armistice was declared.

The years 1918-62: the Imāms Yaḥyā, Abīd Hāmid and Muḥammad al-Badr. Imām Yaḥyā was above all renowned for his extreme stinginess. He also followed a strict policy of almost complete isolation from the outside world. He was assassinated in 1948 by order of the dissident contender for the imamate, 'Abd Allāh al-Waṣār, as he drove near the village of Ḥiyaz just south of San'ā'. The conspiracy was put down after a short while, and the ringleaders executed. Yaḥyā's son Abīd Hāmid was elected imām, but lacking support in San'ā' after the city's sacking during the revolt, he moved to Ta'izz where he ruled until his death from natural causes in September 1962. He will always be remembered for his ruthless behaviour in the face of any trace of opposition, although he was undoubtedly both a brave and learned ruler. The economic problems of the country had grown and grown, and Arab nationalism and a succession of military coups in the Arab world, as well as interference from the then USSR, all helped destabilise Yemen under Imām Abīd Hāmid.

His son, Muḥammad al-Badr, who had played a high profile role in affairs of state in the late 1950s, was proclaimed imām. Only a week later, his residence was attacked by army officers and he and his guards fled. 'Abd Allāh al-Sallāl then became the first president of the Yemen Arab Republic.

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2. Islamic history down to the first Turkish invasion. G.R. Smith, The political history of the Islamic Yemen down to the first Turkish invasion, 1290-40 in Dam, Yemen, with full references.


(b) From 1962 to the present day

The Republic of Yemen (ROY) was created on 22 May 1990 out of the peaceful unification of North Yemen and South Yemen, officially the Yemen Arab Republic (YAR) and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDRY), respectively. About two-and-a-half years earlier, in 1987, the YAR had celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary and the PDRY its twentieth. Throughout this political generation, the question of Yemeni unification had been confounded by contradictory political legacies: the millennia-old idea of one Yemen and one Yemeni people, on the one hand, and two distinct modern national political struggles and resultant territorial states, on the other.

i. The YAR

The YAR was preceded immediately in North Yemen by the imāmate state led and revived over the first six decades of the 20th century by the two great imāms of the Hāmid al-Dīn family, Yaḥyā and his son Abīd Hāmid [see Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad, Al-Mutawakkil; and the last section of 3(a) above]. They both revitalised the traditional Yemeni cultural and socio-political system and further insulated and isolated North Yemen from the outside, modern world. In retrospect, the history of the YAR can best be divided into three periods: (a) the al-Sallāl era (1962-7), the wrenching first five years under President 'Abd Allāh al-Sallāl, marked by the 26 September Revolution that overthrew the imāmate, the long civil war and Egyptian-Saudi intervention that quickly followed, and, above all, the rapid and irreversible opening of the country to the modern world; (b) a 10-year transition period (1967-77), distinguished by the end of both the Egyptian military presence and the civil war, the Republican-Royalist national reconciliation under President 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Iryānī, and the attempt by the young President Ibrāhīm al-Hamdi to strengthen the state and restructure politics; and (c) the Šāhi era (1978-90), a 12-year period identified with both the
long tenure of President ‘Ali ‘Abd Allah Sāliḥ and the change from political weakness and economic uncertainty to prosperity in more recent years. This last period of YAR history ended with the unification of the two Yemens and the creation of the ROY, with President Sāliḥ at its head.

Of the many important political and socio-economic changes that took place in the YAR since its birth in 1962, most of the political stability, the discovery of oil, and the prospect of oil-based development and prosperity in more recent years. This last period of YAR history between the years since the republic’s fifteenth anniversary in 1977. Nevertheless, the decade from the late 1960s to the late 1970s was also important, a transitional period in which much needed time was bought by a few modest but pivotal acts of state-building and, most important, by economic good fortune. Above all, global and regional economic events over which the YAR had no control facilitated a huge flow of funds into the country in the form of both foreign aid and remittances from Yemenis working abroad. This period of transition was much needed, because the changes that had buffeted Yemen in the five years following the 1962 revolution had left it both unable to retreat into the past and ill-equipped to go forward. The ability to advance rapidly in the 1980s was very much the result of the possibility afforded for a breather in the 1970s.

The path taken by, or, more correctly, imposed upon, South Yemen after the British occupation of Aden in 1839 was quite different. Of critical importance was Britain’s preoccupation with the port of Aden and its neglect of the dozen or so statelets in the hinterland with which it signed treaties of protection only in the last quarter of the 19th century. As a consequence, no single political system embraced even most of what was to become an independent South Yemen in late 1967. Indeed, what existed was the 75-square-mile Aden Colony—a city-state, a partly modern urban enclave and major world port—and a vast, mostly distant, politically-fragmented hinterland that was, for the most part, based on subsistence agriculture and traditional socio-cultural institutions.

At independence in 1967, the infrastructure barely holding together the major settlement areas consisted of dirt tracks, unpaved roads, a number of airstrips, and the telegraph. The country consisted of many micro-economies, most of them agriculturally based and largely self-sufficient. The isolated Wādī Ḥadramawt was an odd case, dependent as it was upon emigration to and remittances from Southeast Asia, East Africa, Saudi Arabia and the rest of the Gulf. What little market economy existed centred on the port of Aden and its environs, and this in turn was plugged less into its hinterland than into the international economic system via its sea lanes. This fragile modern sector was dealt devastating blows near the time of independence, when the blocking of the Suez Canal during the Six-Day War nearly brought port activities to a halt and Britain’s rapid withdrawal ended both subsidies from London and the significant economic activity tied to the large British presence.

The history of South Yemen since independence is distinguished by three major periods: (a) the period of political takeover and consolidation (1967-9), the initial phase during which the National Liberation Front established control in Aden and over the hinterland at the same time that the balance of power within the party passed from the nationalists led by Ḥijāyān al-Shābī to the party’s left wing, (b) the period of uneasy leftist co-leadership of Salīm Rubayy ‘Ali and ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Ismā‘īl (1969-78), distinguished by the efforts of these two bitter rivals both to organise the country in terms of its competing versions of Marxist “scientific socialism” and to align the country with the socialist camp and the national liberation movements around the world; and (c) the era of ‘Ali Nāṣir Muḥammad (1980-5), the period in which the consolidation of power in a single leader was paralleled by increasing moderation in both domestic affairs and external relations, even towards the YAR.

The period of co-leadership, which ended in 1978 in armed conflict between the two rival factions within the ruling party and the execution of Salīm Rubayy ‘Ali, was followed by two years during which ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Ismā‘īl ruled alone. The era of ‘Ali Nāṣir Muḥammad, which began with the exile of Ismā‘īl in 1980, ended in January 1986 with the intra-party bloodbath and ‘Ali Nāṣir’s ejection and flight into exile, and was followed by the nearly four years of troubled domestic and external politics that led up to unification with the YAR. Despite this pattern of bitter and sometimes lethal intra-party conflict, the PDRT regime over more than two decades did maintain its rule and order throughout the country, made progress in bridging the gap between Aden and the rest of the country, pursued with some success certain admirable social goals, and made good use of extremely limited resources in efforts to develop a very poor country, e.g. in the fields of education, health, and equality of the sexes.

iii. The unification process and the ROY.

In 1989, the renewed drive for Yemeni unification came suddenly and at the initiative of a newly self-confident YAR. The PDRT regime, weakened by the intra-party bloodbath and the sharp decline in political and economic support from the Soviet Union and the Socialist bloc, was unable to resist the proposal. In its final form, the unification plan called for: (a) formal unification in May 1990; (b) a two-and-a-half year transition period during which power would be shared equally by the two ruling parties of the former YAR and the PDRT; and (c), in late 1992, national elections throughout unified Yemen.

Unification was embraced enthusiastically by most Yemenis and proceeded apace, enjoying a year’s honeymoon. However, the increasing dominance of President Sāliḥ and his allies and the collapse of the economy—the latter caused largely by a drastic drop in external aid and workers’ remittance, the result of the ROY failure to join the U.S. and Saudi-led coalition against ‘Irq during the Gulf War, soon led to protracted political conflict between Sāliḥ’s faction and most of the top southern leaders. Despite the holding of relatively free and fair elections in April 1993, and many efforts at mediation, the political crisis worsened, leading in early 1994 to fighting between the yet-unmerged armies of the two parts of Yemen and to a bloody two-months civil war in mid-1994. The forces loyal to President Sāliḥ won a decisive victory over the Saudi-supported secessionist forces, and Yemen remained united.

The fighting over the ROY was faced with the virtually complete collapse of the economy and political isolation in the region. Regarding the latter problem, relations with the Arab Gulf states and other Arab states improved considerably during the period 1993-7. However, relations with Kuwait and Saudi Arabia remained problematic—most notably, the serious Yemeni-Saudi border dispute resisted solution. With the assistance of the International Monetary Fund.
Fund, the World Bank, and various European donors, the ROY in early 1995 addressed the former problem ... important of which are those of ancestry (asl) and professional activity. Up to the founding of the Republic in 1962.

With the exception of Sa‘dīt, the territory in which belongs to no single tribe (kāhla) in its own right, towns such as Sa‘da (Khāwān b. ‘Amīr), Khāmir (Banū Sa‘raym), Hūth (Usaymān), Dhamār (g.e.) (Ans) or ‘Amārān are all contained within the territory of single tribes. Part or all of their non-tribal population is composed of “market people” (ahl al-sūk) and religious men (sayyids and kadīs). The hūfān sites such as Hūth are generally inhabited by the latter, and the market as well as the tribal assembly places, called mawārık, were subject to tribal protection. The inviolable nature of the hūfān, the “sanctoraries” of knowledge and religious law, was in fact only recognised by the tribes that were linked to them, often by a formal agreement, and who used them as neutral territory. The principal confederation of tribes of the highlands of Yemen are those of the Ḥāshīd and the Bakīl (g.e.); the Madāhiyā (Dhamār, Rada‘), Ḥārīb (g.e.) and Mārib (g.e.) do not actually exist, as the number of its tribes was incorporated in the course of time among the Bakīl, whereas the tribes of the Murād (Hārīb) and the ‘Abīdah (Mārib), who were supposed to belong there, have no confederal ties. On the other hand, the tribe of Khāwān b. ‘Amīr (Sa‘da) has no links with any other. However, it would be an exaggeration to place any real importance on the idea of a confederation apart from that of the Ḥāshīd, which is numerically less important than that of the Bakīl; it has greater cohesion though relatively so, stemming largely from the role in national politics played by the supreme ṣayyid (ṣayyid al-maṣādīkh), ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥusayn al-Ahmār.

The morphology and tribal subdivisions vary just as their degree of mobility. Membership of a tribe is based on real or supposed family relationships, but tribal unity is above all based on territory, and the majority of tribesmen are sedentary farmers. The different sections of the tribe are thought to be descended from a common ancestor (gīdūd) and to be bound by fraternal ties, although this genealogical fiction does not imply a detailed acquaintance or the existence of actual family relationships between its members. The practice of customary law (ṣuf) (g.e.), with regard to the role of guarantor of the honour of the group and of intra- and inter-tribal arbitrator, makes the function of the ṣayyid an important factor of the social life of the highlands, and even at the national level for those who combine economic success and political stature. Recognition by the state of the representative function of the ṣayyid, who from the early years of the Republic onwards have been paid by the Ministry of Tribal Affairs, has given their traditional role of mediator an official status.

However, the social structure of the highlands is not limited to the tribal system. It overlaps with a system of social ranks to which the tribal system is pivotal. The traditional social hierarchy is indeed composed of status groups graded in the hierarchical system according to certain criteria, the most important of which are those of ancestry (āsit) and professional activity. Up to the founding of the Republic in 1962...
the descendants of the Prophet (ṣayyid, pl. sāda) including the Zaydī Imams, took their place at the top of the hierarchical order. Because of their prestigious genealogy and the primacy granted to them in religious matters and spiritual direction, they played the role of arbitrator among the tribes, though this position could also be filled by the “religious judges” of tribal origin (kābi, pl. kuddūs).

The other status groups were the tribesmen (kābi, pl. kābūl), city dwellers of tribal origin (ʿarab), and at the bottom of the social order those who had menial occupations without tribal origin. They were designated by the generic noun banu ʿl-khamas or abī al-taraf, literally, “sons of the fifth”, i.e. potential recipients of public charity or “people of the extremity.” Menial jobs (market gardeners, butchers, workers at the public bath, cess-pit cleaners, barber-circumcisers, blood-letters, tanners, shoemakers, potters and the dawqūn, a sort of tribal herald) were considered as such in relation to a system of tribal values in which the idea of honour played a dominant role, and which would forbid members of the tribe being put into the position of servant or middle-man. In this predominantly agrarian society, commercial activity was regarded as menial, whereas agriculture, the traditional occupation of tribesmen, was not considered in any way discreditable. In certain cities, and particularly in San‘a’, the city of San‘a’, the city (San‘a), the city that they belonged to a more distinctive sort of community, and their cultural model was distinguished from the tribal one by reason of the greater significance it attached to religious values. Besides, in contrast to the rābs in the tribal territories, the market of San‘a’ was distinguished by its great social diversity and was frequented by representatives of all the status groups of the city. To belong to these status groups was a matter of heredity and very often was no longer connected with the original “occupation”.

The rules for matrimonial alliance have constituted and still do constitute one of the essential ways of reproducing status groups. The main principles governing marriage in Yemeni society are those of asil (origin) and kābi (at), a term denoting the idea of parity, or the equality of status of the two partners. These principles allow society to maintain the hierarchical nature of which authorises a man to marry a woman of equivalent or inferior status. The woman herself may not marry a man of inferior status as the children will inherit their father’s status. This traditional social order was indicated by the distinctive dress of the wearer. The most important sign was the dagger, which was worn differently according to the status group. However, this traditional social order has been considerably weakened by a number of factors: the founding of a Republican régime; the appearance of intense social mobility (promoted by the years of emigration); the existence of new economic opportunities; and finally, strong urban growth, facilitating a degree of social anonymity and the influence of state institutions through school, public office and army.


F. Mermier

5. The Arabic dialects of al-Yaman.

The main dialect areas partly correspond to the physical nature of the country: One block is the western coast, Tihama [q.v.]. A transitional zone are the Tihama foothills. In the western mountain range from the outermost north down to the south-east (Yâfî [q.v.]) extremely archaic dialects, the so-called k-dialects, are spoken. This ongular coherent area is interrupted in the south by the Ḫudjariyya dialects. In the border zone to Saudi Arabia, dialects are quite remote from other Modern Arabic dialects. From Sa‘da down south to Qūban, in the highlands, but also in Aden, dialects less deviating from other modern Arabic dialects are spoken. The dialects of the Qaw and the Mīrīb area are little known. They are related to Bedouin dialects of the north and the southeast of the peninsula. In the former People’s Democratic Republic of Yemen (PDY), the regions of Aden, Ḥadramawt, Ḥadhîn, Lābq and the Yâfî area are more or less explored dialectologically, but little is known from the southern coast. The actual distribution of dialects still reflects the characterisation of Yaman dialects given by al-Hamdani, and regions of which he classifies the language as “bad Arabic”, “unintelligible” or “Himyarite” still have the most deviating dialects. A mere sketch, however, cannot do justice to the dialectological diversity of Yemen.

i. Phonology

Hamza, in most modern Arabic dialects a marginal phoneme, has maintained its status in many dialects; in the Ta‘īza area we can even notice the opposite of what normally happens, i.e. a shift of verbs with final y to hamzated verbs: *ramd > rama3, *ramat > rama‘at. In some fifty items, b corresponds to m in...
CA, e.g. *sarab “to harvest” vs. *sarama “to cut”, bana “to intend” vs. tamarind “to wish”. In the Tihama dialect changes for verbs with initial w: *watjhaba > thdb “to sit” (Minabbih), *wakaba > *wabaka > bdk “to go” (Tihama).

There are several lexemes indicating a merging of *s (<ts>th) and *£ (<ds>). In historical dialects of Yaman as attested in Sabaic, e.g. *lis “to kindle”, CA laizja “to burn brightly”. In Minabbih *gh is a slightly retroflexio medio-palatal fricative close to the German “ch” in “Buch” (neither [x] nor [c]). As for *ts, there are lexical reflexes hinting at sound shifts like those in Modern South Arabian, e.g. *sakah > sakah “tail-pole” in the southern Tihama.

Diphthongs are preserved in the majority of dialects. The short vowels a, i, u are preserved in all dialects. Apart from the Djawf and Marib area (*bmárah > bmráh) the syllabic structure is extremely conservative, e.g. *libsat “she has dressed”, yisdfiru “they travel”. Still in Tihama, a voiced *g has been shifted to k, a parallel fashion *gh, have merged into 3. In the central Tihama, * and often in a parallel fashion *gh, have merged into 3. There are several lexemes indicating a merging of *s (<ts>th) and *£ (<ds>th) in historical dialects of Yaman as attested in Sabaic, e.g. *lis “to kindle”, CA laizja “to burn brightly”. In Minabbih *gh is a slightly retroflexio medio-palatal fricative close to the German “ch” in “Buch” (neither [x] nor [c]). As for *ts, there are lexical reflexes hinting at sound shifts like those in Modern South Arabian, e.g. *sakah > sakah “tail-pole” in the southern Tihama.

Other remarkable phonotactic phenomena are pauses glottalisation in the highlands: kafiya > kafiyr hí, pausal nasalisation in Tihama and parts of the northern and southern mountain ranges: ami > anit hí and devoicing of geminates in the central highlands: hagg > hakk.
Geminate verbs have been assimilated to verbs with final y in northern Tihama: madda, yimidad, in Ḥudjarīyya: madda, yimidad (Dālī mooda, yimidad), and in Ḍjabal Rāzīḥ: madda, yimidad.

The two perfect types of hollow verbs are preserved in most regions, a third has been added mainly in the k-dialects: kaltu “I said”, in others the distribution of a, i and u is conditioned by the persons: 1st. surk-2nd m. surk-2nd f. sirk (Ta‘izz area), surk-sirk-sirk (north of Ta‘izz) or, in Ḍjabal Rāzīḥ, surk-sirk-sirk. In some places only one type is attested: gilu, respectively kik or kaltu. In the participle, ḥamya is preserved, especially in the southern mountains: ḡab‘īb “being absent”, elsewhere ḡiyib, also with reduction of -ay > ēy, ē ḡīb (northern Tihama, the East).

Verbs with final y in the highlands from Khamīr down to Ḥudjarīyya only one type is left: ramān-nāshī, ramāt-nātī or tani-nīstī. Elsewhere a- and i-type are preserved with partial levelling, e.g. ramū-nīyū, ramū-nīyū. In the k-dialects, the suffix vowel has influenced the different forms: 1st sg. *ramayka > *ramuawka > ramuaw/krāmek-2nd sg. m. *ramayyka > ramayy. Especially in the southern k-dialects and in Ḥudjarīyya, the vowel of the perfect form II follows the imperfect: ḡahidt-ḫiyaddī “to give a lunch”, according V: ʾalghaddī-ʾiyaddī “to have lunch”.

The verb “to come” behaves like verbs with final y with the usual assimilations in the k-dialects: 1st sg. gīyīk-2nd sg. m. gīk-2nd f. gīk or *ʾaṭak-ʾatayk-*atayk and similar forms. In Ḥudjarīyya, hybrid forms of *gīyīk-*atayk are attested: ʾagā. In parts of Tihama, the imperfect is irregular: ʾayīt. For the imperative ṭalāska is rare; the respective roots are used: ḡīr! “atī Other forms: ḡalāk! (southern Tihama) or ḡawēnāk! (the east).

Verbal forms: IX has been replaced by II: ḥammar “to become red”. IV is still used. VII is used mainly in the east, the passive-reflexive function being normally expressed by VIII or the internal passive: sumiyyat “she was called”, yiḥtarīg “it gets burnt”.

b. Nouns.

Tamaḵi is preserved in Minabbīb: stayin “a guest”, in northern Tihama: ḡarīrta ḡaṭamat “I bought a camel” and as -u in the rest of Tihama: baniṣa “girls”, ḡubu ḡubu “boy”. The norm in many dialects is -u: -e and -e (u) in many dialects conditioned by the preceding verb: baqara-tis’e. In Ḍjabal Rāzīḥ the ending is -i whenever the noun is definite: baqara “cow”, but ḡubu-gargi “the cow”. Gender distinction has been generally replaced in several dialects with adjectives of the type fā’il and participles: ḡinya kīl “she is lazy”, antī di “I (f.) know”, is-sayyīrī muṣsamah “the car is parked”. As for the syntax of the numerals, all Yamani dialects follow the model of CA: khamand baniṣa “five girls”, khamsah rīgālāh “five men”. Characteristic nominal forms are those with an -i-suffix: participles like nāzīlī “going down”, also of the usual Ethiopid type fā’il: faṣīḥ “fox” (Ḍjabal Rāzīḥ), nouns like ḍafṣ “chicken”, bukanī “donkey”, bukti “cow”, kūlt “tea-pot”, māgārū “small bouquet”. Other typical forms are plurals like ḥayag “ways”, sg. ṣikār “tapes”, sg. ṣirāt, buṣaṭ “girls” and the infinitives of II: qaf-ti, fā’il.

The genitive marker is hag. The definite article is (a)m all over Tihama. In the north-east, in the east from Marīb down to the Ṭawī Ḥadramawt, im is frequent, b is attested in northern Tihama. The Ṣa‘da area is rich in forms with alt, il-, in-, an-, hi-. The predominant form is al- whilst il- is characteristic of some eastern dialects. The -i of the article is assimilated to all letters mainly in the southern mountains: ab-bukārā. The relative pronoun in the central mout-}

tains is a gender-indifferent alldāḥī, a compact area in the south-east has the Ḥimyarītī ḍīḥ, southern Tihama allī, and there are other shorter forms like ḍī, ḍī, allī.

c. Pronouns.

The 1st sg. has been differentiated on the model of the 2nd sg. (anta-antī): and m.-antī. In Tihama and parts of the central and southern highlands down to Aden. Consequently, the suffixes of the 1st persons: -nī, -nā were re-analysed: m. anī, suffix -nā (būna “my house”), ē. anī, suffix -nī (būnī); -nā now being available any more for the plural, the independent pronoun equally serves as a suffix: ḡatīnū “our house” (Tihama), ḡaṭīnū “he saw us” (Aden). Among the 2nd forms, those of Ḍjabal Rāzīḥ are remarkable: m. āk, ē, ad, identical with the suffixes. In southern Tihama in one spot, -ak has been added to the pronoun: antīk, whilst the feminine form has been assimilated to the verb: antīk. Such analogous formations are mainly attested for Tihāma (antīnīna, antīrtīnī). Among the 3rd persons short and long forms are attested: hū, hī, hung-wi, ḡiyū, in the south forms with a prefix copying the radical vowel: uhu-thī. Most remarkable is the fusion of m. and f. in the dialect of Minabbīb: ahā “he, she”. Forms of the 1st pl. are less aberrant, the most frequent one being ḡαna or ḡenā, whilst niḥna is attested for the east and the south, for this last even in the Ṣa‘da dialect. For the 2nd persons, we have antum-antīnum, antum-antīnum in the extreme north and antum-antīnum in the northern highlands. The western mountain range has antum-antīnum (antun, antīn). The east mainly antum-antūnum (intu-intun). The central highland dialects, parts of the east and the southern mountains have feminine forms remodelled on the verb: antum kātāban-antum kātābīn, ḍiḥāna has forms with -u for both genders: (a)antūn, (a)antīn. Extremely deviating again is Ḍjabal Rāzīḥ: akkum-akkum. The most common forms of the 3rd pl. are ham-hān. Longer forms are attested only for the feminine: hunnāh, hinnāh. Tihama mainly has hun, sporadically with a prefix: uhu-n. Comparable forms are to be found in Minabbīb: šim-shinnūn.

d. Pronominal suffixes.

For 1st persons see above. The 2. n. is predominantly ak, only ak in the southeast is it ak, sporadically ḍī, Minabbīb: ṣī. For the feminine, kasbhaqā forms are dominant, namely -i (north, centre, east, south-east), in northern and central k-dialects -i, -i, and in the Ḍjabal al-Ẓāmīr area even -i: bāṭīt “your house”, elsewhere -ī, Minabbīb: -ī. With nouns ending in -u, in Tihama no distinction is made between m. and f.; abūk “your father”, while in some dialects north of Ṣa‘da, an allomorph -ē is used for the f.; in southern dialects: abū + i → abūkī, or with umlaut: abūk (m. abūk). The suffix of the 3rd sg. m. is -iḥ all over the north, centre and south-east, -iḥ is the term of Tihama and the southern mountains and also Aden, -iḥ is attested mainly in central Tihama and the southeast. Ḍjabal Rāzīḥ has -i. The f. form is predominantly -hū, in the south-eastern mountains -i or -ē (bozīnīn, bozīnī). In Ḍjabal Rāzīḥ -a. For the 1st pl., see above. The suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd persons follow the respective pronouns ḡaṭīnū, ḡam-kīna, ḡam-kīna, ḡum-kīna, in Ḍjabal Rāzīḥ: ām, -ān for the 3rd pl.

e. Demonstrative pronouns and adverbs.

A central strip from the highlands down to Aden has forms nearer to CA, whereas Tihama and the extreme north, but also partly the east, have all kinds of short forms: ḍā-ti, ḍā-ti, ḍā-dī, ḍā-dī-hū, ḍāk-kū, ḍāk-kū, and there are also forms with a deictic element ṣīm (as in Sabaic): ḍītīn (remote deixis pl.)
dhinnak, dhinniw, mainly in Hudjariyya. Most dialects have a series of diminutive or deprecative demonstratives like dhayya-diya, but used deictically as well (medieval range). The demonstrative adverb "now" is dha'bih-tw all over the country with slight variations. Short forms for "here" are to be found mainly in the east, Tihâma and in the south, the central highlands down to Hudjariyya have long forms like hâna and ha'sna. For "there" the most common forms are ha'dâk and ha'nâk, in southern Tihâma we have forms like halâk.

2. Interrogatives.

As for "what" the forms comprise mû all over the Tihâma, the central highlands and the north-east (ma'w, mû, mû in the southern mountains, mû in some central k-dialects, mûdî in Djabal Râzîh). From the north-east down to the south ayâ and similar forms are normal. There is more variation in the case of "why": lâyi, lâma, lîma, lûmâ, nûma, lâyeh, lîth, even way. "Where" has the more "classical" forms in the central highlands: yu-num; Tihâma has forms like fûsk; and forms with w- are attested in the east. Also for "when", the centre again has a new formation: ay'ûhân, and Tihâma has variations of it: yâkân etc. In the north and the east, we find reflexes of *mâtû or *mâsâyut: mâtî (Djabal Râzîh).

iii. Lexicon.

It is a good deal of the South Semitic lexicon: da and similar forms, dimm(?) "cat", yakhâl "russ", gîrâh "field". There are also words from the Classical lexicon not attested in CA, like ïyâb, ïyâhâb "to sit", lamârad "to train the ox for ploughing". There is much of the Classical lexicon not to be found in say, Mediterranean semancs, like *âfîe "young donkey", ïfîyâb "to return". The lexicon of Tihâma is highly aberrant: hâd "to see", âmâm "to drink", bîdî "go", yahdeh "girt". An important part of its modern vocabulary has been furnished by English, mainly via the south, like nayfâl "rifle", kîbîh "tea pot", recte keste, kîbîh "clutch".


YAMÎN (a.), pl. yamînîn, yamînîn, literally, "the right hand", but often used in Arabic with the transferred sense of "oath". In human life and activity, the right hand often symbolises power and the ability to initiate actions. The Arabic word yamîn has such connotations as fortune and prosperity, whilst the wider term yad "hand in general" covers a vast semantic range: power, help, strength, sufficiency, ability to act, etc. The right hand can have a cultic significance, as with the bronze hand, probably from the vicinity of Sânâ' and now in the British Museum, with a South Arabian ex voto inscription illustrated and discussed by Ch. Robin, in idem (ed.), L'Arabie antique de Karîbât à Mahomet = RMMM, no. 61 [1991-3], 143-4.

Because oaths were often, in early societies such as the Arab one, taken by the parties to a contract or agreement clasping their right hands together and pledges a solemn oath to ful il the undertaking, yamîn came to be a general word for "oath". It has in fact tended, in Arabic usage, to become the more general term for "oath", in company with the verb halâfa "to swear", but other terms exist such as kásam, halâf and ëliyâ/âlîwà/ideâ. See further, Kâsam and also áfûr, this last term denoting originally "a covenant, agreement" but often coming to mean "oath", and see the Bâbî, there, to which should be added N. Calder, Hithr, birbar, ta'bûnkat: an enquiry into the Arabic vocabulary of oaths, in BSOAS, i (1988), 214-39. (Ed.)

YAMUT b. AL-MUZARRA\A, b. 'Abdî, Abu Bakr, multilcated scholar of the second half of the 3rd/9th century, d. ca. 305/915-16. He belonged to the tribe of 'Abd al-Kays [q.v.] and was al-Dâjîbâ's nephew on his mother's side; the latter was the source of several anecdotes transmitted by Yamût.

Because of the ominous meaning of his name, "he dies", Yamût tried to replace it with Muhammad, which was, however, not generally accepted. Nonetheless, al-Khâjîb b. al-Bâghdrâdî decided to enter him into his Ta'rikh Bagdâdî under both names. The bad omen of his name also caused Yamût to have himself announced simply as Ibn al-Muzarra when he visited the sick.

Yamût came from Basra. After the death of his uncle al-Dâjîbâ in 255/868-9, Yamût went to Syria and settled in 'Tiberies, where his son Mukhâlîb was born. Only at an advanced age did he visit, in 301/913, Bagdâd, where he appeared as a transmitter, from inter alios the philologists Abu Hâtîm al-Sî'jîstânî (d. 255/868/4) and Abu 'Uthmân al-Mâzânî (d. ca. 248/862 [q.v.]). Several times he travelled to Egypt, the last time in 303/915, dying according to some at 'Tiberies in 303/915, according to others at Damascus in 304/916.

Yamût was a Kur'an reader, grammarian, poet, and above all an historian (akhbârî). In this last capacity he restricted himself to the transmission of historical anecdotes (mâlûd wa-nâdârî). Thus he is cited amongst the authors by al-Marzubânî in his Munâqaddâkh, by Abu 'l-Faradj al-Ibshâhînî, and by al-Mubarrad in his Kâmîl. Al-Masû'dî counts Yamût moreover among the ahl al-'în wa l-nâzîr wa l-mârjâf wa l-'îdâlî. Yamût, according to al-Dâhâbî, wrote several books the titles of which are not mentioned at all. Al-Dâhâbî himself did not mention any title, too. A Damascus manuscript of Ibn Durayd's Fâudîd al-'âdâh, however, has a small supplement of four pages entitled Akhbar Yamût b. al-Muzarra\A. It contains eleven poems and anecdotes transmitted by Yamût. It was published by Ibnrahîm Sâlîh together with a much more comprehensive collection of Yamût's traditions taken from the secondary literature. As a poet, Yamût praised Dâkâr al-Awar, who was governor of Egypt from 303/915 until 307/919. In addition, he addressed several poems to his son Mukhâlîb, who was his consolation in times of distress and to whom he sent wavy-like admonitions.

Mukhâlîb became famous as a wine and love poet. His DAwâb, no longer extant, was put together by Ibnrahîm b. Âmîd Tâţûn. Preserved is Mukhâlîb's Risâla on the plagiarisms of Abu Nuwas, which Hamza al-Ibshâhînî included as ch. 15 in his Dâ'ân of Abu Nuwas. A counter-treatise (nâkîdî) on the strengths of Abu Nuwas's poetry (mu'âkdam ûyîr Abu Nuwasî), mentioned by Hamza and by Mukhâlîb himself in his preface to the Risâla, was finished too late for Hamza to include
it in the Diwan of Abū Nuwās. It is not preserved. Muḥāhil must have died after the year 334/946, since Muhammad b. Tughdū [q.v.], who died in that year. (marthiyd) he composed an elegy

Muḥāhil must have died after the year 334/946, since Muhammad b. Tughdū [q.v.], who died in that year. (marthiyd) he composed an elegy

Yanis al-Amlr Abū 'l-Fāth Nasīr (or Amir, Ibn Taghrībdīrī, Nadīmīn, v. Cairo 1913-17, 240) al-Djuyūbdī Sayf al-Īslām Shāraf al-Īslām, al-Rūmi al-Armanī al-Ḥāfīzī (d. 16 Dhū 'l-Ḥijjah 526/1132), the fourth of six Muslim Armenian viziers of the Fātīmids (over the period 1074-1163). A former manākīt of al-Afdāl, in 516/1122-3, Yanis was appointed chief of the sibydn [q.v.] and head of the treasuries by al-Āmir's vizier Ma'mūn al-Batālīhī (al-Mākrīzī, Ḳāṭeb, ed. al-Malīquī, iv, 268). Rising to the posts of chamberlain and commander-in-chief, the political career of Yanis developed through his involvement in the events following the assassination of al-Āmir: the regency of the caliph's cousin Abu '1-Fardī, his the heir al-Tāyib, the Al-Amīr: the regency of the caliph's cousin Abu '1-Fardī, his the heir al-Tāyib, the

Fātīmīd Isma'īlī state, Yanis was proclaimed

Yanis was appointed chief of the treasuries by al-Āmir's vizier Ma'mūn al-Batālīhī (al-Mākrīzī, Ḳāṭeb, ed. al-Malīquī, iv, 268). Rising to the posts of chamberlain and commander-in-chief, the political career of Yanis developed through his involvement in the events following the assassination of al-Āmir: the regency of the caliph's cousin Abu '1-Fardī, his the heir al-Tāyib, the
viceroy (see the sīdīl for this of al-Hāfiz, in al-Kalkashandī, Subh, ix, 297). A tough disciplinarian and man of hāṣba, Yānis took the initiative in punishing anarchic elements within the pībūn, and eliminated about 300 of them. Prominent figures in the administration and promoted a private regiment of military slaves known as the Yānīstya (Khiyat, iii, 26-7; iti‘āz, ed. M. Ahmad, Cairo 1919, iii, 144; Ibn Mayassar, Akhbār, 75; F. Dafāṭ, The Imāmīs, Cambridge 1992, 268). Fearful of the vizier’s growing power during the nine months in office, al-Hāfiz arranged his murder by poisoning his abd al-qādī’s vehicle (Khiyat, loc. cit.; Akhbār, ii, 75-6). Yānis built two mosques, the Madīdīl-Fath and the Madīdzdīl Yānis, completed posthumously by his two sons (Khiyat, ii, 268-9, 324), whom al-Hāfiz had taken under his protection.


YANYA, the Ottoman form for YANINA, a town of the Epirus region of northwestern Greece, situated on the west bank of lake Pamvotis at an altitude of 520 m., 1,700 feet and dominated by the Pindus mountains.

The date of its foundation is unknown, and though certain historians maintain that it is mentioned in a document concerning the Council of Naupactus (673), it is only mentioned for certain in a decree of the Emperor Basil II in 1020. It must have already existed for some centuries and is said to have originated from a monastery of St. John the Baptist, around which probably grew a settlement called Agioamnia or Agioannina. Walls were built in the 10th century, and Anna Commena records in her Alexiad that these were in very good condition at the time of the Norman conquest of the town in spring 1082. Important repairs to the enceinte were not made until the end of the 18th century with the help of the town. Yanina was of military importance since the time of Byzantium, succeeded by the Turks in 1319, when Yanina and its district came briefly under Byzantine control, till in 1346 the Serbian king Stephen IX annexed it. The Florentine Esaù de Buondelmonti held it from 1385-1411, then followed two decades under the Counts of Cephalonia Charles I and II Tokkos, till the Ottoman conquest by Murād II on 9 October 1430. The town remained in Turkish hands till February 1913.

Under the Turks, Yanina, as the centre of one of the three pashalik of Epirus, enjoyed a period of relative stability, with various Islamic monuments constructed, some of which still exist. According to Ewliyā Celebi, in the later 11th/17th century it had some 30 mosques and oratories, seven madrases, as many tekkes, an "imaret-ghāna, several schools, three caravanserais, two hammams and 1,900 shops. The region continued nevertheless to be disturbed, especially with the rising of 1611 organised by the metropolitan of Larissa, Dionysius, which was fiercely repressed, with withdrawal of the privileges granted at the time of the town’s conquest, expulsion of the Christian population to outside the walls, and the confiscation of tīmārs [g.v.] from those who held them. This Ottoman repression led to many conversions to Islam. At the end of the 18th century, Yanina was transformed by ‘Alī Pasha of Tepedelen (1744-1822), appointed governor of Epirus in 1787, who governed what was in effect a quasi-autonomous state that included, as well as the pashālīq of Yanina, part of modern Albania, Thessaly, and northern Euboia and Peloponnese. For some thirty years, Yanina enjoyed an unprecedented prosperity until the fall and death of ‘Alī Pasha in 1822.

Despite the conversions of the 17th century, the population of Ottoman Yanina remained till the end in majority Christian. The first fiscal register known to survive, from 1564, mentions 50 Muslim hearths and 1,250 Christian ones, whilst a register from 1579 also mentions Jews. When Ewliyā was there ca. 1670, he counted 37 quarters, almost half of these (18) being Muslim and the rest comprising 14 Christian ones, 4 Jewish ones and one of gypsies, with an estimated 4,000 hearths for the whole town. At the beginning of the 19th century, F. Pouqueville counted 3,200 hearths (2,000 of Christians, 1,000 of Muslims and 200 of Jews). In the later 19th century, this disparity continued. According to the Ottoman census of 1881-93, the central kadā of the province of Yanina had 4,759 Muslims, 77,258 Greek Orthodox (covering also Christian Albanian speakers), 3,334 Jews and 207 ‘foreigners’.

If the Muslims were less numerous than the Christians, they were nevertheless very prominent in the town. Yanina was of military importance since the conquest, with a garrison of troops from all over the empire, before 1837 lodged among the population, after then in barracks and other buildings prominent in the urban landscape. These soldiers were, together with the Ottoman civilian officials, substantially the only Turkish speakers there, since the autochthonous Muslims used Albanian and, above all, Greek. These Greek speakers, known as “Turcoyaniots”, were probably descended from Christian sīpāhs converted towards the mid-11th/17th century.

Greek was not only a demotic language but might be used by the Ottoman authorities in public acts. Thus in the last decades of the 19th century, the meetings of the municipal council were held in Greek, and the newspaper Wu‘ayet, published from 1868 onwards, was bilingual in Greek and Turkish. This preponderance of Greek was further reflected in the sphere of education. If there were several turcophone schools in the last days of Ottoman domination, the local élites continued to prefer Greek institutions, in particular the renowned Zosimaia school.

In 1913, as part of the Treaty of Bucharest ending the Balkan Wars, Yanina and southern Epirus passed to the Kingdom of Greece, and ten years later, as part of the exchanges of populations between Greece and the Turkish Republic, the Turcoyaniots left. During the Second World War, it was the turn of the small Jewish community to disappear into the Nazi extermination camps. Despite these two happenings, Yanina and its region continues to have a certain ethnic mixture; as well as Greeks, there are Albanian speakers and small groups of Vlachs.
YANYA — YARBú


(MERÖPI ANASTASSIADOU)

YAọ, a Bantu people and language (Chi-Yao), whose earliest recorded habitat lay east of the Ruvuma River in present Mozambique. At latest from the end of the 16th century they were engaged in petty trade with Kilwa [g.z.] and the east coast of Africa, peddling tobacco, iron hoes and animal skins in exchange for cloth (for the well-to-do only), brass-ware, swords, salt and beads. Slowly an export trade to Africa, peddling tobacco, iron hoes and animal skins in exchange for cloth (for the well-to-do only), brass-ware, swords, salt and beads. Slowly an export trade developed, together with captives who had been enslaved to carry it to the coast.

This trade greatly advanced in the 18th century and reached its apogee in the 19th. By mid-19th century a series of Yao towns followed the trail from the east side of Lake Nyasa (Marawi, Malawi), in close association with Arab traders from Zanzibar, financed by Indians with Indian Ocean connections. The Arabs were few in number, and the Yao were able to acquire firearms for protection as well as for slave-catching. By 1860 it was noted that better-to-do men affected Arab dress, a sign already of acculturisation towards Arab culture. Islamic law has varying views about the lawfulness of eating jerboa flesh, since the Prophet is said to have forbidden the killing of this little rodent.

The jerboa’s name is found in several proverbial sayings of comparison: adālî mîn volad al-yaṛbū “more astray than the jerboa’s young”, and ka ’l-muḥâfîr al-kâsîd’ bi ‘l-yaṛbū “like someone who buys the burrow in exchange for the jerboa”, meaning someone who turns away from the substance and follows (its) effect and prefers the transient to the permanent” (al-Maydâni, Muṣmâ’ al-umâl’il, ed. M.M. ‘Abd al-Hamîd, Cairo 1379/1959, ii, 155b, no. 3099). The jerboa’s blood is said to be good as an ointment for hairiness of the eyelids, making these hairs fall out and not grow again.

Finally, in oneiromancy, seeing a jerboa in a dream reveals a person who is a voluble liar, ready to quarrel; the reasoning behind this interpretation remains enigmatic.


YARBú, an important group of the tribe of Tamîm [g.z.] with the genealogy Yarbú b. Han昭a b. Mâlik b. Zayd Maṇît b. Tamîm (see Casket-Strenziok, in Bibl.). The same name is borne by other ethnic groups not only Tamînî (e.g. Yarbú b. Mâlik b. Han昭a, cf. Muḥaddilîyyûd, ed. Lyall, 122, i 18 and parallel passages) and also Yarbú b. Tamîm in Casket-Strenziok, but also of other tribes, of the south (Kalb, Sd’ Hughyn, Dhuhaïna) and of the north (Qaṭṭâfi, Thalqif, Ghaït, Suleyâm, Hanîfâ, ‘Amîr b. Sâ’â’a, we also find among the Kûrâysh a Yarbú b. ‘Ankâbath b. ‘Amîr b. Mâkhûm).

Yarbú being the name of a rodent widely found in Arabia, the jerboa (see previous article), its application to the tribe has been taken as an example of totemism (W. Robertson Smith, Kinship and marriage in early Arabia, 235), a theory that is, however, now abandoned. Mythological legend, which has survived to a greater extent in this connection than elsewhere among its burrows. In Pliny, the jerboa is often confused with the “white rat” (Mus albus). The Dipodid family comprises a dozen species, typified by the “Arrow-bolt jerboa” (Dipus sagitta). The Arabic authorities on zoology mention three kinds of jerboa: (a) al-ṣâhîf “big and elongated”; (b) al-ta’dîr “that of Palmyra”; and (c) dhu’l-rumayh “bearing a short lance”, because of its long, upright tail terminated by a brush of hair. There is a certain terminology for the jerboa. Thus its young is called dîr, pl. adîrâ, darâ; its burrow with its several exits is called sâḥîf (pl. naṣṣâfî), kusî, kusâ‘a, kusâ‘a, kusâ‘a (pl. kusâ‘a), whence the verbs naṣâfâka and kaṣṣâka, further, damm, damma, dammâma is found. The spoils from an excavated burrow are piled into a heap called dammâna, dammâna, râḥîṣa, râḥîṣa, râḥîṣa. All this vocabulary of rodents, rats, mice and jerboas, is given by al-Dâhîzh, who devoted several chapters to the jerboa (see Bibl.). He mentions there that certain of the Bedouin happily eat jerboas, whilst others avoid it, considering it one of the djinn’s mounts. Islamic law has varying views about the lawfulness of eating jerboa flesh, since the Prophet is said to have forbidden the killing of this little rodent.

The jerboa is small, not exceeding 30 cm in length, and its tail is about one-third of its body. The fur is greyish-brown, the ears are small, the tail is long and bushy, and the hind feet and toes are long. The tail is used as a third leg, and its length is about twice the length of the body. The jerboa is a nocturnal animal, and is usually found in the desert or in the vicinity of oasis. It is a fast runner and can jump several times its own height. The jerboa is a plant-eater, feeding on grass, plants, and seeds. It is a solitary animal and usually lives alone. The jerboa is a social animal and is often seen in groups. The jerboa is a nocturnal animal, and is usually found in the desert or in the vicinity of oasis. It is a fast runner and can jump several times its own height. The jerboa is a plant-eater, feeding on grass, plants, and seeds. It is a solitary animal and usually lives alone. The jerboa is a social animal and is often seen in groups.
the traditions of the Tamīm, dwells on the mother of Yarbū', Dqandala b. Fitr, of the Kināna, who is said to have been violated one stormy night by Mālik b. 'Amr b. Tamīm, and later married to him (Ibn al-Kalbī, Dqandala, B.L. ms. fol. 62a; Nakādī, ed. Bevan, 225, n. 1; this is perhaps an etiological myth, formed to explain certain connections between neighbouring clans). Compared with the other groups descended from Ḥanẓala, re-united under the name of al-Barāqūm, the Yarbū' appear isolated, probably because they were powerful enough to do without a federative alliance. Indeed we find that even some of the sub-groups of the Yarbū' enjoy a certain autonomy, like the Rīyāh, the Kulayb, the Saṭṭa, the Tha'labā and the Ghudānā. They are divided into two sections, the exact nature of which we do not know: al-Ahmāl (Tha'labā, 'Amr, Subayra and al-Hārījī) and al-Ukdād (Kulayb, Ghudānā and al-Anbar). Their territory was very extensive, for we find them practically throughout the whole extent of the territory of the Tamīm, from Yamānā to below the Euphrates; but their centre was the valley of al-Hazm, of remarkable fertility (cf. Yākūt, Muḍjam, ii, 261, iii, 870; the name of one of their oases was Firdaws al-īyād). Although tradition mentions "towns" belonging to them (Wūstenfeld, Register, 254) they led a nomadic life, like most of the Tamīm. The history of the Yarbū' during the Dqalīhīyya is closely connected with that of the rest of the Tamīm, and on several occasions they took command in the wars of the latter. Sometimes, however, we find them engaged by themselves in war with one or another of the neighbouring tribes; thus they fought several battles alone with the Banū Șaṭḥyān, the best known being those of Dqūlīhīyya (Nakād, 45-55, 73) and of al-īyād (ibid., 580-7, also known by other names), in which they took prisoner the famous Shaḥyānī leader Bīṣṭām b. Kays (cf. E. Bräunlich, Bistām ibn Qays, ein vorislamischer Gebietenfürst und Held, Leipzig 1923, passim) in spite of the support given to the latter by the Persian governor of 'Ayn Tamr. At the beginning of Islam, the attitude of the Yarbū' was that of hostile reserve. They did not dare declare openly against the powerful prophet of Medina, but on his death they were the first to rebel. The prophetesses Saḍīhīyya [q.v.] was one of them (the tradition that makes her belong to the Tagḥihīyya seems to have little authority). To the Yarbū' also belonged the two brothers Mālik and Muṭammīm b. Nuwayra [q.v.], whose relations with Khālid b. al-Walīd made such a stir. After the suppression of the ṣidās, however, the Yarbū' like the rest of the Tamīm proved faithful to Islam and took an active part in the conquests; but their turbulent and rebellious nature was revealed in the considerable support they gave to the Khādījīs. In the ʿAshbānī, vi, 4, it is noted that at the battle of Dawlāb, in 65/684-5, where the forces of the Azrākīs were crushed, the leaders of the two parties, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Baṣārī al-Saḥbī and al-Rabī’ b. ‘Amr al-Ghuddānī, were both of Yarbū'. The many details that we possess of the deeds of the Yarbū' during the wars of the Dqalīhīyya, and even of those of the tribal wars of the Islamic period, have survived mainly because these wars are mentioned in the verses of Dqārīr (who belonged to the clan of the Kulayb b. Yarbū') and because his commentators discuss them fully. The Yarbū', moreover, gave to the poetry of the pre-Islamic period and of the 1st/7th century quite a number of remarkable poets; in addition to the well-known poets, one may mention Suḥaym b. Wahdī al-Riyāḥī [q.v.] (cf. especially, Aṣmā’iyāt, ed. Ahlwardt, 670, Șaṭḥa b. Badr al-Ghuddānī and al-Sharmardāl b. Șaṭār [q.v.], of the Banū Tha’labā b. Yarbū'. Bibliography: See Ibn al-Strenzioki, Gambarat an-nasab, i, Table 330, ii, 591. (G. L. V. D.)

YARBŪ' — YARGHU

(Y.t.), trial, interrogation, the Mongolian tribunal or court of justice (Doerfer, iv, 38 ff. n. 1784), hence yarghuwī, a judge. Çingiz Khān's adopted brother (or according to Raqūs al-Dīn, adopted son, Qāmīs al-tawārīkh, 171, ed. A. Romaskievitch and A.A. Altzade, Moscow 1965, 178, ibid., ed. K. Far'in, Tehran 1970, i, 414) Shīgī-Kutuk was made yarghuwī at the kuriltay held in 1206 (D.O. Morgan, The Mongols, Oxford 1986, 97). He was to judge certain criminal cases on an ad hoc basis and to supervise the distribution of subject peoples and to record what was done in a "blue book" (kūhū u dever) (ibid., The Great Kūhn of Chingiz Khān and Mongol law in the Ilkhānate, in BSOAS, xlix [1966], 164; L. Ligei (ed.), Histoire secrète des Mongols, Budapest 1971, 173-4; F.W. Cleaves, The secret history of the Mongols, Cambridge, Mass. 1982, 143-4). Raqūs al-Dīn states that Shīgī-Kutuk "conducted courts of enquiry justly (yarghuwā bi-rāstī purūtā), and he was solicitous and helpful to many criminals and caused his words to be repeated, lest (they) should confess out of terror and fear; and he said, 'Dear and not afraid, but speak the truth'. And in the discussions of the yarghūwās it became well known from this time to this, in the country (wilāyat) of Mughūlistān and those regions, that the foundations of the yarghūs are laid on the regulations (kauṭūhā) that he established and followed" (Qāmīs al-tawārīkh, 171, ed. A. Romaskievitch et alii, 180, quoted by Morgan, op. cit., 174-5). It would seem, therefore, that a kind of code law grew up on the foundations laid down by Shīgī-Kutuk. This is borne out by the account of the Dāstār al-khātī (see below). The yarghuwī, held at the court of the Great Khān was called the Great Yarghū, according to Dūwaynī, ed. Kāzwīnī, i, 50. Courts of interrogation were also held by Mongol amirs and provincial governors. Major cases were referred to them by the Great Yarghū. The rulers of the various Mongol khanates, including the Ilkhānate in Persia, had their own yarghūs. From Ibn Baṭṭūtā's description of the practice prevailing under Kutlugh Temūr, the governor of Khārārzm in or about 734/1334, it seems that the procedure of the yarghū had by this time become somewhat similar to that of the maṣāṣīm [q.v., and see also MAṢĀṢĪM]. Ibn Baṭṭūtā states, "It is one of the regular practices of this amīr that the kāfī comes daily to his audience hall and sits in the place assigned to him, accompanied by the jurists and his clerks. Opposite him sits one of the great amirs, accompanied by eight of the great amirs and Shaykhs of the Turks, who are called yarghūqās [i.e. yarghūswīs]. The people bring their disputes to them for decision; those that come within the jurisdiction of the religious law are decided by the kāfī, and all others are decided by these amirs" (Kafta, tr. Gibb, iii, 545). In the early years of the Ilkhānate, the cases heard in the yarghū, such as are mentioned in the sources, were mainly to do with Mongol state affairs, cases between Mongols or between Mongols and Persians, and concerned with sedition and irregularities over taxation. Sharī'ī courts continued to exist and their autonomy and nature were not fundamentally altered. The relation of the yarghū to the maṣāṣīm and sharī'ī courts is less clear. With the conversion of Ghazan Khān [q.v.] to Islam there may have been a revival in the impor-
tance of the ma'ālim jurisdiction (Lambton, Continuity and change in medieval Persia, London 1988, 93 ff.). Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī includes the yarghū in among the "men of the pen" ('Magāmī`īn wa`īn al-`agāfī`) in Na`īr al-Dīn Ṭūsī, ed. M. Rijawi, Tehran 1957, 29. See also V. Minorsky and Mojtaba Minov, Nasīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī on finance, in BSOAS, x (1940-2), 738 and revised version by Minorsky in Iranica, bītī mašāka, Tehran 1964, 68). In doing so he was, perhaps, influenced by the tradition relating to Shāhīn-Kutukū. In practice, yarghūs were probably also concerned with the apprehension of those summoned to the yarghū and possibly with the execution of the sentences of the court also (cf. Ťārīkh-i gāhī-i Kārākhānī, ed. M.I. Bastānī Pārzī, Tehran 1976-7, 136).

No one was immune from interrogation in the yarghū, whether a member of the royal house, an amīr or a high official. Abīsh Khāthīnū, who was married to Tash Mongke, one of Hulegu's sons, was summoned to the court to answer in the yarghū accusations of alleged misdemeanours in Fārs (see Lambton, op. cit., 273-5). See also Rashīd al-Dīn, Ḍawwānī al-tawārikh, ed. Karīmī, ii, 811. Shams al-Dīn Ḍawwāni [q.v.] was interrogated in the yarghū and bastinadoed before he was put to death in 683/1284 (Abū Bakr al-Kutbī al-Āhārī, Źārīkh-i Shāhīn Ṣuyūnī, ed. J.B. van Loon, The Hague 1934, 138-9). Another notorious case was that of Rashīd al-Dīn [q.v.] in the yarghū for an alleged attempt to poison Oldjeyti and was killed together with his son Khiṣṣdījā Brahhīn on the orders of Oldjeyti in 718/1318 (Ḥāfīz Agrabī, Ḍhayl-i Ḍawwānī al-tawārikh-i Ṣiḏqi, ed. Khān Bābā Bayānī, Tehran AHS 1350/1971, 126).

From the documents in the Dastūr al-khātib of Muḥammad b. Hindūsakh Nakhjavānī, who lived in the Djalalīrīd period, it seems that Mongol amīrs and soldiers were still subject to the yarghū down to the end of the Ilkhānate and perhaps longer. He gives the text of a document for the office of amīr yarghū issued in favour of a certain Amīr Bayānū, who "more than any of the amīrs of the day was endowed with experience and knowledge of the customs and regulations (nawzū wa kawdīd) of the Mongol sultans and amīrs and their yasakhs and taxhās." He was to oversee the affairs of the yarghū, to enquire diligently into the cases of the Mongols and to act in accordance with the kutagūh bīlik of Čingiz Khān and the (precedents) laid down by the great yarghūs. He was not to transgress by one jot the rule of justice and equity and was to decide cases in accordance with the Čingiz-khāndī yasād. When the rightness of one of the disputants was apparent, he was to be given a yarghū-nāma as a record to produce should his opponent(s) trouble him again. He and his followers (na`a`arkanī) and the scribe who wrote the yarghū-nāma were to receive the usual fee on the termination of the case (ed. Alīzade, ii, Moscow 1976, 29-33).

Few details concerning the rules of procedure of the yarghū are available. The infliction of torture and beating by bastinado to induce confession appear to have been common. Ḍawwānī describes the referral of an alleged conspiracy by a number of Uyghur leaders to massacre the Muslim population in Besh Bālīgh to the Great Yarghū at Mongke ḳa`ān’s court. Written declarations of their innocence and an attestation from the amīr who had revealed the alleged conspiracy were taken in Besh Bālīgh but no settlement was reached and so they went to Mongke’s court. After confessions were extracted from the conspirators by torture, Mongke ḳa`ān gave the order for them to be sent back to Besh Bālīgh and executed (i, 35 ff.).

One of the earliest cases recorded in the Persian sources of the application of the yarghū to Mongols in Persia is that of the beginning of the khor sāz of Khorasan and Māzandārān, where he had carried out a new census and reassessed the taxes. His predecessor, Edgū-Temūr, and others accused him of mal-practices and he eventually went to Ogedey’s court to answer the accusations made against him. A yarghū was held, but although it sat for several months, it failed to bring about a reconciliation between the two quarters. Finally, Ogedey himself sat in judgement. Edgū-Temūr and his supporters were found guilty; some were beaten and others handed over to Korgiū to be put to the cangue (Ḏijwawīnī, ii, 230 ff.). Then in 637/1239 Korgiū returned to Khorasan. Intrigues against him continued and he again set out, probably in 639/1241-2 for Karakorum, presumably to defend himself. However, passing through the territories of Cāghatāy (who had recently died) he had an altercation with an official during which he made a remark which offended Cāghatāy’s widow. Fearful of the consequences he hurried back to Khorasan. The wives and sons of Cāghatāy sent after him to arrest him and bring him to Cāghatāy’s ordu at Ulūgh-Ef. There the amīrs held a yarghū. Its proceedings were inconclusive, hence it was decided to send Korgiū to Karakorum to Toregene, Ogedey’s widow, who had become the regent of the empire. There it was decided that, since his alleged crime had been committed in Cāghatāy territory, he should be sent back to Ulūgh-Ef. Korgiū, as apparently was his wont, spoke roughly to those in charge and was killed on the spot (ibid., 240 ff.). The amīr Arghūn, who succeeded Korgiū, was also subjected to calumny and intrigue by his subordinates. He was examined by the yarghū at the ordu in 647/1249 and again in 651/1253 and cleared on both occasions. On the second, those who had accused him were handed over to him. Some were executed at the ordu and others he took back with him to Tūs, where he killed them (ibid., 259-60). Three points emerge from Ḍijwawīnī’s account: first, that the yarghū was concerned with reconciliation as well as judgement; second, that the various Mongol kingdoms exercised a degree of independence in the administration of justice; and third, that those found guilty by a yarghū might be handed over to the other party for punishment. These features are also to be observed in the operation of the yarghū in the Il-khānate (see further, Lambton, op. cit., 83 ff.).

An early case submitted to the yarghū in the Il-khānate was that of Madjd al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭā’ī, a malik Ḍijwawīnī. Yesū-Buka, governor of Baghdād, reported to Abaka that Madjd al-Dīn had been heard to speak of the power and greatness of the Mamlick army. This, Yesū-Buka alleged, showed that Madjd al-Dīn and the Ḍijwawīnī brothers were in league with the Mamlicks. Abaka ordered Madjd al-Dīn to be seized. Although he was interrogated in the yarghū and given one hundred strokes of the bastinado, his guilt was not established and he was handed over to Shams al-Dīn Ḍijwawīnī, who sent him to Śiwās as governor (Rashīd al-Dīn, Ḍawwānī al-tawārikh, iii, 156-7. See also for a slightly different account Ḍijwawīnī, tr. Boyle, i, pp. xxii-xxiii). Another case of alleged sedition, also during the reign of Abaka, is that of Angyānu. He had been sent to Fārs as governor in 667/1268-9. The vigour of his administration and his success in collecting taxes aroused opposition and alienated the Mongol amīrs in the province. A number of them fled the province and went to Abaka’s court, where they accused Angyānu of planning rebellion and committing
peculation. He was summoned to the ordu, tried by yarghu and found guilty. He succeeded in exonerating himself but lost his government (Wassaf, Tdhir, ed. M.M. Isfahani, litt. Bombay 1269/1852-3, 193, 195. See further Lambton, Mongol fiscal administration in Persia, in SI, lxv, 104-5).

There are various cases of a yarghu being held to look into failure in military operations. Tekelle, the Atabeg of Greater Luristan, who had joined Hulegu on his march against Bagdad, decamped with his followers (who had no experience of siege operations) when Ket-Buka remonstrated with him for his lack of effort in prosecuting the siege of Bagdad. After the fall of Bagdad, Ket-Buka was sent in pursuit of him. Eventually he was brought to Tabriz, subjected to interrogation in the yarghu and executed (Mu‘in al-Din Natanzi, Muntakhab al-tawarikh-i mu‘ini, ed. J. Aubin, Tehran AHS 1356/1937, 43). Yarghus held by Ghazan and Ogliyeyu to investigate military failures are also recorded. The former held a yarghu at Udjan on 12 Dhu ‘l-Ka‘da 702/28 June 1303 after the battle of Mardj al-Suflar [q.v.] to try the amirs who had been responsible for the defeat of the Il-Khanid army. Initially, it appears that the trial was carried out by persons other than Ghazan. Raghtih al-Din states, “Although they (sc. the amirs) had been closely interrogated, when the yarghu-nama was presented to Ghazan he made a few pertinent remarks. They were then interrogated again, the points made by Ghazan being taken into consideration. Finally, on the first of Dhu ‘l-Hijja (17 July) the interrogations (yarghuwah) were completed and Aghutay Tarkhan, the son of Haybak Tarkhan, and Toghan-Temur of the Mangit were executed and whatever was in accordance with the Great Yasb was carried out in every respect” (Tdnkh-i mubdrak-i ghdzdrii, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 149-50). According to al-MakrlzIs account, the Il-Khan was with difficulty restrained from putting the yarghu. It was not only cases directly concerning Mongol affairs that were heard in the yarghu. A rather unusual case is that of a yarghu which was held to decide the possession of Sirdjan [q.v.], which was disputed between Kutugh Terken, the ruler of Kirmān, and the maliks of Shabankāra [q.v.]. The matter had been discussed at Hulegus ordu but not settled. However, in 663/1264-5 Aka, who had succeeded Hulegu, sent two officials to Sirdjan to hold a land court (yarghu-yi amldk) and to examine the documents and title deeds of the two parties (Tdnkh-i shdhi-i Kara Khitd’iydn, 192, 275-6. See further Lambton, op. cit., 86-7).

After the fall of the Il-khanate, the term yarghu seems gradually to have fallen out of use. There are a few references to it under the Timurids in the sense of both a court of interrogation and the process of interrogation (e.g. Niẓām al-Din Shāmī, Zafar-nama, ed. F. Tauer, ii, 31, 89, and Khān dāmir, Rawdat al-selāf, Tehran AHS 1358-51/1957-2, vi 70, 86). Niẓām al-Din Shāmī mentions a yarghu-yi ḡung held by Timur in Samarkand (ii, 66); and most of the cases recorded appear to have concerned the interrogation of amirs. It seems that the procedures of the yarghus were gradually modified and transferred to the dawlat-i buzurg (cf. B.F. Manz, The rise and rule of Tamerlane, Cambridge 1989, 169).

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YÄRKAND, a town of the Tarim basin, Eastern Turkestan, now coming within the Sinkiang/Xinjiang Autonomous Region of the People's republic of China and having in Chinese the (revived) name of So-ché/Shahe (lat. 38° 27’ N., long. 77° 16’ E., altitude 1,190 m/3,900 feet).

Yärkand lies on the river of the same name, which rises in the northern part of the Karakoram mountains near the imperfectly delineated border between Kasmîr and China and then flows eastwards to join the Tarim river; with its perennial flow, it is the main source stream of the Tarim. The town was also situated on the southern branch of the historic Silk Route which skirted the southern edge of the Tarim basin and the Takla Makan desert, being about 220 km/138 miles from Kuchgar [q.v.] and 320 km/182 miles from Khotan [q.v.], in the computation of mediaeval Islamic travellers, four days' and then ten days' march respectively (cf. Minorsky (ed. and tr.), Sharaf al-Din Tāhir Marvazi on China, the Turks and India, tr. London 1940, 18). Since caravan routes from the upper Oxus region and the Pamirs joined the southern Tarim basin route at Yärkand, it was always a significant trading centre (the Portuguese missionary Benedict de Goes, en route from India to China in 1603, noted that the caravan from Kâbul terminated at what he calls Hwačin and a fresh caravan was put referred to the matter of the habsaks and yarghus of the province. Those who had complained were tied up naked outside Kirmān for several days and, 'as was the custom of the Mongols', interrogated until they confessed and signed statements of their guilt. Some were executed and others sent to the ordu (Tāhir-i shāhī-i Kara Khitd’iydn, 156. See further Lambton, op. cit., 86). Another case concerning local rulers is that of Husām al-Din Umar. He had overthrown and killed Šamsām al-Din Māhmūd and his son and seized Lesser Luristan. He was summoned to the ordu after the grandson of Šamsām al-Din Māhmūd's widow, the shāhī of Šamsām al-Din’s widow, had appealed to the ordu for blood-wit. He was interrogated in the yarghu by Ghazan and killed in retaliation for the murder of Šamsām al-Din and his son (Mu‘in al-Din Natanzi, 62).

In the Timurid period, the term was used in a slightly different sense to refer to the power of a local ruler. It was not only cases directly concerning Mongol affairs that were heard in the yarghu. It refers to the Tarim basin route at Yärkand, the trading centre of the southern branch of the historic Silk Route which skirted the southern edge of the Tarim basin and the Takla Makan desert, being about 220 km/138 miles from Kuchgar [q.v.] and 320 km/182 miles from Khotan [q.v.], in the computation of mediaeval Islamic travellers, four days' and then ten days' march respectively (cf. Minorsky (ed. and tr.), Sharaf al-Din Tāhir Marvazi on China, the Turks and India, tr. London 1940, 18). Since caravan routes from the upper Oxus region and the Pamirs joined the southern Tarim basin route at Yärkand, it was always a significant trading centre (the Portuguese missionary Benedict de Goes, en route from India to China in 1603, noted that the caravan from Kâbul terminated at what he calls Hwačin and a fresh caravan was put
together for the journey onwards to China; see Yule-Cordier, Cathay and the way thither, London 1914-15, iv, 215-22). Also, the fertile, well-irrigated oasis surrounded by the town was always a considerable agricultural population; the present one is estimated at 60,000. See Sir Aurel Stein, Ancient Khotan, Oxford 1907, i, 87-9.

Little is known of the pre-Islamic history of Yarkand. Like Kashghar, Khotan and other towns of the region, it was probably a foundation of the Indo-European Sakas, and a Saka-rdaja is mentioned who may have been the ruler of Saka, the older name of Yarkand, cf. the Sha-ch'a of the Chinese annals of the 1st century B.C. (the Chinese forms for what appears to be the town of Yarkand are discussed in detail by P. Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, Paris 1959-73, ii, 880-2). The language of the people of Yarkand, as also those of Kashghar, would thus have been, at this time, an Indo-European one similar to the Iranian tongues of Khotan, Tumshuk, etc. In this 1st century B.C., the king of Sha-ch'a paid tribute to the Hsüng-nu of the northern and western fringes of China, and in the 1st century A.D. the king Hsen (r. 33-61) for a brief period extended his power across the "Western Region" as far as Farghana and Kuča, whilst the later Han were distracted by internal problems and the Hsüng-nu were in a weakened condition (see W. Samolin, East Turkestan to the twelfth century, a brief political survey, The Hague 1964, 28-30; R. Grousset, The empire of the steppe. A history of Central Asia, New Brunswick, N.J. 1970, 37, 39-41, 43; D. Sinor (ed.), The Cambridge hist. of early Inner Asia, Cambridge 1990, 128, 146, 173). From about this time, Mahayana Buddhism began to spread in the Yarkand oasis, as elsewhere in Eastern Turkestan, amongst other things bringing Sanskrit as a hieratic language; the early 7th century pilgrim Hsian-tsang/Xuan-zang, returning from India to China, found many Buddhist monasteries at Che-ku-ka = Yarkand, though several were in ruins (T. Watters, On Yuan Chuang's travels in India, London 1904-5, ii, 293-5). The later 7th century and the later 8th century saw periods of domination by the Tibetans over much of the southern Tarim basin (see C.I. Beckwith, The Tibetan empire in Central Asia. A history of the struggle for great power among Tibetans, Turks, Arabians and Chinese during the early Middle Ages, Princeton 1987, 28 ff., 34 ff., 42, 102-5, 152-7), but the Iranian-speaking, Buddhist city-state of Yarkand continued under its own rulers, like those in neighbouring Khotan, at first subject to the Tang emperors of China, but with an infiltration of Turkish ethnic elements. A Uyghur state was established in the northern part of the Tarim basin after 843, and in the 10th century the Khalkar Karakhānids [see ILKHANIDS] moved across the T'ien-shan into the western Tarim basin. Khotan became Muslim in 396/1006, so the establishment of the new faith at Yarkand must have taken place at some previous date with the advent of the Karakhānids. Certainly, the Buddhist religion, and the local Iranian and "Tokharian" languages, began to disappear as part of the eventual Islamisation and Turkisation of the whole of the Tarim basin. See in general on this period, Samolin, East Turkestan to the twelfth century, esp. 61-3, 69-70, 80-2; Efr, art. Chinese Turkestan. II. In pre-Islamic times (V. Mair and P.O. Skjaervo).

The actual name Yarkand is first attested for certain in Maḥmūd al-Kāshgāri's Dīwān lightt ad-durr (later 5th/11th century) (tr. Atayal, i, 484, cf. Brockelmann, Mittelasiatischer Wortschatz, Budapest 1928, 244). Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, index, iii, 295, probably rounded a Turco-Iranian etymology for this toponym, Tk. yār "chift" (but more precisely, it would seem, "eroded, vertical bank or gorge of a river"; see Clausen, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkic, 953-4) + I. kand/kend "town". We possess coins from the Karakhanid Eastern Khānate, which was based on Kāshgār, minted at Yarkand (thus speut on the coins) in 404/1013-14 by Nāšīr al-Dawla Malik al-Mashhīk Kādir Kān Yusuf b. Bughrā Kān Harūn or Hasan (d. 423/1032) and by his son Sulaymān Arslān Kān (d. 449/1057-8) (see Barthold, Turkestam down to the Mongol period, tr. by E. von Zambaur, Der Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet, Wiesbaden 1968, i, 272; T. Mayer, Sylloge numorum arabicorum Tubingen. Nord- und Ostcentralasien. AV b Mittelasien II, Tübingen-Berlin 1998, 72-3). It is strange that the Ḥudūd al-ṭā‘ām (372/982-3) mentions Kāshgār, Khotan and possibly some minor places along the southern Tarim basin route but not Yarkand (cf. map iv in Minorsky's tr. at 261). We possess some information reflecting social and cultural conditions in the Yarkand oasis under the Karakhanid s in the later 5th/11th and early 6th/12th centuries from a collection of legal documents that were found in a garden there in 1911 and preserved by Sir George Macartney, the then British Consul-General at Kāshgār. They are in Arabic and in Turkish, the latter written in both the Uyghur and Arabic scripts, and cover the years 473-529/1080-1135. They give the name Yār-kānd (thus spelt) mostly to the district or kūnā, but also to the town or balda itself, and through their use of standard Islamic legal formulae and phraseology show that Islamic faith and culture had well penetrated life in the Yarkand oasis by the end of the 11th century. One document, from Dhu 'l-Hijja 474 or 494/May 1082 or September-October 1101 mentions the then ruler in Kāshgār as Abī 'Alī al-Hasan Taflāh Bughrā Kara Ḫānān b. Sulaymān Arslān Kara Khākān, i.e. the ruler of the Eastern Kānātān 467-96/1075-1103 and dedicatee of Yusuf Khāṣū Hādjīb’s Kūtadḫū bûgī [q.v., and see ILEK-KHANS at Vol. III, 1114a]. See, on this collection of documents, much commented upon but with the originals now disappeared, Monika Gronke, The Arabic Yarkand documents, in BSOAS, sîx, 1945-50, with a detailed bibl. of previous usage on the collection at 506-7. Towards the middle of the 6th/12th century, the Karakhanids fell under the general suzerainty of the Western Liao or Kara Khitai [q.v.]. Chinese sources state that in 1123 the Gür Khan Ye-liu Ta-shi invaded the Tarim basin from the region northwest of Shenši in China and captured Kāshgār, Yarkand and Khotan; but the Arab historian Ibn al-Ahīb records a victory in 522/1128 by the ruler of the Eastern Khānātān, Arslān Khān Ahmad or Hārūn b. Hasan over the Kara Khitai (ed. Beirut, xi, 83).

In the 7th/13th century, again according to Chinese histories such as the Yuan-shi, after his killing of the Nymayn chief Külüg, Cıngiz Kān sent an expedition into Eastern Turkestan, and Kāshgār, Yarkand and Khotan surrendered to the Mongols; subsequently, the Great Kān ordered 15 water-stations to be set up between Yarkand and Khotan (E. Bretschneider, Medieval researches from East Asiatic sources, London 1910, i, 234, ii, 47-8; river communication between the two towns seems to be implied). When Marco Polo passed through Yarkand (his Tarcun) in ca. 1274 en route for China, he noted the presence there of Nestorian and Jacobite Christians as well as the majority Muslims, and observed that the population there suffered much from goitre (a fact later confirmed by European travellers
such as Sven Hedin; the town belonged to a nephew of the Great Khan, i.e. of Kubilay [q.v.], whilst Kashghar and the lands beyond belonged to "Great Turkey", the empire of Kydy [q.v.]. (Yule-Cordier, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, London 1902, i, 187-8; Barthold, Zwölf Vorlesungen über die Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens, Berlin 1935, 187).

Eastern Turkestan now came within the dominions of the Chagataids, with Yarkand as one of the Alli Shahr or "Six Cities" (with Aksu, Úr Turfan, Kuča, Kashghar and Khotoan). The Chagataids' rival Timūr sent an expedition into Kashghar led by his grandson Iskandar Ímam b. Úlūmar Shāhkī in 802/1399-1400, which captured Kashghar, Yarkand and Aksu. Nevertheless, for over two-and-a-half more centuries the region continued to form part of the Chagataid Khānate, but with members of the powerful Turco-Mongol Dughlāt family, influential in the region since the later 8th/14th century, as actual rulers. In 920/1514 Ímam Muhammad Ḥāydar Dughlāt ejected a usurper from Kashghara and restored Chagataid suzerainty there, making Yarkand his capital, having irrigation canals dug in the oasis and building a citadel in the town with six gateways and an inner arg (Ímim Ímam b. Úlūmar Shāhkī). Towards the end of the 10th/16th century, the ordo or centre of power of the Chagataid 'Abd al-Karim Khān b. 'Abd al-Raschid was usually at Yarkand, where his brother Muhammad had succeeded him when Benedict de Goes passed through in 1603. But from this same time onwards, the power of the Nakhbandī religious line of the sūfī Khodjas [q.v. in Suppl.] grew in Kashghara, with the Aṣāfīyya or Aṣafigli, "People of the White Mountains", line- age exercising real power at Yarkand. The Chagataids lingered on till the second half of the 11th/17th century, when they were extinguished (1089/1678) and Kashgharia united under the theocratic rule of the Khodjas as protégés of the Mongol Oyrats or Kalmuks [q.v.] centred on the Illi basin and Dzungaria. Thus the charismatic Khodja, Ḥadrat Afsāk/Apak Fidżiyāt Allah, was installed at Yarkand and Kashghar in 1091/1680, Yarkand now becoming for the remain- der of this century and for over half of the next one the capital of the Khodjas. In the 1750s, the Khodja Kilič Burhān al-Dīn led a Muslim crusade against the infidel domination of the Kalmuks, but this brought down in 1758 a Chinese army which, after annexing Dzungaria three years previously, turned on the Khodjas and captured Yarkand; Kashgharia was now annexed to the Ch'ing/Qing empire. See Grousset, The empire of the steppes, 425-6, 439, 485, 500-1, 527-8; Ehr, art. Chinese Turkestan. v. Under the Khodjas (Ien-bike Togan).

The Chinese maintained Yarkand rather than Kashghar as their capital for the new province. But Ch'ing authority in Central Asia declined over the next decades, and from 1820 onwards, when the Khodja pretender Djāhānegr returned from Khokand and launched a rebellion in the Alli Shahr, there were a series of revolts by the Turkish Muslims of the province, culminating in the outbreak at Yarkand in August 1863 which signalled the great rebellion of the Khokandi Muhammad Ya'qūb Beg [see Ya'qūb Beg], who proclaimed himself Khān of Eastern Turkestan at Kashghar (1867-77). We owe knowledge of Yarkand at this time to the published accounts resulting from British missions at this time to Ya'qūb Beg, that of the merchant R.S. Shaw in 1868 and those of the Government of India envoy Sir Thomas D. Forsyth in 1870 and 1873. After the suppression of Ya'qūb Beg's movement, the three regions of "Uyghuristan", Alli Shahr and Dzungaria were formally incorporated into the new imperial province of Sinkiang "New Territory" (1884). The Chinese Tao-t'ai or Circuit Commissioner made his residence at Kashghar rather than Yarkand, and it was at this former town that Russian and British consulates were now established.

In the 20th century, Yarkand was involved in several "Turco-Islamic" secessionist movements of the Uyghur Turks in the southern Tarim basin during the 1930s and 1940s, the era of the warlords in China, since southern Sinkiang was a stronghold of conservative Islamic religious sentiment. In March-May 1933 both Old Yarkand (= the traditional Muslim town) and New Yarkand (= the Chinese and other non-Turkish town) fell to troops of the secessionist "Khotoan Islamic Government" under the amir 'Abd Allāh Khān, with a total collapse of Han authority in southern Sinkiang. This last was restored by the warlord Sheng Shih-t'ai, with considerable Soviet Russian backing, but a further revolt, the so-called "Sābil Allah" one, involved the occupation of Yarkand from April to September 1937 by anti-Sheng, anti-Communist Turkish rebels, and it was likewise involved in the 1945-6 anti-Chinese and anti-Russian revolt against Kuomintang misrule in Sinkiang. Similar outbreaks are reported to have occurred in southern Sinkiang in the 1950s and possibly later, but massive Han Chinese immigration after the imposition of Communist rule in 1949 has meant that secessionist movements have had less and less chance of success. See A.D.W. Forbes, Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia. A political history of Republican Sinkiang 1911-1949, Cambridge 1990, 68, 77-9, 140 ff., 204-6.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see also M. Hartmann, Chinesisch-Turkestan. Geschichte, Verwaltung, Geistesleben und Wirtschaft, Halle 1908. For the Turkish language of the Yarkand region, part of the southern dialect of Neo-Uyghur Turkish, see G. Raquette, A contribution to ... the eastern-Turkestan dialect ... in the dialects of Yarkand and Kashgar, in Jnal. de la Soc. Finnico-Ugrienne, xxvi/5 (1909), 1-35; K. Schrieffl, Bemerkun- gen zur Sprache von Kasgar und Jarkend, in Keleti Szemle, xiv (1913-14), 178-89, xv (1914-15), 277-303; E. Rossi, Nota sul turco di Yarkand (Turkestan Orientale), in RSO, xviii (1938), 283-5; G. Jarring, Material to the knowledge of Eastern Turks. Tales, poetry, proverbs, riddles, ethnological and historical texts from the southern parts of Eastern Turkestan, i. Texts from Khotan and Yarkand, Lund 1946; and O. Petsak, in PTF, i, 525 ff., with further bibl. at 535. (C.E. Bosworth)

Yarlīgh, Yarlīkh, a term of Inner Asian Turkish origin, employed in the chanceries of the Mongol empire and in those of certain of its successor states both before and after their Islamisation, in its original (i.e. pre-Mongol and pre-Islamic) meaning of "[Imperial] decree, edict, command". In general, in Islamic chancery practice, yarlīghs are contextually equivalent to the more specific documentary forms of firman, hukm or barāt [q.v.]; and see DIPLO- MATIC, iii]; cf. Clauson, Dictionary, 966: "a command from a superior to an inferior, sometimes with some connotation of a grant of favour"; Dnevnojurnal'ski slovar', 242, s.v. jarīly; "prikaž, predpisanie, ukaz".

In Old Turkish, yarlīgh is a typical Uyghur word: it is not attested in the (Oghuzian runic or (Orkhon) inscriptions, and is expressively denoted by al-Kashghar
as a non-Oghuz word, employed by the Čigil to denote an imperial writing or command (yarligh hune kistabu 'l-ṣaltan wa-annahu bi 'l-fuqīyati ċigil wa-l-lāri yarlighu 'l-qiyā'). Conversely, this term appears in the Uyghur runic mss. In Ottoman usage (where it is chiefly used to refer to the edicts of the Crimean khan) it is, the usage on apart, an exotic loan-word known in only a few texts (TTS, i, 789, ii, 1006) and documents (see below). In Arabic (Mamluk) usage, one encounters the broken plural form yarligh/yarlīgh (also yarlıgh, cf. al-Kalkashandi, Ṣahih, vi, 223, 230; Berkman, Beiträge, 47, 129: hübālīgh [sic] "Reisepass", with reference to Ilkhanid usage).

The Turkish word yarlīgh is a second-period (sc. 8th-13th centuries) loan-word in Mongol (jarlijt) as a technical administrative term for a government edict (Clauson, loc. cit.; N. Poppe, The Turkic loan words in middle Mongolian, in CAF, i [1955], 36). The once widespread term, put forward by e.g. Spuler, Goldene Horizonte im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen, Freiburg 1976).

As mentioned above, yarlīghs also served the same function in only a few texts (TTS, i, 789, ii, 1006) and previously by Russian scholars from the mid-19th century onwards, such as V.V. Grigor'ev, that "Dźarlijh [sic] is a Mongol word, cannot now be substantiated.) As a loan-word, it was specifically employed in imperial (i.e. Khākānī) decrees (qan yarlı līμan, "unser kaiserlicher ErlaBt").

Mongol'skaya diplomatika XIII-XV vv., in Frankreich (1289 u. 1305), whereas documents emanating from subordinate members of the Čingizid dynasty utilised the phrase sūzū manu "our word (sc. decree)." For the use of the Turkish term sūzūmanu (calqued from the Mongol sūzū manu) as a validating formula or associated with the tughra (e.g., as in the Secret History, Fekete, Arbeiten der gräzmischen Orientistik, 13 ff. (Fekete's misreadings of Crimean Tatar documents in this context are corrected by Mary Ivаниц, Formal and linguistic peculiarities, 215 n. 15).

The route of transmission of the term from pre-Islamic Uyghur to Islamic usage must have been via the use of Uyghur scribes in Mongol service producing chancery documents in Mongolian and Turkish. For a detailed discussion, cf. A.P. Grigor'ev, op. cit.). From the prestige and widespreadness of the term in Čingizid usage stems not only its reborrowing into e.g. south-western Turkish but also its presence from the Mongol period with the same meaning in Russian (yarlīgh: first occurrence 1267; Vasmer, Russisches essay. Winterhuch, Heidelberg 1936, iv, 495) and in many other languages of Eurasia, including 7th/13th century Oghuz (A.M. Shcherbak, Uygurca, 11, 21). It was also still current at the present day in Russian with the meaning "label, tag".

Čingizid yarlīghs were written in Chinese (cf. E. Chavannes, Inscriptions et pièces de chancellerie chinoises de l'époque mongole, in Toung-pao, sér. 2, v [1904], 357-447, vi [1905], 1-42, ix [1908], 297-428, passim); in Mongol, in both Uyghur and quadrat scripts; and in Kipčak Turkish. The language used in the earliest yarlīghs of the Golden Horde remains a matter of dispute. The earliest documents still extend as originals from the latter 8th/14th century and are written in Kipčak Turkish, in Uyghur characters. It has been suggested by A.P. Grigor'ev, on the basis of his reconstruction of early texts surviving only in Russian translation, that the earliest Golden Horde yarlīghs were also written in Kipčak, as noted, as a validating formula or associated with the tughra (e.g., as in the Secret History, Fekete, Arbeiten der gräzmischen Orientistik, 13 ff. (Fekete's misreadings of Crimean Tatar documents in this context are corrected by Mary Ivаниц, Formal and linguistic peculiarities, 215 n. 15).

For a discussion of the adoption (in 932/1525) of this "Mongol-Crimean assertion of the source of authority" into Ottoman chancery practice, see V.L. Menage, On the constituent elements, 300 ff.) yarlīghs of the latter khan of the Crimea remain much more closely in both form and language to contemporary Ottoman usage (A. Bennington et alii, Le Khagan de Crimee dans les archives du musée du palais de Topkapı, Paris-The Hague 1978; but cf. the useful corrections and amplifications by V. Ostapchuk, in Harvard Ukrainian Studies, vi/4 [1982], 500-28, and Turcica, xix [1987], 247-76; there is a valuable discussion and analysis of yarlīghs in Crimean chancery practice in Ivаниц, Formal and linguistic peculiarities, passim; cf. also Fekete, Einführung in die osmanische diplomatik, Budapest 1926, pp. bi-bis; J. Matus, Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen, Freiburg 1976).

As mentioned above, yarlīghs also served the same...
function as the bardt [q.v.; and see SOYURGHAL], i.e. as a diploma of investiture and a grant of immunities. The khān of the Golden Horde and its successor dynasties not only issued diplomas of investiture to e.g. the subject princes of Rus', and the Metropolitans of All Rus', employing their issue and the ever-present threat of their summary withdrawal as a powerful means of political control over their tributary principalities, but also large numbers of so-called tarkhanlik yarlığls, or grants of privilege/immunity from taxes and services in kind, to their own subjects (specimen text in Kurat, Tarkh ve Bitik, no. 4, 62-80, a document of Hâdîeddîd Gîrey 857/1453. Cf. also the studies by Halasi-Kun, Grigor'ev, and Muhammedyarov and Vâsâry as detailed in Bibi, below, all with useful discussion and analyses. Comparable documents were issued by the İk-khând rulers of Persia and their political successors (cf. Mînorskî, A soyurghal of Qâsim b. Jâhdîngir Aq-Qoyunlu (993-1490)), in Ottoman usage, exemption documents of a similar nature are known as muaffiyyet-name.

Yarlığl issued down to the early 9th/16th century were validated by the khân's al-tamgha. This was a quadrilateral seal impressed, usually in vermilion, sometimes in black, blue or gold, either towards the head or at the foot of the document, and over the pasted joints of individual sheets making up the roll. Later yarlığl of the Golden Horde largely followed Ottoman practice, making use of a pen gel (g.):-type tughâ for documents issued by the khân or the immediately subordinate members of the dynasty (kalâh, naredân) plus the formula sâzânîz at the head of the document (see TUGHA, and cf. Matuz, Krimtatarische Urkunden, 77-80 and facsimiles).


(C.J. HEYWOOD)

YARLÎGH, the main left bank affluent of the Jordan river [see AL-URDUNN, i]. famed in history as the site of a historic battle between the Arabs and Byzantines.

1. Geography.

The Yarmûk flows into the Jordan some 9 km/5 miles to the south of Lake Tiberias, with headwaters on the southwestern slopes of the Hawrân [q.v.] in southern Syria. It follows a deeply-incised valley which nevertheless provides the main access through the eastern wall of the Jordan rift valley, the Ghawr or Ghôr, to the north-south routes along the western fringes of the Syrian Desert. As such, it was followed, with difficulty, by the narrow-gauge railway from Hayfâ via Samâkh to Darâa/Derea, where it connected with the Hidjâz railway [q.v.]. In Antiquity, it was called by Pliny the Elder, Natural history, v, 74, the Hieromicts or Hieromixes. Part of the river's lower course today forms the political boundary between Syria and Jordan. The waters of the Yarmûk could irrigate the Jordan valley if its lowermost course were to be diverted to Lake Tiberias as a reservoir for its waters; but this would entail the improbable co-operation of Syria, Jordan and Israel.


2. The battle.

This was fought near the confluence of the Yarmûk River and the Wâdî 'l-Rûkkâd, which today marks part of the border between Jordan and Syria, and it determined the fate of Byzantine Syria. The Byzantine Emperor Heraclius, who was not personally present, in early 636 collected a very substantial Byzantine and Christian Arab force in order to reverse recent Muslim victories in Syria, Transjordania and Palestine, and to drive the Muslims out of Syria and Palestine. The site strategically included high ground, water supplies, pasture and domination of important routes between Damascus and Galilee (see 1. above). It was an important sedimentary base and crucial pasture-grounds of the Ghassân [q.v.], and lay near the intersection of four Byzantine provincial boundaries. A major battle had previously taken place near it in 614, at which the Persian general Shâhbarâz had inflicted a resounding defeat on the Byzantines, opening the way into Palestine for the Persians. The terrain's strategic significance was apparent to both sides and in theory was familiar to them. On the eve of the battle, the Byzantines had not succeeded in developing any effective new tactics or strategy for checking the Muslims.
The battle of the Yarmuk or Dżabia lasted more than a month if one includes the preliminary manoeuvrings. It began in the year 13 Dżumadah II at al-Yarmūk [q.v.], the traditional base of the Ghassān, with these manoeuvrings, and terminated on 12 Rājab 15/20 August 636. Byzantine forces had come from Ḥimṣ (Emesa) under the general Vahān, who was probably the Magister Militum per Orientem, and Theodore Trithurios, the Sakellarios (Treasurer). Dżabal a-l-Ayham [q.v.], king of the Ghassān, led Ghassānid forces. Other Christian Arabs, whom Heraclius had recruited in upper Mesopotamia and elsewhere, participated. There are contradictory reports concerning whether Theodore, the brother of Heraclius, was present. Although he participated in planning some of the campaign, Theodore had probably been recalled to Constantinople in disgrace before the final stages of the battle. Muslim forces under Abū Ubayda b. a-l-Dżarāb [q.v.] withdrew from Ḥimṣ and Damascus in the face of the approach from the north of stronger Byzantine armies. They retired to a line between Dayr Ayyūb and Adhrīṭ [q.v.], where they waited for more than a month, in a topographically strong position, to deter any Byzantine move further south. On 13 Dżumadah II 15/23 July 636 the Muslims won an initial clash near al-Dżabīya. The Byzantines attempted to use the waiting period to familiarise their forces with the Muslim strategy, unusually, to encourage desertion and dissenion within Muslim ranks. Both sides received reinforcements, but the decisive clash took place when the Muslims were continuing to gain more reinforcements. The Byzantines, together with their Christian Arab allies, probably enjoyed numerical superiority, having troops that totaled up to 15,000 to 20,000 men, possibly even more.

By a feigned retreat, the Muslims lured the Byzantines into attacking Muslims and their camp near Dayr Ayyūb. The Muslims penetrated the exposed Byzantine left flank, and then exploited gaps that yawned between Byzantine foot and cavalry. Byzantine infantrymen apparently attempted to lock shields and to engage in intricate and complicated and risky exercises (the so-called "mixed formation") that involved opening the ranks of foot for horsemen to pass through and then relocking shields. Poor Byzantine coordination allowed the Muslims to exploit the gap and to slay many exposed Byzantine infantry. Byzantine forces withdrew into territory that lay between the Wādī l-Ruḵkāḏ and Wādī l-Allān, both west of the Wādī l-Harīr, to what they believed to be a secure encampment that received protection from the high bluffs of the wadis. But in a night raid, the Muslims under Khiālīd b. al-Walīd [q.v.] seized the critical bridge over the Wādī l-Ruḵkāḏ, which offered the only viable retreat route for the encircled men and animals of the Byzantine army. The Byzantines found themselves blocked and could not retreat in formation, or fight their way out, or negotiate a reasonable settlement. The Byzantines panicked, having learned that they were cut off. The Muslims stormed their camps between the wadis as well as at the village of Yākūna, on the edge of the Dżawālān [q.v.]. The Byzantines lost cohesion and most were slaughtered, although a few may have managed to flee down the steep walls of the wadis. The Muslims took few or no prisoners. Some Christian Arabs allegedly waved in their loyalty to the Byzantine cause and managed to flee, which aided the Muslims. One Muslim tradition reports that some deserted and defected Byzantine troops, having perceived the hopelessness of their situation, faithfully awaited their slaughter.

The battle destroyed the only viable Byzantine army in Syria and its commanders, and it ceased to exist as a fighting force. For the Muslims, the victory eliminated the possibility of any Byzantine penetration further south, reconfirmed Muslim control of Palestine and Transjordania, and opened the way for the Muslim conquest of the Bīkāṭ [q.v.] valley, Damascus and beyond it, all of Syria. The Muslims consolidated their victory by a rapid and far-stretching and ruthless pursuit of retreating Byzantines, giving them no reprieve. The battle had great psychological as well as material effects: it broke the will of the Byzantines to give more open battle. The Byzantines henceforth avoided open battle with the Muslims in Syria and upper Mesopotamia, and ended their efforts to recover or hold Syria. Together with Heraclius, who was staying first at Ḥimṣ and then at Antioch, they evacuated northern Syria and withdrew into Anatolia, where the emperor attempted to improvise new defences.

The Byzantines had suffered logistical problems on the eve of the battle. They lacked experience in handling and supplying large numbers of troops in the regions of these operations, and this inexperience may have contributed to their logistical problems and to tensions with local civilians. Byzantine leaders found it difficult to procure adequate supplies from local inhabitants on the eve of the engagements. Manṣūr son of Sergius, the local fiscal official at Damascus, refused to provide supplies to the unprecedentedly large Byzantine forces. These last included heterogeneous ethnic elements, many of whom had no experience in operating or fighting in the region. There was probably mistrust, misunderstandings and friction between Greeks, Armenians and Christian Arabs within the Byzantine forces. There is no indication that the local inhabitants participated in fighting on either side. The Byzantines were already suffering psychological shock from a series of recent defeats at the hands of the Muslims. Muslim losses were considerable, but far smaller than the human and material ones of the Byzantines. But all statistics for the battle, both numbers of combatants and numbers of casualties, should be regarded with suspicion.

The account that Ibn Asākir preserved in his Taʾrikh Maṣūdīn Dimāgh is probably the best. No documentary records or eyewitness accounts survive. Memory of the actual facts of the battle soon faded and quickly became embellished with legends. The magnitude of the Muslim victory received instant recognition and continued to resound later in the 7th century. The military manual entitled the Strategikon of Maurice, although written ca. A.D. 600, provides some reliable insight into actual contemporary Byzantine fighting techniques and logistics that were probably utilised in the battle. The reigning Byzantine Heraclian dynasty appears to have attempted to shift the responsibility for the disaster from itself to others: to an alleged abortive rebellion of the Armenian Byzantine general Vahān or to the failure to follow Emperor Heraclius' injunctions to watch out for Arab ambushes, or to the adverse climate. There is no evidence that Christian religious dissension affected the outcome. Muslim writers later celebrated the role of Islamic religious zeal, but superior Muslim leadership as well as superior morale, including confidence that derived from their recent pattern of successes, were important factors in their victory. Bibliography: 1. Sources. Eutychius, Annales, ed. and tr. M. Breydo; CSCO, Leuven 1985, text 136-8, tr. 114-16; Sebeos, Histoire d'Heraclius, tr.


YA'RubÍDÁS (A., pl. Ya'Áribá, sing. Ya'rubî), a dynasty of 'Umâm [q.v.] who ruled the country, mostly from al-Rustâk but also from Djabrín [q.v.] and Al-Hazm, ca. 1024-1164/1615-1749. There are a number of different versions of the date on which the first imám of the dynasty, 'Nâshir b. Murjhid, was given the oath of allegiance: al-Salim T (ii, 4) suggests it was 1024/1615, whereas Nâsir's biographer, 'Abd Allâh b. Khallân b. Kayasr (13), and the author of Kağıl al-ghumma, Sirhán b. 'Sa'id b. Sirhán (Ross, Annals, 46), give 1034/1624. The origins of the dynasty are not entirely clear. Wilkinson (Imamate, 219) supposes them to be of the Nabâhîna, but he quotes another tradition which has them of al-Azd.

The 11/12th century saw 'Umâm free of external forces and united, with the rulers free to pursue an active naval policy against the Portuguese and one of expansion overseas, particularly in East Africa. In fact, their struggles against the Portuguese were so successful that 'Umâm became the major maritime power in the Indian Ocean, taking over the Portuguese previous position. Maritime power meant that commerce and prosperity and profit for 'Umâm improved and also into the building of palace fortresses at home. 'Nâşir's successor, Sulîbân b. Sayf I (1059-91/1649-80) began the process by building the massive round fort of Nizwâ [q.v.]. His son and successor Bahárâb (1091-1104/1680-92) built the magnificently-decorated fort of Djabrîn and redeveloped the agricultural lands in the area. Bahárâb's brother and successor, Sayf b. Sulîbân I (1104-23/1692-1711) presided over the zenith of 'Umâm sea power and Mombasa, Kilwa and Pemba were captured by the 'Umânîs as they waged war on the Portuguese with their greatly expanded navy, and they compelled the Persians to grant them right of entry into the Gulf. Internally, Sayf repaired water channels (sing. falâk) seventeen major ones in all, developed land and planted extensive date and coconut palm groves.

Sayf's son, Sulîbân II (1123-33/1711-19), extended 'Umânî overseas power yet further with the conquest of al-Bahrâyûn [q.v.]. He also built the fine fortress of Djabrîn and redeveloped the great fort of Yâmûn into a magnificent fort of al-Bahrâyûn (Beschreibung, 342). The town of Abu Zâbî [q.v.; see also ABU ZABI', DUBAYY], the region in the United Arab Emirates [see AL-MIRÁT AL-ARÁBIYYA AL-MUTAHIDÁ, in Suppl.] extending southward from the Gulf. The island of Sir Banû Yas [q.v.] is mentioned by the Venetian traveller Gasparo Balbi in 1580, who thus implies that the Banû Yas were already in the area at that time (Slot, The Arabs, 39-40, 143). They are also mentioned in the early 17th century (Slot, op. et loc. cit.) and by Niebuhr in the 18th century (Beschreibung, 342). The town of Abu Zâbî [q.v.] is said to have been founded by them at about 1174/ 1760-1. In 1209/1794-5 Shâhwât b. Dhiyâb of the Al Bû Fâlîb, the ruling family of Abu Zâbî, settled in the town. The Banû Yas resisted the Wahhâbî invasions of 1800-14 [see WÂHHÂBYYA], which earned them friendly relations with Sa'id b. Sulîbân of the Al Bû Sa'id [q.v.]. In the early 1820s, the Banû Yâs, led by a certain Suwaydân b. 'Azîl al, who appears to have been head of the Mâhâribi branch of the Banû Yâs, made maritime depredations from al-Dawhâ [q.v., and see also Lorimer, Gazetteer, i, pt. III] (Dhôba) in Katar, bringing Abu Zabi close to war with Bahrayn. The raiding ceased when Suwaydân returned to Abu Zabi in 1828. The economic interests of the Banû Yâs lay mainly in the date groves of al-Djûwâ (Jiwâ) and in the pearl fisheries around Dâlân Mâdî Island. Unlike the al-Kawâsîm [q.v.], they thus far from the navigation channels of the Gulf and therefore had no conflict with the British at sea. In 1833, however, severely depressed by prolonged warfare with the al-Kawâsîm and by the loss of the annual pearl fishery for several years running, they made a wholesale attempt upon the trade of the Gulf in order to redress their revenues. Outfought and scattered by the British [see KURSAN. iii], they had to pay fines for piracy and many emigrated to al-Udâyîn, an inlet (khawr) in southern Katar, causing much friction between Katar and Abu Zabi. They left al-Udâyîn in 1878 and returned to Abu Zabi in 1880.

In the modern Gulf States, the Mazrût [q.v.] are...
regarded as an Abu Zabi section of the Banu Yas.


**YASA** (thus the usual orthography in Arabic script, Mongolian jasaq, jasy, see Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, iv, 71-82 no. 1789 s.v. jāṣāq) may be translated variously, according to context, as "law" or, virtually synonymous with jarīfāt [q.v.], as "decreet" or "order". Hence the sources for the Mongol period speak of what is generally called "the Great Yasa of Cingiz Khan", in the sense of a comprehensive legal code laid down by the founder of the Mongol empire; but in many if not most instances of the use of the term, a specific decreet is what is meant. In some cases it is far from certain which sense was in the mind of the writer.

1. **Amongst the Mongols**
   
   The traditional view of the Great Yasa is that it was laid down by Cingiz as a written legal code, probably at the kuriltai [see KūRILTAY] of 1206 which affirmed and proclaimed his supremacy over the tribes of Mongolia and which preceded the Mongol campaigns of conquest in China and Central Asia. There are serious difficulties in accepting this view: these are discussed in mongols. 3. The evidence does not support the notion of a written legal code dating from 1206, and indeed it is very difficult to demonstrate with any degree of certainty that a written code ever existed. D. Ayalon showed that most of what we know about the contents of the Great Yasa derives from al-Djuwaynl's account of it (The Great Yasa of Cingiz Khan: a reexamination, A, in SI, xxxii [1971], 97-140, repr. in his Outsiders in the lands of Islam: Mamluks, Mongols and nomads, London 1988). Al-Djuwaynl, i, 16-25; Djuyayn-Boyle, 23-34) certainly tells us that certain of Cingiz’s decrees had been written down in a Great Book of Yasa (yasa-nāmāv i buryq), and that this book was taken out, consulted and its precepts followed by the Mongol elite whenever appropriate. But the matters with which these yasaś were concerned were more administrative than technically legal (the organisation of the hunt, the army and the postal courier system).

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that a Great Yasa was believed to exist, and that it was regarded as embodying the founder of the dynasty's unalterable decrees on all manner of state and legal matters. It has been suggested, on the basis of Chinese evidence, that a written version may have been first promulgated in 1229, two years after Cingiz's death, at the kuriltai that proclaimed the accession of his son Ogedey [q.v.] as Great Khan (I. de Rachewiltz, Some reflections on Cingiz Qan's Jasay, in East Asian History, v1 [1993], 91-104). However, the view presented in mongols. 3., that there may never have been a written version, and that as an oral body of laws and precepts, remembered as having been laid down by Cingiz, it continued to be augmented by Mongol rulers after his time, appears still to be a likely interpretation of the scanty evidence. If there was more to it than that, the evidence would in all probability be much less scanty than it is. The Great Yasa remained of great symbolical importance, not least in the Islamic world, as an entity conceived as being in opposition to the Shafī' (see 2. below).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see the studies cited in mongols. 3. (particularly, for the interpretation of the evidence advanced here, D.O. Morgan in BSOS, xlix/1 [1996], 163-76). P. Ratchevsky's biography of Cingiz Khan, listed there, has been skilfully translated into English by T.N. Haining as Cinghi Khan. His life and legacy, Oxford 1991 (see especially, for the Yasa, 187-96). [D.O. MORGAN]

2. **Amongst the Mamluks**
   
   The constituting of the Mongol empire in Western Asia had a great impact on the Mamluks. The two great powers were enemies for some three-quarters of a century, but relations were necessarily close, and the two groups of Mongols and Mamluks felt themselves as ethnically close, sharing a common Eastern origin, and were, in the historian's view, encroaching upon the lands of the Golden Horde Khan's included, as well as the Mongols and some pure Mongols. Other, free Mongols arrived in Egypt as an element of the Šafī'īyya, amongst whom the Oyrat were notable in the last four decades of the 7th/13th century and especially in the reigns of Baybars I [q.v.] and Kīthugha, the latter himself from the Šafī'ī (see wāfīyya).

Whether the Mamluks had access to a text of the Great Yasa attributed to Cingiz Khan [see above, 1.] is problematical, even though a source like Ibn Taghrī-bardī attributes its introduction to Baybars I, an admirer of the Mongols. There is no evidence that there existed a copy of this within the Mamluk Sultanate. Few Mamluk amirs can have been expert in Mongolian, and even fewer in the Uyghur script which must have preceded the apparent adoption of the Arabic script for diplomatic documents between the Mongols and Mamluks in the 8th/14th century (al-Kalkashandl, Subh al-a'Lā, i, 167; see the correspondence of the Golden Horde Khans with the Mamluks was bī 'l-hubá al-mughūliyya bi 'l-khāṭī'ī 'l-aranī). The veracity of a passage in al-Makrizī's Kīhitat, ed. Bālūq, ii, 220, stating that his source, one Abū Ḥāshim Aḥmad b. al-Burlhān, had seen a copy of the Great Yasa in the Mustansīrīyya library in Baghdad, was questioned also by Ayalon. He believed that al-Makrizī introduced this passage, with its description of the alleged contents of the Yasa (in fact, derived from Ibn Faḍil Allāh al-Umari and, ultimately, from al-Djuwaynl), because the ḥājīḥs or chamberlains, acting as judges, and especially of the Mamluks, were applying administrative law, yāṣā, and the practice of al-nāṣar fi 'l-maẓālim, as complements to the Šafī‘ī and were, in the historian's view, encroaching upon the kāfī’s sphere. To combat this tendency, al-Makrizī asserted that the yāṣā of the ḥājīḥs was nothing but the Yasa, which was the antithesis of the Šafī‘ī. He even claimed (perhaps with his tongue in his cheek) that the word yāṣā derived etymologically from Yasa (see Kīhitat, ii, 220-1; and see yrāṣā, 1, at Vol. IX, 694a, and 3, at 696a).

The earliest reference to the Mongol Yasa amongst the Mamluks found by the late D. Ayalon was in al-Šafādī, Ayyān al-ṭar (cited in SI, xxxviii [1973], 134-5), in which an amīr and confidant of Sultan al-Naṣir...
Muhammad b. Kalawun [q.v.] in the first half of the 8th/14th century, Aytamish al-MuhammadT, is said to have mastered the Mongolian language for diplomatic purposes, to have studied closely the itna of Cingiz Khān and to have judged the elite members of the Ḹḥāṣṣayya [q.v.], the royal bodyguard, according to the Yāsa of Cingiz. Another of the sultan’s amīrs, ʿArikāy, is also said to have been knowledgeable about the Yāsa. Ayalon’s conclusion (pace the assertions of A.N. Poliak, in REL, ix [1935], 213-48, and BSOS, x [1940-2], 862-76, that Mongol influence in the Mamlūk state was pervasive and lasted until the dynasty’s end) was that, even if the Yāsa had played some role in early Mamlūk society, this cannot have been long sustained, given the fact that the Yāsa and other Mongol customs must have been losing ground within the territories directly ruled by the Mongols, a process accentuated by the conversion to Islam of most of the Western Asian Mongols during the first decades of the 8th/14th century.


**YASAKNAME** [see ҚАҢДУНМАЕ].

**YASAMIN, YASMIN, YASAMON (a.),** a masc. noun denoting the jasmine shrub, of the Oleaceae tribe, family of jasmines (Jasminaceae). It was cultivated for its yellow or white or purple flowers and for the oil obtained from it by distillation.

In the poetics, the abbreviated forms yassam, yasam, are found. Several sub-species of jasmine are found in the Arabic-speaking lands, sc. (a) *Jasminum floribundum*, called Ḹḥāṣṣayn al-barr “male ostrich seeds”; (b) *Jasminum grandiflorum*; (c) *J. grandiflorum*, called kayydn; (d) *J. sambac*, called ydsam, ydsim, “male ostrich seeds”; (e) *Jasminum sambac*, called ydsamm, duhn al-ydsamm, “male ostrich seeds”; (f) *Nyctanthes pumila*, called sira “male ostrich seeds”; (g) *Nyctanthes arbor-tristis*, called sira “male ostrich seeds”, and (f) *cinale*, “male ostrich seeds.”

It had as its centre the town of the same name, in the Kazakh steppe and on the Volga, of Khwarazm. Its eponymous founder was Ahmad Yasawi, translated from Arabic into Eastern Turkish in 590/1191 (Mawlāna Ṣaff al-Dīn Orkūlī Khān, *Ndnt-ndma*, ed. A. Muminov and Z. Zandarbekov, Türkistan, Kazakhstān 1992, Turkish tr. K. Eradal, *Menendl Səyyid'l-dun, Nesh-e-nâme terceimesi*, Istanbul 1996), that Mongol influence in the Mamlūk state was that, even if the Yāsa had played some role in early Mamlūk society, this cannot have been long sustained, given the fact that the Yāsa and other Mongol customs must have been losing ground within the territories directly ruled by the Mongols, a process accentuated by the conversion to Islam of most of the Western Asian Mongols during the first decades of the 8th/14th century.


**YASAWIYYA** [see AHMAD YASAWI].

**YASAWIYYA, a Șuﬁ brotherhood present in Transoxiana, in Khwarazm, in the Kazakh steppe and in the Tatar world in Eastern Turkestān, in Turkey, in China and even in India.** It is eponymous founder was Ahmad Yasawi (d. 562/1166-7 [q.v.]). It had as its centre the town of Yasi (or Ḹḥāra, or Ḹḥāṣṣ, or Ḹḥāra) in the Khorasan, in the region of the Volga, of Khwarazm, in eastern Turkey, and as far as India (*Rahibāt Ḹim al-hāyat, 17-30; ‘Ali Șir-i ʿAṣfār, Nāyīm ul-mahabbe min yemeym il-futūw, ed. Eradal, Istanbul 1979, 385*). Then, according to the *Shaghdar al-Atārak* (written in the 16th century), Sayyid Atā, at the beginning of the 16th century, is supposed to have converted Uzbek Khān, the leader of the Golden Horde, to Islam. They also assisted the emergence in Khwarazm of an influential Yasawi line of descent, the Atāyya (i.e. of Sayyid Atā, 14th century; cf. D. DeWeese).

From the 15th century onwards, fleeing from the

Kāshfī, *Rahibāt Ḹim al-hāyat*, ed. ‘Ali ʿAskār Muḥīnīy, Tehran 1977, 17 maintain that Ahmad Yasawi was a disciple of Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 534/1140), the shaikh of Cingiz Khān and to have judged the elite members of the Ḹḥāṣṣayya [q.v.], the royal bodyguard, according to the Yāsa of Cingiz. Another of the sultan’s amīrs, ʿArikāy, is also said to have been knowledgeable about the Yāsa. Ayalon’s conclusion (pace the assertions of A.N. Poliak, in REL, ix [1935], 213-48, and BSOS, x [1940-2], 862-76, that Mongol influence in the Mamlūk state was pervasive and lasted until the dynasty’s end) was that, even if the Yāsa had played some role in early Mamlūk society, this cannot have been long sustained, given the fact that the Yāsa and other Mongol customs must have been losing ground within the territories directly ruled by the Mongols, a process accentuated by the conversion to Islam of most of the Western Asian Mongols during the first decades of the 8th/14th century.

Mongols, the Yasawi şeykhs arrived in Anatolia and became involved with an order of kalandars called Ḥusayn ibn Ṣafwal, founded by Kuṯb al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Zawātī (d. 1270), who was a poet whose name has been stated to be a disciple of Ahmad Yasawi (Neṣāʾīm al-majmaʿīb, 383-4; Ḥādīṯī Bektāsh Welt, Wilāyāt-nāme, Manābī-1 Ḥunākār Haci Bektāş-i Veli, ed. A. Gölpınarlı, İstanbul 1958, 9-11). The Anatolian mystical movements issuing from the Ḥaḍrat-i tariqa, such as the Bektahığiyya, called upon the patronage of Ahmad Yasawi, who thus appeared to be a heterodox Sufi, which he was not in Central Asia. The same phenomenon of the absorption of the Yasawiyya by the Kalandarıyya or the association of the Yasawiyya with the heterodox Sufi orders, was recorded in other regions of the Muslim world: in the north of India where an alleged descendant (?) of Ahmad Yasawi, Şaraf al-Dīn Türk Panipānī (d. 1349-50), was found leading a branch of the Cihat-i tariqa (cf. Th. Zarcone), in Eastern Turkistan (cf. the Ditān of Muhammad Ṣāḥib Zāli, 18th century, ed. Imān Tursun, Peking 1985); and in certain regions of Māwarra ḡar (e.g. Khāndājād Qundagān, 18th century, who was thought to be a descendant of Ahmad Yasawi, according to Rīḍā Fākhṛ al-Dīn, in Aṭṭār, i/2 (Orenburg 1901), 44).

In the 14th to 15th centuries the Yasawiyya were in competition with the Nakshbandiyya, who criticised various aspects of their doctrines and practices, such as the principle of the hereditary succession for the position of şeykh, the "Alid origins of the order, the practice of repetitive oral prayer (dhikr ḍaḥrī), called "dhikr of the saw (ara)" (in Arabic, dhikr al-mingārīr) (cf. H. Algar; J. Fletcher) which gave the Yasawiyya the name of Ḍ Ḥārīyya. Over against this prayer, the Nakshbandis set the silent repetitive prayer (dhikr khafīr), and, finally, the Nakshbandis criticised the dance (samāʾ) of the Yasawiyya. These two brotherhoods competed with each other, for the Yasawiyya did not proselytise exclusively among the nomads of the steppe, but equally among the sedentary inhabitants of Transoxania, where they played both a political and a social role. There was not, however, an equal sharing of influence between the Yasawiyya and the Khādżādī-ṇāma, which denounces its "reactionary, feudal and clerical" aspects (cf. A. Bennigen; Ch. Lemercier-Queïrây; K. Çağatay; Zarcone). It is possible today to determine the genealogical lines of the families that represented it, thanks to the genealogical lines (daḥṣar-i ittāzā) bequeathed to their families by their ancestors. These families are chiefly located in the south of Kazakhstan (Dašṭ-i Kipčak, Türkistan, Çimkent), where they are known as Ḵādžādī; in Khurasān, Daftīn, Khudān, Sabīl, etc., and in Turkmenistan among the Aḵīlāt tribes (the tribes of Aṭā, Ḵādżādī) (cf. S.M. Demidov, Muminov and K. Tayzanov). The Yasawiyya have disappeared from the other regions of the Muslim world except for Xinjiang (People's Republic of China), where they were still attested at the beginning of the 20th century, mingled with the Kalandariyya (cf. G. Jarring).

Three types of poetry have been ascribed to Ahmad Yasawī and to the Yasawiyya. The principal type is the Dašṭ-ī hikmat, of which a great number of manuscripts and several editions exist, which essentially can be classified as poetry (Dašṭ-ī hikmat-ī nīsargī, ed. Eralan, Istanbul 1983; and the Dašṭ-ī hikmat, ed. Yusuf Aţzmun, Istanbul 1994). Secondly, there is the Fakr-nāme, a short text in prose, which probably was used to introduce the first group (Eralan, Yetemîn Fakr-nāmes, in Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi, xviii, Istanbul 1977, 45-120). The third group, called the Ṣūfî, largely resembles the previous one. The Dašṭ-ī hikmat, a collection of poetry in Eastern Turkish, has been so enriched over the centuries that no one any longer knows whether certain poems were really written by the founder of the order (cf. Borovkov). This poetry, which was printed for the first time at Kazan in 1897, has as its themes divine love, unity with God, love of the Prophet, loyalty to the (Sunnī) tradition of the Prophet, encouragement of the practice of religion, privation and asceticism, and love of humanity. These poems were sung during ceremonies and are still sung today (Razīya Sultanova, Poetīkê slovo uzbeškích obyvatel (Opīt štětíkogolo usłedovata), Tashkent 1994). Other poets and Sufis subscribe to this literary and mystical tradition inaugurated by Ahmad Yasawī which has permeated all Central Asian literature: Turcoman;
Transoxanian, with Ištān Īkān (the labak of Kamāl al-Dīn āʿzāzān), Kūl ʿUbaydī (perhaps the pseudo-
youn of the ʿĪbād ʿUbaydī Allāh himself) and ʿAṣīm Kh.ʿAṭāh Īkān (cf. āʿzāz Īkān, Hūdām, Tashkent 1894-5, repr. 1993; ʿAbd al-Raʿūf ʿFitrāt, Ahmad Yasawi, in Maʿrifī wwa ʿokātiwā, Tashkent 1927, 6, 7, 8, and Begālī Kasimov); also Tātar literature, especially where this has given rise to a school of-

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ence may be made to the following: H. Alqar, Silent and vocal dhikr in the Naqshbandi order, in Maṣāʾeṣir, Khāmīn in the thirteenth century: the mausoleum of Khvāja Ahmad Yasawī, in Bīr (Iṣlāmān) 1995(3), 7-32; Baktīyūr Bābādjanov, Yasawī in Naqshbandiyā in Wazırān khorāzmi: iz iṣtīhāṣimīn (see XV-XVII c.), in Tāstānī taghilimi, Turkistan (Kaṭtabān) 1996, 75-96; V. N. Bayatov, Prokhojadnytsya Turkmen-Ata (prostonarodni' sred-

1. In Islamic history.

Nephrite was known to Eastern Turkic peoples as}

ahmad yasawī,

Ma'drif wa okituwā, Tashkent 1927,

khan Ozbeg nmim of the

al-Dīn ʿAzīm Khān, adja Ishan, wadja Ishan (cf. ʿAzīm ʿAlī Khān, nāqib in the 19th century: the

Yasawīyya — Yashm

Transoxanian, with Ištān Īkān (the labak of Kamāl al-Dīn āʿzāzān), Kūl ʿUbaydī (perhaps the pseudo-
youn of the ʿĪbād ʿUbaydī Allāh himself) and ʿAṣīm Kh.ʿAṭāh Īkān (cf. āʿzāz Īkān, Hūdām, Tashkent 1894-5, repr. 1993; ʿAbd al-Raʿūf ʿFitrāt, Ahmad Yasawi, in Maʿrifī wwa ʿokātiwā, Tashkent 1927, 6, 7, 8, and Begālī Kasimov); also Tātar literature, especially where this has given rise to a school of-

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1. In Islamic history.

Nephrite was known to Eastern Turkic peoples as
kash (see Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, 669-70), to the Mongols as kha and to the Chinese, who much prized it for artistic purposes, as yi. The Persian word has passed into Arabic usage. The English, French and German words “jade” have no connection, as was earlier suggested, with the name of the ancient Turks’ so-called “rain stone” (nada tag [q.v.] (see Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Johnson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases, London 1903, 444-5).

The river source for the nephrite used in the Islamic world, as in China, was the region of Khotan (q.v.) in the southern part of the Tarim basin (q.v.) of eastern Turkestan, where recovery of jade from local rivers is mentioned in Chinese sources as far back as the early 7th century A.D. Already in Maḥmūd al-Ḵašqārī’s time (11th century), two rivers flowing by Khotan were known as the Urūḏ Kāsh and the Kara Kāsh “White Jade” and “Black Jade”, from the varieties of jade recovered from them respectively (Diwan ḥūḏāl al-turk, tr. Atalay, ii, 152, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 226). On his journey from Kāšqār in 1895, Sven Hedin found jade on sale in Khotan and visited the site to the north-east of the town where jade was obtained from the bed of the Urūḏ Kāsh (Through Asia, London 1898, ii, 748, 754). Islamic geographers had known of its origin there from the 10th century, at a time when Khotan (q.v.) was part of the Muslim world, as in China, was the region of Khotan was not yet Muslim; the author of the Ḥudud al-ʿalam (372/982) states that “jade stone” (sang-i yāshm) came from the rivers of Khotan (tr. Minorsky, 85-6, § 9.18, comm. 234).

The awkward carving of some pieces, such as the handle on the inscribed piece in London, leaves no doubt that these jade cups were carved in Islamic Central Asia.

Other drinking vessels made for the Timūrids take the form of a globular jug with a short cylindrical neck and an S-shaped dragon handle, secured by rivets. The most impressive is a white jade example in the Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon (328). Inscribed around the neck with Ulugh Beg’s name and regnal titles, the jug can be attributed to 851-3/1447-9 and may have been made to commemorate his accession to the sultanate. Based on the shape, other jugs can also be assigned to this group and dated to the second half of the 9th/15th century. They include an undecorated drinking pot of green jade in the Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C., and one in the Museum of Natural History in Paris which was made in 876/1471-2 for the Tūmūrid ruler Sulṭān Husayn Baykara and was similarly inscribed with a poem in cartouches.

Several other jade objects are inscribed with the names of members of the Tūmūrid family. A tiny cylindrical container of white jade in the Asian Art Museum, San Francisco, bears a dedicatory inscription in the name of Ulugh Beg’s nephew, ‘Ali’ al-Dawla (820-64/1417-60), and a jade seal in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg (SA-13650) is inscribed with the name of Ulugh Beg’s mother Gawharshād. By their function, other jadite objects may be associated with royal patronage. A small object with dragon’s heads in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (02.18.765) may have been the quillon (blade-guard) for a dagger. A small circular pendant or belt-buckle of dark green jade in the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (no. 29), decorated with chinoiserie blossoms and inscribed with apotropaic verses, undoubtedly served as a talisman.

The Tūmūrid tradition of jade working was continued in the early Sāfawīd period, for a black jade jug decorated with delicate spiral arabesques inlaid in gold in the Topkapı Palace Museum is inscribed on the neck with the name of the first Sāfawīd Shīh...
Isma‘ılf I (r. 907-30/1501-24). It is unclear whether this object represents a new Şaffawi creation or a plain Timurid object decorated in the early Şaffawi period, for undecorated Timurid objects such as the handleless jug in the British Museum were decorated at the Mughal court, to which many Timurid jades passed. The Mughal emperors Djughāngir (r. 1014-37/1605-27) and Shāh Djughān (r. 1037-68/1628-57) were avid collectors of Timurid jades, no doubt because they traced their ancestry to the Timurid dynasty, and their names were inscribed or inlaid in gold or silver on several objects, including the Vanarasā cup and the white jug.

Jade continued to be used at the Ottoman court in Istanbul, where objects were made of and decorated with jade, itself often inlaid with gold arabesques and encrusted with precious stones. Some jade objects may have been captured in 920/1514 when the Ottomans defeated the Şaffawis at the battle of Cāldirān [q.v.]. A two-handled cup of dark green jade inlaid with gold arabesques and encrusted with rubies in collar mounts in the Topkapi Palace Museum (3815) has inlay similar to that on the jug of Isma‘ılf I, although the encrusted rubies set in collar mounts are typical Ottoman work. A comparable jade dish in the National Collection, Krakow, was given in 1699 by Sultan Muṣṭafā II (r. 1106-15/1695-703) to Stanisław Malachowski, voivode of Poznań, on the occasion of the treaty of Carlowitz [see KARLOFCA], although the dish may have been in the Ottoman treasury for centuries. More typically Ottoman is a covered tankard of milky-green jade encrusted with cabochon rubies and emeralds in collar mounts set in a tracery of inlaid gold scrolls (Topkapi Palace Museum 3832). It can be attributed to the late 10th/16th or 11th/17th century on the basis of its shape, first attested in ceramic from ca. 1560. A covered ewer (Topkapi Palace Museum 3800), with a shape known from the 9th to 17th century, for undecorated Timurid objects such as the jug of Djughāngir at the Mughal court, to which many Timurid jades passed. The Mughal emperors Djughāngir (r. 1014-37/1605-27) and Shāh Djughān (r. 1037-68/1628-57) were avid collectors of Timurid jades, no doubt because they traced their ancestry to the Timurid dynasty, and their names were inscribed or inlaid in gold or silver on several objects, including the Vanarasā cup and the white jug.

Jade was also used in Ottoman times for military and ceremonial objects, many preserved in the Topkapi Palace Museum. The most famous is a gold canteen with a dragon-headed spout and set with jade plaques, themselves encrusted with rubies and emeralds on gold tracery (3825). This type of flask, used to hold the sultan’s drinking water, is depicted carried by the sultan’s hadra [q.v.] and an occasional condiment dish of dark green jade in the form of a palmate leaf (3822), Indian cups, jugs, boxes, and jade cups. Luxury objects produced for the Kāşār court of Persia also combined jade with other precious materials. A jewelled jade dish in the Kunsthistorische Museum, Vienna (Plastikensammlung no. 3223) presented by the Persian ambassador Abu ʿl-Ḥasan KĀšānī to the Austrian Emperor Francis I (r. 1792-1835) has a central gold plaque enameled by the painter ‘Alī, who also painted an oval mirror with a carved jade handle now in the Crown Jewels Collection, Tehran.


*SHEILA S. BLAIR AND J.M. BLOOM*
YASHRUṬIYYA — YATIM

1. In the Qur'ān and classical Islamic law. According to the lexicographers, this term, which occurs in the Qur'ān, denotes a child, below the age of puberty, who has lost his father.

2. In modern legislation. The status of the yatīm is often parlous, above all in the towns and cities. They are little regarded, and form a reservoir of cheap manual labour, vulnerable to merciless exploitation and oppression (in certain countries there are organised networks for exploiting this cheap labour); in order to escape this status, they frequently choose to live on the streets (see the chapters by A. al-Azhari Sonbol, Adoption in Islamic society, A historical survey, and A.B. Rugh, Adoption in Islamic society, Contradiction or affirmation in a family-oriented society, in E. Fernea (ed.), Children in the Muslim Middle East, Cairo 1996, 45-67 and 124-41, respectively).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also T.P. Hughes, A dictionary of Islam, London 1885, 448-9; Fazlur Rahman, Major themes of the Qur'ān, Minneapolis and Chicago 1980, 47.

(E. Chaumont)

2. In modern legislation.

i. The status of the orphan as an heir.

Islamic law defines an orphan (yatīm) as a minor whose father has died. Under the basic qarā'ī rule that “the nearer in degree excludes the more remote”, orphaned grandchildren are excluded from any share in their grandparent’s estate if that grandparent is survived by a son. This denial of the orphan’s inheritance right was mitigated within the extended agnicline family, as the deceased’s responsibilities towards his lineal descendants were fulfilled by passing the inheritance en bloc to the first degree of his issue. With the growing breakdown of extended family ties in contemporary society, however, the qarā'ī rule is no longer readily supportable.

Protection of orphaned grandchildren within the immediate family has traditionally been undertaken by grandparents by means of voluntary gifts mir waqf, bequests and waqfīyya (q.v.). The grandparent often allocates his orphaned grandchild a share equivalent to
the share that the orphan's father would have been entitled to had he survived his father (the orphan's grandfather), thereby introducing the principle of representation, not recognised under the Sharī'ah.

Several Islamic countries have resorted to legislative means. The 1913 Ottoman Inheritance Law (based on a German model), introducing the principle of representation, enabled the orphaned grandchild to take the part of his deceased father in his grandfather's legacy of mārī property.

Egyptian reformers, adopting the system of "obligatory bequests," decreed (1946 Law of Wills: Articles 76-9) that a grandparent with orphaned grandchildren is presumed to bequeath in their favour what their deceased parent would have taken had he or she survived, provided that this does not exceed the "bequeathable third", and that the grandparent has not made a gift of the same value to the orphaned grandchildren inter vivos. If he has made them a lesser gift inter vivos, the obligatory bequest is reduced by this amount. If he has made other bequests instead, the obligatory bequests receive priority (1946 Law of Gifts). If he has made them a lesser gift inter vivos, the obligatory bequest is reduced by this amount. If he has made other bequests instead, the obligatory bequests receive priority (1946 Law of Gifts: Article 29 permits, but does not oblige, the grandparent, as a founder of a waqf, to provide for his orphaned grandchildren in the same manner).

These provisions, justified by the reformers on the basis of Kur'ān, II, 180, were substantially adopted in Syria (1951), Tunisia (1956), Morocco (1958), Kuwait (1971), Jordan (1976), Iraq (1979), Algeria (1984) and Israel (1996). Contrary to the Egyptian version, the Syrian, Moroccan, Jordanian and Algerian reforms concern only children orphaned by a predeceased son, and make no provision for grandchildren orphaned by a predeceased daughter. Also contrary to the Egyptian version, the Tunisian, Kuwaiti, Iraqi and Israeli reforms do not provide for orphaned great-grandchildren.

The Pakistani 1961 Muslim Family Laws Ordinance prescribes (section four) that if any son or daughter of the predeceased son or daughter shall receive per stirpes the amount their parent would have received had he or she outlived the predeceased. This reform represents the alternative system of "inheritance by right" and is based on the principle of representation.

Similarly to the Egyptian reform, the Pakistani one treats the predeceased daughter's children identically to the predeceased son's children. Contrary to the Egyptian reform, the Pakistani one does not provide for orphaned great-grandchildren. The main difference between the Pakistani reform and those of other Middle Eastern countries is that the Pakistani one places no maximum limit on the share that may be taken by orphaned grandchildren.

Both the Egyptian and the Pakistani reforms led to contradictory interpretations, some of which disrupted Kur'ānic-based rules of intestate succession. The Islāmisation of laws currently taking place in Pakistan endangers the survival of this reform.

ii. The management of an orphan's property.

The sharī'āt motivation is to prevent abuse of an orphan's property by relatives or by strangers. In the absence of a guardian, an orphan's property is deposited in the Sharī'āt court (it was called tābāh, or midīr al-kudāt, or bayt māl al-kudāt), its management supervised by a kāfīā.

Modern legislation obliges the guardian of a minor to obtain a Sharī'āt court's approval before concluding transactions affecting his ward's property (1858 Ottoman Law Code: Article 52). Moreover, the Medīalle (Articles 356, 441, 459) invalidates the guardian's sale or rent of his orphan ward's property if the price obtained was lower than the proper one.

iii. Orphans, foster care and adoption.

The modern period has witnessed the establishment of orphanages (Egypt, in the last decade of the 19th century), mainly supported by public mawāfi. Modern governments provide pensions and aid in case of the parents' death or incapacity. They supervise and support institutions providing occupational training and general education for orphans, and continue to support them after they leave the institution upon reaching the legal age of majority. Modern governments have also established a system of orphan foster care. Adoption is not recognised under the Sharī'āt. So far, statutory adoption has been introduced only in Turkey (1926), Tunisia (1958) and Somalia (1975). In India, the Adoption of Children Bill (1972) was opposed by Indian orthodox Muslims and consequently shelved. Modern states such as Egypt and India have created forms of de facto adoption, however.


YAWM (a., pl. ayām), "day" (a Common Semitic word, e.g. Akkad. ānum, Hebr. yām, Aram. yāwām, ESA yem), denoting the whole 24-hour cycle making up a day, whereas nahār means "the daylight period", i.e. from sunrise to sunset. See further on this, al-LAYLA WA 'L-NAHĀR.

Ya'm occurs as an isolated term in various specialised uses, in particular, in pre- and early Islamic times in the meaning of "day of battle"; for this, see AYYAM AL-ĀRAB. The pl. yawm can also occur, especially in early Arabic poetry, in a similar sense to its apparent antonym lūyān "nights", referring to the passage of time = "destiny, fate"; see H. Ringgren, Studies in Arabian fatalism, Upsala 1955, 38-9, and also Dahr.

In the compound ya'm al-dīn we have a technical Islamic eschatological sense, the "day of judgement, retribution" [see dīn and šā'ā]. For other compound expressions of a religious nature, see T.P. Hughes, A dictionary of Islam, 594-5.

For the divisions of the day, used by the ancient
Arabs in the absence of chronometers of any kind and subsequently applied in several cases to the times for the Muslim *sāḥib* or worship, see *ǎśr*; *atāma; ʿāṣa, *sālah.*

**Bibliography:** Given in the article. (Ed.)

**YAYA** (†), lit. "pedestrian," denoted, in Ottoman military usage of the 8th-10th/14th-16th centuries, infantryman.

Originally forming part of the *küçük* army serving directly under the ruler, in the 10th/16th century the *yüva* were considered part of the provincial forces. According to Mehməd Nəshrī [q.v.], under Sultan Orkhan peasant taxpayers were offered the opportunity of joining the army as *yaya,* and large numbers of people applied. Under Murād II, the *yüva* were supposedly given the nickname *enik* (puppy) as a form of derision (Nəshrī, *Kübət-Itsān-nāmā,* ed. Faik Resat Unat and Mehməd A. Köymen, Ankara 1949, i. 153-7); this may have been linked to their making a living from agriculture. Like the *μισέλλμης,* who performed military service on horseback under analogous conditions, the *yüva* were gradually demilitarised in the 10th/16th century, serving on building projects such as the restoration of the Aya Sofya. However, while many former *μισέλλμης* succeeded in becoming *timar* holders, the *yüva,* when their corps was abolished in the last quarter of the 10th/16th century, were declared ordinary peasant tenants. Organised in units known as *oğak,* the *yüva* took turns serving in the field, with those staying home (yomak) supplying those who went to war. An *oğak* before the rule of Selim I generally consisted of 2-4 men; by the end of the 10th/16th century, this had increased to 4-15 persons. The *yüva* were granted lands consigned to special registers, which were inalienable and could not be divided among heirs, such holdings being especially numerous in the *sanajak* of Sultanonu and Hamid. In spite of their peasant lifestyle, the *yüva* were considered servitors of the sultan (*asket;* as dues, they only paid the bride tax and monetary penalties in case of crimes or misdemeanours. Non-attendance at campaigns was deemed a serious crime, with mutilation a possible punishment. This rule was only rescinded shortly before the abolition of the *oğak,* in part because the depredations of the Djielali rebels had made it impossible for many *yüva* to support themselves.


**YAYIK,** the name in mediaeval Turkish usage for the Ural River, whence Russian *Yaika.* The river rises in the Ural Mountains separating modern European from Asiatic Russia and flows past the recent cities of Orenburg [see *Orenkai,* in Suppl.] and Kralık into the northern end of the Caspian Sea east of the Volga estuary, having a total course of 2,430 km/1,510 miles.

The Greek sources record it as *Dax* (Ptolemy, 2nd century A.D.), *Daik* (Menander Protector, 6th century) and *Gēkh* (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 10th century). The name was perhaps originally a Sarmatian one, the Sarmatians being masters of the lower Ural region in Ptolemy's time. In the surmise of Sir Gerard Clauson, the change from the Greek name to *Yaikal* in Turkish (*yayik*) in the initial consonant (dh > y) probably took place later, when the region had become ethnically Turkish, the Turkish people in question being unable to pronounce the voiced dental fricative. See Gy. Moovada, *Die Turcica,* Berlin 1958, ii. 116; Clauson, *Turkish and Mongolian studies,* London 1962, 124-5.

The river is almost certainly mentioned by the 4th/10th century geographer and historian al-Masʿudi in his *Tāhāb* and in the anonymous *Husūd al-ʿālam,* but under varying names. Thus the latter source, § 6.42, tr. Minorsky 74, wrongly calls it the Arosh (a confusion with the Arosh [q.v.]) and has it empty into the lower Volga. The traveller Ibn Fadlan [q.v.] must have crossed the Emba and Ural rivers on his way from Khārazm to Bulgār; his *Rihla* mentions many rivers but does not clearly name the Emba and Ural. Exactly when the Turkish name of the river came into general usage is uncertain, although Mahmut al-Kâshghârî (later 5th/11th century) does not mention it as such.

The steppes north of the Caspian and Aral Seas were in early Islamic times roamed over by such Turkic peoples as the Oghuz [see *ærzz,* Kimâk [q.v.] and, somewhat later, the Kipčak [q.v.], the whole region becoming known in Mongol times as the Dagh-i Kipčak [q.v. in Suppl.].

**YAYLAK** (*t.* originally *yaylagh,* "summer quarters," applied to the summer residences of the old Turkish *kağan*s or the summer pastures of nomadic or transhumant tribes of Inner Asia, its antonym being *kīčik* [q.v.] "winter quarters".

The origin of the word is from yāy "summer" but this originally meant "spring," cf. Kâshghârî, *Dīwān bahīt al-turk,* Tkkh. tr. Atalay, iii, 160-1, though already in the Orkhon inscriptions it means "summer," and it comes to mean this in most Turkic languages, with *yaylamak* "to spend the summer," cf. Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish,* 980, 901.

In Islamic times, the Turco-Mongol rulers and leaders who, from the 5th/11th century onwards came into the "northern tier" of the Middle East as far west as Anatolia with their pastoralist hordes, long kept up the pattern of alternate winter and summer residences, the latter usually in cooler and greener upland regions. The Il-Khânids favoured pasture grounds in eastern Anatolia, such as the Atalagh, and in Ḵāvarbâvari and Karâbâcharg (see B. Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran,* Leipzig 1929, 334-5, 404). These, and then later, those of the Safawids, are described by European travellers such as Kaempfer and, especially, Chardin; see the latter's *Voyages,* ed. Langlès, Paris 1811, ii, 285-6: the *yelaw.* See, in general, Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen,* iv, 292-4 no. 1941. A somewhat curious usage amongst the Mongols and Turco-Mongols of the 7th/13th century was *Yaylag* as a personal name for nobles, both male and female; see Rājīḥ al-Dīn, tr. J.A. Boyle, *The successors of Genghis Khan,* New York and London 1971, 105, 126-7, 129. A later Ottoman form, with a pseudo-Arabic ending, was *yaḥlayke* "rent paid for summer pastures or lodgings", see W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Worterbuches der Türk-Dialekte,* iii/2, 11.

The Arabic equivalent *māṣūf* is found in the 4th/10th century geographers and is the word normally added to define *yaylag* in the Turkish-Arabic vocabularies of the Mamlūk period, though Kâshghârî, iii. 47, has...
Yaylagh = mustuf. In Persian, an approximate synonym was sardir “cool region”. See further on these Arabic and Persian usages, kawir.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

**YAZAN**, an influential clan in pre-Islamic Hadramawt, first attested about the middle of the 5th century A.D. by inscriptions (with the spelling Ṣṣr) in the Wadi ‘Amākīn, in the Habbān area. A little later they emerge as closely allied with the important Sabaean clan Gaḥ, and by the early 6th century they seem to be probably the most powerful family in the Himyarite kingdom [see HMYRĀ, TUBBA’], claiming “lordship” (signified by the prefix Dḥū) over virtually the whole of what had been, up to about 300 A.D., the ancient kingdom of Hadramawt, together with the Dhofar coast around modern Ṣallāh, and the island of Sukuṭra [q.v.]. In the early 6th century, their members furnished the principal military commanders serving kings Maḏkarib and Yūsf Asʿar (= Dḥū Nuwās [q.v.]). Tradition (without epigraphic support) assigns to later in that century a legendary hero Sayf b. Dḥū Yazan [q.v.], who is also the centre of a cycle of folk tales.


**YAZD**, a city of central Persia, and capital of the province of the same name. It is situated on the Persian plateau at lat. 31° 54‘ N. and long. 54° 24‘ E. (at an elevation of 1,230m/4,240 feet), in an elongated basin stretching from near Kāghan to Bābk and bordered by the Dashi-i Kāwir. It was known in early times as Kātha (*Le Strange, Lands*, 285; Ḥudūd al-ʿlām, tr. Minorsky, London 1937, 128, 380), after a fortress and prison alleged to have been founded by Alexander (Ahmad b. Husayn b. al-Kātīb, Tārikh-i ʿaddīs-i Yazd, ed. Irādī Aḥṣāfī, Tehran AHS 1345/1966, 16). According to legend, later foundations grew up on this site (Muḥammad Muñif Bābkī, Ḏīmī-i muṣfīṭi, ed. Aḥṣāfī, Tehran AHS 1340-2/1961-3, i, 14 ff.). Yazd became known as dār-al-ibdāha, when Toghrīl Beg assigned it to the Kākḥyīd Abū Mansūr Farāmūr “ʿAlī” al-Dawlā, in 443/1051 (see below). The modern city has a population, according to the 1996 census, of 326,976.

1. Geography, topography and social structure.

Ibn Hawkal describes Yazd in the 4th/10th century as a well-built fortified city with two iron gates (*Le Strange, Lands*, 285). Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī Kāzīmī states that it was built of sun-dried bricks which lasted as long as burnt bricks elsewhere because there was hardly ever any rain, though water was plentiful, being brought in by channels from the hills and each house had its own storage tank (ibid.). Wind towers [see BADGIR, in Suppl.] were (and are) a distinguishing feature of the architecture of the city, so constructed as to convey any breeze available in the upper air into the sandāhs (semi-underground chambers) of the houses or other buildings (see Irādī Aḥṣāfī, Yazd-nāma, Tehran AHS 1371-1992-3, i, 357-57). Ahmad b. Husayn al-Kātīb mentions bāb-āsa constructed in the Muṣaffārīd and Timūrid periods (Tārikh-i ʿaddīs-i Yazd, 86, 92, 94). The domed roofs of the ab-anbās or mīnās (water storage cisterns) are another distinguishing feature of the city, and also its fine mosques [see Aḥṣāfī for a comprehensive account of monuments, religious and secular, of Yazd, the inscriptions to be found in them and also on tombstones, Yazd-nāma, and Tārikh-i ʿaddīs-i Yazd, 5 vols., Tehran AHS 1348-54/1970-5).

According to Ahmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātīb, Abū Maṣūr Farāmūr ordered the city wall (hīṣār) to be built with towers and four iron gates (op. cit., 61. See also Aḥṣāfī, Tārikh-i ʿaddīs-i Yazd, ii, 671-2). Part of the wall was destroyed by floods in 673/1275 (73). It was restored by the Arabeg Yūsf Shāh b. Tughān (685-714/1286-7 to 1314-15) (74). Muḥāzīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Muṣaffār (713-13/1314-15 to 1358) built an outer wall with seven gates enclosing various districts within the city (83). Shāh Yāḥyā, who took possession of the city in 770/1367-8, made further additions, including a ditch, towers and gates (Dḥāfīr b. Muhammad b. Ḥasan Daṣfārī, Tārikh-i Yazd, ed. Aḥṣāfī, Tehran AHS 1338/1960, 36, and see also Muḥammad Muṣfīd, iii, 738). The latter author states that Pīr Muhammad b. ‘Umar Shaykh, after putting down a rebellion against the Timūrids, built a fort for the residence of governors on the orders of Timūr and in 808/1405-6 a wall and a deep ditch in the south of the city (iii, 740; Ahmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātīb, 91-2). The fort was partly destroyed by Shāh ‘Abāhā (Aḥṣāfī, Tārikh-i ʿaddīs-i Yazd, ii, 697). In 1821 Muhammad Wali Mīrzá, when governor of Yazd, repaired the city wall and the ditch (Ḥusayn Nāṭī, Qū‘īn-i Daṣfārī, ed. Aḥṣāfī, Tehran AHS 1353/1974-5, 715-16. See also Aḥṣāfī, Tārikh-i ʿaddīs-i Yazd, ii, 674-5 and Survey of Persian art, iii, 1242-4).

In the 19th century, the city of Yazd was still enclosed by a ditch and a double wall with numerous detached towers in it, all in tolerable repair, while its circumference was about 2½ miles. The inner city was surrounded by gardens and habitations. It had 24 mahallas, 8 of which were within the walls, 31 mosques and 11 madrasas. The bazaar contained some 100 shops, and 34 caravanerais (A. Amanat, *Cities and trade*, London 1892, ii, 240, and see Hisn. ii, at Vol. Ill, 502). In the early centuries of the ‘Abbāsid caliphate, Yazd was included in the district of Ḩisār of the province of Fārs under the name of Kātha. After the Mongol invasions it became part of the Džībāl and, later, part of Kirmān province [see Kirmān, at Vol. V, 147b]. In the Safavid period it was one of the districts under the direct administration of the central government (*Ṭaḥkūrat al-mulūk*, tr. and comm. Minorsky, London 1943, 42). In the 19th century, when the Žill al-Sultān was at the height of his power, it formed part of the Isfāhān province. On the Žill al-Sultān’s disgrace in 1888 it became again an independent government but was returned to the Žill al-Sultān in 1890 (Curzon, *op. cit.,* ii, 243). For a time during the 19th century, Kūhānān and Shahr-i Bābak, belonging to Kirmān, were attached to Yazd as also were some of the villages of Fārs (Abbott, 144-5). At the present day the province covers an area of over 76,156 km² and consists of seven *gabristāns*, Yazd, Ardukān, Bābk, Taft, Abarkūh [q.v.]. Mirzāt and Maybud (*Yazd nūgh-i kawir*, a tourist guide and information brochure published by the Society of Yazd Public Libraries, 1375/1996-7, 29-30).
The province is bordered on the north and west by the province of Isfahan, on the north-east by Khurasan, on the south-west by Pars and in the south by the province of Kirmān. The Shīr Kūh massif, rising to 4,075 m/13,366 feet, lies in the south and west of the province. In the centre of the province to the north of the city of Yazd is the Khūrānīt massif, the highest point of which is 3,158 m/10,358 ft. In the east there are lesser mountains in the districts of Kḥūr, Bīyābānāk, Dāndāk and Ribāb-i Pūsh-i Bādām. There are small deposits of iron ore, lead, zinc and copper in the province, Ibn Hawkal mentions that a lead mine near Yazd was productively worked (Le Strange, Lands, 285); and old workings of lead ore survive near Bāk (Abbott, 134, 135). Marble is found in the Tūrān-pūshī mine in the Pīh-Kūh district to the south and south-west of the city of Yazd.

Large areas of the province are occupied by sterile, or almost sterile, hamadas due to their low rainfall or to an excess of salt in the soil or both (M. Zohary, On the geo-botanical structure of Iran, in Bull. of the Research Council of Israel. Section D. Botany, Suppl., vol. xi D Suppl. [March 1963], 182). Violent dust storms are frequent and moving sands encroach upon the city of Yazd, upon Bāk, and Bāk elsewhere. Husayn b. Muhammad b. Abī 'Rū다 Awtī in his translation of Māfarūkhī’s Māhān Isfahān, made in 729/1329, mentions that the farmers and Samarākīs (q.v.) were ordered to stabilise moving sands by the people of Yazd (Tariqīa-yi maḥān Isfahān, ed. ‘Abbas Ikbāl, Tehran AHS 1328/1950-1, 43). The climate of the province is described as temperate (ματαδό) (Hamd Allāh Mustawīf Kazwīnī, Nāẓa, ed. Le Strange, London 1915, Persian text, 74); Ibn Bākḥī adds that it since that it is situated on the edge of the desert the climate is inclined to be warm (ματαδό br-garm; Fārs-nāma, ed. Le Strange, London 1921, 122). The summers in the city of Yazd are, in fact, extremely hot.

The province lies in the rain shadow of the Alborz in the north and of the Zagros in the west. The average annual rainfall, which occurs in winter and spring, varies from 20 mm in Shīr Kūh to 60 mm in the lower parts of the province; in the city of Yazd it is only 55.4 mm. Ground water is provided by kanāts (q.v. and see Lombton, The qandts of Tazd, in JRAS, 3rd series, vol. 2, pt. 1 [April 1992], 21-35). From the 1960s onwards a large number of deep and semi-deep wells have been sunk, which has led to a lowering of the water-table. Of the 3,331 kanāts alleged to exist in the province, only 2,615 were said to be in operation in 1997. Some are over 50 km/31 miles long and 100 m deep (Aḥfār, Yazd-nāma, 143-14). Ground cover in most of the province is sparse owing to lack of rainfall, fluctuations in temperature and the destruction of plants over the centuries for charcoal burning and other purposes. Failure of rain has frequently resulted in shortages and sometimes famine. In 850/1446-7 a period of drought was accompanied by famine and plague (ṣūfā-i) (Aḥmad b. Husayn-al-Kāthī, 10). In 858/1454 the rains failed again and famine and plague ensued with heavy loss of life (276). Sudden or unusually heavy rains have also occasioned damage. In 673/1275 five days of consecutive rain in Urdu Bībūhī/ April-May resulted in floods and much damage to the city of Yazd (73-4). In 860/1456 there was again severe flooding in the city of Yazd as a result of heavy rain in Farwardīn/March-April (276). Muhammad Mufīd records that there were heavy snowfalls in 1037/1627-8 and that snow lay in the streets of Yazd for nearly three months (Dāmū’s-i mufīd, i, 133).

Despite unfavourable climatic conditions, the city of Yazd and the towns and villages of the province are surrounded by settlements and orchards, gardens and gardens. The mountain districts are carefully terraced. Water rights and land in many parts of the province are separately owned and highly sub-divided [see MA’, at Vol. V, 871a-b]. Absentee landownership does not appear to have been common. Local landowners predominated, some of whom enjoyed considerable wealth. Peasant proprietorship also existed. Akrāfī, especially in the former, share in lands was widespread (Lambton, Akrāfī in Persia: bīn-bīn 12th-14th centuries, in ILS, iv/3, 298-318; ‘Abd al-Wahhab Ṭarāż, Kābul-ī muṣaffat-i Yazd, ed. Aḥfār, in FIZ [1962-3], 3-123). Lands assigned as ṣātī or tiyāḥ (q.v.) and crown lands (kʰālṣīṣā) appear to have been rare, though Yoghīr Beg assigned Yazd, as stated above, and Abārḵūth to Abū Mansūr Farāīmūr in 443/1051 and Abī Sa‘īd, the Il-khan, gave Maybūd as an ṣātī to Muhammad b. Muzaffār (Aḥmad b. Husayn al-Kāthī, 82); allotted wages (māsūm) to him and appointed 200 men to be in his service, and there were cases of land being assigned as tiyāḥ under the Šafawīs (e.g. Muhammad Mufīd, iii, 276). There are frequent references to crown lands in the Šafawī period but few details (ibid., iii, 366 and passim). A fārān of Nādīr Shāh, dated 1155/1742-3, appointing Mizrās Hūsan (later Amīn b. Nāṣīr) as governor of Yazd, ordered him, inter alia, to exert himself in increasing kʰālṣīṣā property (Aḥfār, Sī fārān wa yak bukon marbāt bi Yazd, in FIZ, xxv [AHS 1361/1982], 396). In the Kadhār period there was also some kʰālṣīṣā property in Yazd. Several kanāts were wholly, or in part, kʰālṣīṣā (cf. Muhammad Dāfār, 510, 460, 591, 593, 594).

Grain was grown in the province but not in sufficient quantity for its needs (cf. Mustawīf, Nāẓa, 74). In the 14th century it sufficed for only two to three months, the deficit being met from Isfahān and elsewhere. Fruit was grown abundantly, including mulberries, pomegranates (those of Maybūd being especially good: Ibn al-Balkhī, 122), apples, pears, cherries, apricots, plums and grapes; and a variety of vegetables; cotton was grown, and silk manufactured and used in Yazd’s flourishing textile industry. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī (see Raṣīṣīṣ al-dīn Taḏīb) includes much information on the crops and agricultural methods of Yazd in his book Aḥfār wa aḥyā’ (ed. Aḥfār and M. Sūṭūdī, AHS Tehran 1308/1989-90). See also Lambton, The Aḥfār wa aḥyā’ of Raṣīṣīṣ al-dīn Faḍl Allāh Hamadānī and Raṣīṣīṣ al-dīn’s contribution as an agronomist, arboriculturist and horticulturalist, in R. Amitai-Preiss and D.O. Morgan (eds.), The Mongol Empire and its legacy, Leiden 1999). He draws attention to the skill and thrust shown by Yazdīs in agricultural development and states that the return they got from the land was seldom equalled in other places. He also mentions that the production of silk was higher than elsewhere. In the 19th century, much silk was still produced but of inferior quality. It was not enough to supply local workshops, and raw silk was imported from Gīlan and Khurān. In the second half of the century the production of silk declined and was largely displaced by opium and cotton (G.G. Gilbar, Persian agriculture in the late Qājār period 1860-1906: some economic and social aspects, in Asian and African Studies, xii/3 [1978], 350, and see Abbott, 105). Among other crops grown in the 19th century Abbott mentions Indian corn, millet, lentils, pulse, beans, madder, asafoetida, fruits, nuts and vegetables (134).

From early times Yazd had a thriving trade. Its
manufactures of silk and cotton were famous and exported to other parts of the Islamic world and India. Al-Isākhī and Ibn Hawkal mention cotton garments made in Yazd. Ibn al-Balkhl, writing at the beginning of the 6th/12th century, states that “in the districts round [Yazd], silk is produced, for the mulberry tree is here abundant. Further, they (sc. the Yazdiāt) manufacture excellent cloths in brocade also, of the kind named muslīfī, farākbī, and the like, for in Yazd they rear goats only, and the hair from them is ‘very strong’” (20, quoted by R.B. Serjeant, Islamic textiles, Beirut 1972, 55-6). So-Khanī found in Yazd makers of silk (harāt) of sundas (a kind of green brocade), extremely beautiful and close-woven which is taken from there to all countries (Kosmographie, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii, 187, quoted in Serjeant, op. cit., 56). Al-Makrīzī mentions the import of Yazdī textiles into Egypt in the 8th/14th century (ibid., 115). Marco Polo noted that Yazd “is a good and noble city, and it has a great amount of trade. They weave there quantities of a certain silk tissue known as Yesdī, which merchants carry into many quarters to dispose of” (H. Yule, The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian, London 1871, i, 89, quoted in Serjeant, 56). Pedro Teixeira mentions that the richest and finest carpets came from Yazd “from which place I saw some, each of which, on account of its workmanship and perfection, was valued at as much as a thousand ducats”, while the fabric known as al-kafṣīa was “the best, the finest and the most perfect” (quoted in Serjeant, loc. cit.). Friar Odoricus (in 1325) and Josafa Barbaro (in 1518) both noted the prominence of Yazd in the production of textiles. Teixeira mentions that the richest and finest carpets were brought to Yazd for processing and in 1907-8 there were over 50,000 camels in the city (421-2), which is an indication of the extent of the trade. J.B. Frazer, who was in Yazd in the early years of the 19th century, states that Yazd was one of the most prosperous towns of Persia and one of the great entrepôts between East and West. Caravans from Kābul, Kāshmīr, Bukhārā, Harāt, Mashhād and Kirmān were met in Yazd by merchants from Isfahān, Shīrāz, Kāshān and Tehran and a great interchange of commodities took place. Its manufactures of silk and other stuffs, felts, sugar-candy and sweetmeats commanded a ready market everywhere in Persia (An historical and descriptive account of Persia, 2nd ed. Edinburgh 1834, 64), E. Scott Waring also mentions that Yazd was an emporium for all the trade of Persia. Coarse perpets were sent there and sold to the Uzbegs and the people of Kūhrāsān, the merchant taking on his return journey silks, carpets, felts and Kāshmīr shawls (A tour of Spernach, London 1807, 76). By the middle of the century there had been a decline in the manufacture of textiles (Abbott, 79). Despite an attempt by Muhammad Kāhn, who was governor of Yazd 1863-70, to encourage the silk trade, the decline continued and by the end of the 19th century, or the beginning of the 20th, there were only 300 workshops and 2,000 cotton looms (Issawi, 268), whereas in 1870 Major Euan Smith had reported that there were 18,000 silk workshops in Yazd, employing probably 9,000 hands and that the silk was considered by some to be the best in Persia (The Perse-Balkhia Frontier Mission 1870, 1871, in Goldsmid, Eastern Persia, i, 175). Nevertheless E. Stack, who visited Yazd in 1881, wrote that prosperity was “a notable feature of Yazd. Hardly a beggar was to be seen and the houses, large and well-kept, as well as the dress of the people, and the number of merchants, were signs of a city supported by brisk trade” (Six months in Persia, London 1882, i, 267).

Meanwhile, although the silk trade had declined, the opium trade had increased in importance (see further, Gilbar, op. cit., 314 and passim). Rabino noted that towards the end of the century the opium crop absorbed all the floating capital of the province and that the money went to the villages (Banking in Persia, in Jnl. of the Institute of Bankers, xiii [1892], 35, quoted by Issawi, op. cit., 352). Other exports from Yazd included coarse loaf sugar, made from raw sugar imported from India, Java and Siam, which was sent to all parts of Persia (Abbott, 104), cotton, carpets, felts, madder roots, and nuts. The principal imports were cotton fabrics, copper, tin, lead, iron, drugs and spices and tea from India, and oil, candles, sugar, furs, crockery and piece goods from Russia (see further Curzon, ii, 241-2. See also Lambton, Persian trade under the early Qajars, in D.S. Richards (ed.), Islam and the trade of Asia, Oxford 1970, 118-19). Henna was also brought to Yazd for processing and in 1907-8 there were some 60 enterprises engaged in this (Issawi, 299).

In spite of the changes in production and manufacture, Yazd nevertheless remained a major distribution centre in the early years of the 20th century (G. Jones, Banking and Empire in Iran, Cambridge 1986, i, 99).

The local histories are rich in details of the lives of officials, landowners, ʿulamāʾ, merchants and others, but these are beyond the scope of this article. Many of them held land and shares in kanāts, some were very rich. The extent to which they expended their wealth on building and security of the city and throughout the province, and on kanāts and agricultural development, is notable. Some of the Muslim merchants, as well as the Zoroastrian ones, had links with India, at least from the Safavid period if not before.

The ṣayyids were a numerous and influential group. ʿAlīfār b. Muhammad states that there were nearly 1,000 descendants of the Imām ʿAlīfār al-Sādik ʿas. in Yazd when he was writing, i.e. in the 9th/15th century (108). Prominent among the Ḥusaynī ʿṣaybāʾ, descended from ʿAlīfār al-Sādik, were Rukn al-Dīn Muhammad b. Kāwām al-Dīn b. Niẓām (d. 732/ 1331-2) and his son Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muhammad (d. 733/1332-3), both of whom disposed of a great deal of property in shares in kanāts, land and real estate, much if not all of which they constituted into ʿaskārams (Lambton, Continuity and change in medieval Persia, New York, 1988, 156. See also J. Aubin, Le patronage culturel en Iran sous les Ilkhans: une grande famille de Yazd, in Le monde iranien et l’Islam, iii, [1975], 107-18).

Among Sayyid Rukn al-Dīn’s many benefactions was the complex consisting of a madrasa, mosque, observatory (ra’ās) and pharmacy (bāyāt al-adwiyā) in the Wādi al-saʿīd quarter of the city, which took its name from the observatory. ʿAlīfār b. Muhammad, 815-; Ahmad b. Ḥusayn al-Kātib, 1225-; Afšār, Yadigarhā-
yi Yazd, ii, 711; and see Parwiz Mohebbi, Technique et ressources au Iran du 7e au 19e siècle, Institut français de recherche en Iran, Tehran 1996, 199.

In the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries there appears to have been an increase in the number of šīffs in the province (Ālīshār, Yazd-nāma, i, 30). One of the most famous was Šahvīk Tākī al-Dīn Muḥammad Dādā (d. 700/1300-1), who migrated from Isfahān to Yazd and built ḵūndākahs at Bundarābād, Ašghārdār, Maybūd, and in various other locations (Djafar b. Muhammad, 112; Ālīshār, Yaddgird-ri Yazd, i, 126-8).

Physicians were also influential group in the city. Rashīd al-Dīn's early connection with Yazd appears to have been through two physicians, Šaraf al-Dīn 'Alī and Šams al-Dīn Rādi (Lambton, Continuity and change in medieval Persia, 308. See also Ālīshār, Rashīd al-Dīn wa Yazd, in Irān-dinšāsi, ii/1 [1970], 23-33).

The local histories also mention poets, painters and calligraphers who lived in Yazd. A marked feature of the population was the existence of skilled craftsmen, builders, weavers, potters, muqannās (also known as ḥākīkānān, who were highly rated for their skill and often employed outside Yazd), and a thriving peasantry, many of whom worked not only on the land but also as craftsmen and weavers. Among the peasants there was probably a higher proportion of peasant proprietors than in most other districts of Persia. Al-Kashānī (also known as ṭaḏgīnād, those who worked them) from the city to Fathābād and other properties that Rashīd al-Dīn was developing (Ṭārīḵ-i Ṭūḥāyti, ed. Mahin Hamblī, Tehran AHS [1948/1969, 116]). This seems unlikely to be the only reason, or even the real reason. More likely Rashīd al-Dīn brought the ṣawr-hānds (those who worked them) from Yazd to Tabrīz. The purpose of this, he alleges, was that the oxen should be used to transport night soil from the city to Fathābād and other properties that Rashīd al-Dīn was developing (Ṭārīḵ-i Ṭūḥāyti, ed. Mahin Hamblī, Tehran AHS [1948/1969, 116]). This seems unlikely to be the only reason, or even the real reason. More likely Rashīd al-Dīn brought the ṣawr-hānds (those who worked them) from Yazd to Tabrīz in order to make use of their agricultural skill.

Ibn al-Balkhī states that the Yazdīs were Sunnis, very pious and of right religion (Fārs-nāma, 122). Ālīshār b. Ḥusayn al-Kātbū remarks that the people of the Yaḵūbī quarter of Yazd had a sense of solidarity (ṣāḥib ʿaṣūf) and somewhat parochial in their attitudes (ṣāḥib ʿaṣūf) and some time occupied in earning their living (kast) and worship (ʿaṣūf), and most of them were well-to-do (maraṭṭaf al-ḥāl) (61). There is no information in the local histories of when or how the Yazdīs were converted to Sunnism. It is possible that their piety and devotion were carried over from Sunnism to Šīʿism. A further feature of the population was the existence of a Zoroastrian community (see Marāzgāh), between which and India there was constant intercourse. According to Abbott, there were some 200 Zoroastrian families in the town and 640 in eight villages round about (157). As ḥūmmats (q.v.) they were forced to wear special clothing and subject to other restrictions (138; see also Napier Malcolm, Five years in a Persian town (Yazd), London 1905). Ālīshār states that the number of Zoroastrians under the government of Yazd was estimated at 3,800 (175). Towards the end of the century their numbers rose. E.G. Browne, who was in Persia in 1887-8, states that there were 7,000-10,000 Zoroastrians in Yazd and its dependencies (A year among the Persians, Cambridge 1927, 404).

There was a small Jewish community, numbering about 1,900 in Yazd in 1867-8 (Issawi, 32), but Īvan Šmīth put it at only 800 in 1870 (175). Bābīs (q.v.) were to be found in Yazd in the middle of the 19th century and took part in the Bābī rising of 1848 (Browne, 67). The Bābīs in Yazd were given the right to trade in 1860 and to open schools in 1870, but as a result of anti-Bābī riots in 1903, they were virtually exterminated in Yazd (F. Bemont, Les villes de l'Iran, Paris 1969, 205-6). In the 19th century there were also a few Hindu merchants from Sind resident in Yazd. They enjoyed British protection and were engaged in trade with India (Abbott, 132; Īvan Šmīth, 173).

2. History.

Details of the pre-Islamic history of Yazd are sparse. Whether in fact Yazdagird III spent two months in Yazd after his defeat at Nihāwān in 21/642 before he set out for Marv, where he arrived in 31/651, seems doubtful. The story related in the Tārīḵ-i qudatī-ri Yazd by Ālīshār b. Ḥusayn al-Kātbū that he buried his treasure in three wells in the Yazd district, and that the first of these was later found by the Atābēg 'Izz al-Dīn Langar (599-604/1194 to 1207-8), the second by Muhārīr al-Dīn Muhammad b. Muẓaffar (713-59/1314-58) and the third by the people of Yazd in the time of Ḳandār b. 'Umar Šahvīk, who became governor of Yazd in 808/1405-6 (46-8), is almost certainly legendary. There is mention of the appointment of 'Umar b. Mughīra as governor of Yazd during the caliphate of 'Uṯmān and some other of Arabīs. The evidence for a governor of Yazd in the time of Ḳandār b. 'Umar Šahvīk is alleged (Ālīshār b. Ḥusayn al-Kātbū, 53; Djafar b. Muhammad, 16). Conversion to Islam is said by Ālīshār b. Ḥusayn al-Kātbū to have taken place during this same caliphate (53). In fact, it is likely that conversion was more gradual. Those who retained their Zoroastrian faith were subject to the ḡīza (q.v.). It seems probable that Yazd formed part of Fars during the Umayyad caliphate. With the rise of Āḥūdī, his supporters appear to have defeated Abu ʿl-ʿAlāʾ al-Tawḥīdī, the Umayyad governor. Little, however, is known of the history of Yazd under the early Āḥūbāṣids; it is not until the Saldāḵ period that more detail is available, and even then the information in the local histories of Yazd (which are of much later dates) is confused and chronologically unreliable.

When Toghril Beg took Isfahān from the Kakāyīd Āḥūdī, his successor (see Kākāyīd) in 443/1051 and made Isfahān his capital, he assigned to Abu Mansūr as an āḥūdī Abarkūh and Yazd, both of which had been controlled by the Kākāyīds. There is no information in the local histories of when or how the Yazdīs were converted to Šīʿism. It is possible that their piety and devotion were carried over from Sunnism to Šīʿism. When Toghril Beg took Isfahān from the Kākāyīd Āḥūdī, his successor (see Kākāyīd) in 443/1051 and made Isfahān his capital, he assigned to Abu Mansūr as an āḥūdī Abarkūh and Yazd, both of which had been controlled by the Kākāyīds. There is no information in the local histories of when or how the Yazdīs were converted to Šīʿism. It is possible that their piety and devotion were carried over from Sunnism to Šīʿism.

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in the battle. During the reign of Arslân b. Toghrîl (556-71/1161-76) Garšasp’s two daughters ruled Yazd. Rukn al-Dîn Sâm b. Langar was appointed atabeg to them and married to one of them. He was apparently incompetent and replaced by his brother ‘Izz al-Dîn (Qâfar b. Mubâhâm, 23), who was the real founder of the dynasty known as the Atabegs of Yazd. The benefactions of Garšasp’s daughters in Yazd are spoken of in the local histories and seem to have been considerable; and under the Atabegs prosperity and development continued.

‘Izz al-Dîn Langar was succeeded by his son Wâdânûr, who had an unevenly successful rule of twelve years. He was succeeded by Kuft al-Dîn, during whose rule further building and development was carried out (Ahmad b. Husâyân al-Kâtîb, 69-70). Kuft al-Dîn died in 626/1228-9. He was succeeded successfully by his son Muhammâd Shâh and the latter’s son Sulhur Shâh, who sent an offer of submission to Hûlêgû and received in return a diploma for Yazd. He was succeeded by his son Tâkî Shâh, who ruled for some twenty years and died in 670/1271-2 (72-3). During the reign of his son and successor Ālât al-Dawla (‘Ālât al-Dîn), the great flood of 673/1274-5 occurred. Ahmad b. Husâyân al-Kâtîb relates that ‘Ālât al-Dawla was so shaken by the flood that he died within a month (74). His brother Sulhur Shâh succeeded him.

Towards the end of the 7th/13th century Yazd became increasingly subject to interference from the Mongols. According to Mustawfî, the tâmâsqa dues of Yazd and the province amounted to 251,000 dinârs (Nîzâr, 74). Rashdî al-Dîn states that in 694/1294-5 Baydâv gave a draft for 1,000 dinârs on the taxes of Yazd to Nawrzû and the government of Yazd to Nawrzû’s son Sulhun Shâh, whose mother was, he states, Sulhun Nasab Kâhûrân, the daughter of ‘Ālât al-Dîn, the son of the Atabeg Muhammâd Shâh (Târîk-kî mubârâk-kî gâhzînî, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 75). If Ahmad b. Husâyân al-Kâtîb’s account of the genealogy of the Atabegs is correct, she must have been the great-great-granddaughter and not the granddaughter of Muhammâd Shâh. There is, however, no record of Sulhun Shâh taking up government.

According to Rashdî al-Dîn, Yazd, like many other places suffered from the depredations of the Mongol tax-collectors. He gives a lurid account of their extortion in the villages of Yazd (op. cit., 249) and of a particular occasion when they descended on the village of Firuzâbâd (299). The owner of this village has been identified by Aûbûn as the Sayyid Nîzâm al-Dîn ‘Alî b. Muhammâd b. Mâhûz b. Râ’s Yazdî, a friend and contemporary of Râghîd al-Dîn (Une grande famille de Yazd, 111). That extortion took place is very probable, but at the same time the foundations of Shams al-Dîn Dîwâynî and his agent in Yazd, Shams al-Dîn Muhammâd Tâzîkî (Tâdîrkî Kûkî) of Rashdî al-Dîn himself, and more particularly, of Sayyid Rukn al-Dîn and Sayyid Shams al-Dîn are witness to wealth and prosperity in Yazd at the close of the 7th/13th and the early years of the 8th/14th century (Lambton, Aqûfî in Persia, 313-5; eadem, Continuity and change in medieval Persia, 65-6). After Ghâzân became established in Tabrîz, the Atabegs apparently sent an annual piyûkshâq (q.v.) to the ordu. Yusuf Shâh withheld this. Ghâzân sent Yusidr (or Toghêy b. Yusidr) to Yazd with instructions to confirm Yusuf Shâh in his government if he paid the tribute. When Yusidr drew near to Yazd, Yusuf Shâh fortified himself in the city and sent his mother to Yusidr with presents to intercede for him. Yusidr treated her with gross disrespect and refused the presents that she had brought. She returned to Yazd and told Yusuf Shâh what had happened. He was furious, made a night sortie from the city, killed Yusidr and took his women prisoner. When Ghâzân heard of this, he sent the governor of Isfahân Muhammâd Idâjjî with 3,000 cavalry to overthrow Yusuf Shâh. The latter, realising that the expedition was impossible, fled with his women, army and the prisoners whom he had taken from Yusidr to Sîstân. The people of Yazd submitted to Idâjjî, who, having appointed an amir as dârîqâh (q.v.), returned to Isfahân (Qâfar b. Mubâhâm, 26-8; Ahmad b. Husâyân al-Kâtîb, 74-6). Muhammâd b. ‘Alî b. Muhammâd Shâbânkârâ’î adds the information that Yusuf Shâh was captured in Khurâsân, taken to the ordu and executed (Maqâm’â al-ansâh, ed. Mîr Hâshîm Mûhâdîth, Tehran AHS 1363/1984-5, 210-14). Rashdî al-Dîn does not refer in detail to these events; he merely mentions that Toghêy b. Yusidr was dismissed (i.e. turned out) from the office of âhûmâ of Yazd (op. cit., 357).

Yusuf Shâh was the last of the Atabegs of Yazd to exercise effective rule: his son Hâdîjî Shâh was finally overthrown by a combination of Mużaffârîds and İndjû’îds (q.v.) in 718/1318-19. In 719/1319-20 Mubârîz al-Dîn Muhammâd b. Mużaffâr was recognised as governor of Yazd by Abû Sa’îd, the last İndjû’î (q.v.). In the disorders that occurred after the death in 736/1335 of Abû Sa’îd, Yazd was subjected to the constant movement of troops (though the numbers were probably small). In 751/1350-1 the İndjû’îd Abû İsâhîb besieged Mubârîz al-Dîn in Yazd but failed to take the city, and as he retired, he laid waste the countryside and closed the roads. Snow and rain also impeded movement. No grain reached the city and severe famine ensued (Mu’in al-Dîn b. Djalâl al-Dîn b. Muhammâd Mawdhib-i ildhi, ed. Sa’îd Nâfşî, Tehran AHS 1326/1947, 217 ff). However, by 754/1353 Mubârîz al-Dîn had established his supremacy over a wide area, including Yazd. Before long, internecine strife broke out among the Mużaffârîds which led to Mubârîz al-Dîn’s deposition in 759/1358. Internecine strife continued under his successors.

In spite of the prevailing turbulence and the internal warfare of the Mużaffârîd era, Yazd apparently prospered under them and was extended. New villages and kânâtûs were made (Muûţdî, i, 121-2 and passim), madrasas and libraries built. Yaîbî b. Shâh Muţaffâr, who took possession of Yazd after Timûr’s withdrawal after his first invasion of Persia in 789/1381, and others of his family made a number of buildings in the city and its vicinity, including the Sulhun İbrâhîm bazaar built by Shâh Yaîbî’s sister’s son, and the Khatûn bazaar beside the Friday mosque, consisting of 60 shops with hudiqâs above them, built by Shâh Yaîbî’s mother; Shâh Yaîbî’s aţâr Rukn al-Dîn also built the Dallâlâh bazaar (Qâfar b. Muhammâd, 36-7; Ahmad b. Husâyân al-Kâtîb, 86-7; and see further R. Finder-Wilson, Timurid architecture, in Camb. hist. of Iran, vi, 730 ff).

In 795/1392 Shâh Mânsûr b. Muţaffâr was defeated and killed by Timûr [q.v.] who had left Transoxiana in 794/1392 to begin his second campaign against Persia. The remaining Muţaffârîd princes submitted to Timûr and were executed, apart from two of Shâh Shudjâ’s (q.v.) sons (who had earlier been blinded, one by Shâh Shudjâ and the other by Shâh Mânsûr; Muûţdî, i, 160). Timûr’s eldest son, ’Umar Shâykh, became governor of Fârs, including Yazd. He died in 796/1394 and was succeeded by his son Pîr Muhammâd. Disorders meanwhile raged at Yazd and the neighbouring territory, and Pîr Muhammâd set out for Yazd and
successfully besieged the city in 797/1394-5. Ahmad b. Husayn al-Katib says that there was severe famine in the city and that nearly 30,000 died, but his account is somewhat confused (89-91). As a result of these events, new fortifications were constructed in the city by the Timurids (as stated above) and completed in 799/1396-7. In 808/1405-6 Iskandar b. ‘Umar Shaykh came to Yazd and made further additions to the fort and the wall and added a moat (Ahmad b. Husayn al-Katib, 92).

In due course Shâh Rohk [q.v.] became Timur’s successor. Governors were appointed over Yazd. The most notable of them was the amîr Djalîl al-Dîn Çakmâk, who held office from ca. 831/1427-8 until 850/1446-7 and gave Yazd a period of peace. He and his wife Bibi Fatima and son Amîr Shams al-Dîn Muhammad Mirak erected many buildings, religious and secular, in Yazd and the neighbourhood and constituted many âskâf for them. Among them was the new Friday mosque in the Lower Dâhâk quarter, which was richly endowed by Amîr Çakmâk. It was begun in 840/1436-7 and completed by Bibi Fatima in the following year. In the neighbourhood of the mosque a khâna-khâb, a caravanserai, a hammâm, a cistern, a kâmâd-khâna (confectioner’s shop) and a bazaar were built and a well dug (Dja’far b. Muhammad, 79-80; Ahmad b. Husayn al-Katib, 97, 99; Mufid, i, 170 ff.). The qa’târ in the city New Friday 849/1445 is printed as an annex to the Djâlam-ı mutifide, iii, 871-84. Bibi Fatima, among her other benefactions, made a mill outside Yazd in the Sar Âbî Naw quarter near Dîhâbd. It was, so Ahmad b. Husayn al-Katib states, continually in operation and the nearest mill to the city (98). Encouraged no doubt by the stability provided by the government of Amîr Çakmâk, a number of buildings were also made by the inhabitants of Yazd in the city and the neighbourhood.

By 857/1453 control over most of Persia, including Yazd, had passed to the Kara Koyunlu [q.v.], who were succeeded by the Ak Koyunlu [q.v.]. In 858/1454 there was, according to Muhammad Mufid, severe famine in Yazd, heavy loss of life and an outbreak of plague owing to the movement of troops and the disposal of the population (i, 204-6). The severe floods of 860/1456 caused further damage. Troop movements and struggles between the contending parties for supremacy continued in Yazd and the neighbourhood as elsewhere in Persia throughout the second half of the 9th/15th century. This does not appear to have caused major disruption in the economic life of Yazd, for the Venetians in the late 9th/15th century recognised Yazd as an important manufacturing centre (Josafa Barbaro and Ambrogio Contarini, Travels to Tartar and Persia, Hakluyt Soc., first series, no. 49, London 1873, 60, 72-4, 127). Trade with India, which was to become important in the Safavid period, was also probably increasing at this time.

In 907/1501 Ismâ’îl Shâfâvi [see ûsmâ’î] was crowned in Tabriz, but Yazd was not taken until 909/1504. Thereafter, Yazd became a province of the empire, with governors and officials appointed over it and taxation levied by the central government. For most of the Safavid period, Yazd was under the kâhsa administration, i.e., directly administered by the central government under a waṣîf sent by the central government to the province (K.M. Röhrborn, Provenienz und Zentralgewalt Persiens im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert, Berlin 1966, 122-6). Few of these were local men, though there were exceptions, for example, Mîrzâ Khâlid Allah, whose family came from Bîhâbd, one of the villages of Bîf, and who became waṣîf of Yazd in 1034/1624-5 (Mufid, iii, 190 ff.). Officials who came from outside did not, on the whole, spend their wealth in Yazd on local developments, but they relied on the confidence and loyalty of the local population. Trade flourished and local patriotism continued, but in the absence of strong local government it did not express itself in local development to the extent that had been the case under the Kâksîyids, the Atabegs of Yazd, the Muzaffarids and Amîr Çakmâk.

During the reign of Shâh Sulâmî, Yazd was a weakening of royal authority and a decline in security. In 1110/1698-9 Baluch tribesmen ravaged Kîrmân and almost reached Yazd (L. Lockhart, The fall of the Safavi dynasty, Cambridge 1958, 46). Revolts broke out in various parts of the empire. Finally, Mahmoud b. Mir Ways set out from Kandahar to attack the Safawids. After an abortive siege of Kîrmân, he advanced on Yazd, the outskirts of which he reached in February 1722. The population shut the gates of the city and prepared for a siege. The Afghans were driven back with some loss of life and so Mahmoud abandoned the siege and marched on Isfahan (ibid., 131-2) and in 1134/1722 the Persian forces were defeated at Gulnâbâd. During the brief period of Afghan domination Yazd was besieged several times.

With the defeat of Ashraf by Nâdir Kûl Khan (later Nâdir Shâh Afshar [q.v.]) in 1142/1729, ‘Isa Kûl Khan, the Kâkuyî governor of Yazd, fled. Nadir was now in control of a wide area including Yazd (Mîrzâ Mîhdî Astarâbâdî, Dja’lam-ı mutifide-yi nadrî, ed. Sayyid ‘Abd Allâh Anwar, Tehran AHS 1341/1962, 118). In due course, Afghârî governors were appointed over Yazd (Muhammad Dja’far, 282 ff.). It may be that Yazd benefited from Nadir Shâh’s exemption of taxation, which he granted to Persia after his successful Indian campaign in 1151-2/1739-9 (as Muhammad Dja’far alleges), but the remission was soon to be rescinded and exactions were renewed; 4,000 tâmiins were demanded from Yazd (284). This provoked an uprising. Meanwhile, news of the assassination of Nâdir in 1160/1747 arrived. The Afghârî governor of Yazd fled (285-6). ‘Adîl Shâh, Nâdir’s nephew, then sent ‘Alam Khan to Yazd as governor. His extortionate conduct provoked a rebellion of the people, and in 1161/1748 Muhammad Tâkî Khan Bâbî set out from Bârî for Yazd with 70 riflemen (302). After a siege of three or four days, ‘Alam Khan escaped from the fortress and fled to Kûhurasân (304-5). Muhammad Tâkî Khan, having made himself master of Yazd, received a rakam from Shâh Kûlî Mîrzâ, Nâdir’s grandson, who had succeeded Nâdir’s nephews, ‘Adîl Shâh and Ibrahim (307). He held office for 52 years, first under the Afghârs, then under the Zands and finally under the Kâdîars. He was succeeded by his sons ‘Alî Nâfî, who held office for seven years, and ‘Abd al-Rahmân Khan, who was dismissed and succeeded by a series of Kâdîar governors. During Muhammad Tâkî Khan’s government Yazd experiences a new period of development and prosperity, an increase of population, and the bringing into operation of new fânâds, the creation of gardens and charitable buildings and the institution of waṣîf for their upkeep (308 ff., 326, 340-83, 463). His son ‘Alî Nâfî also made many benefactions in Yazd and the neighbourhood (493 ff.). However, during these years Yazd was not entirely immune from military expeditions by the contending parties and their demands for revenue. The precise course of events is, however, somewhat confused and the sources vary in their accounts. After Karîm Khan had made himself master of most of Persia by 1170/1765, his officials came to Yazd to collect taxes (415). His
successors attacked Yazd several times and demanded revenue.

The Kadjars, like the Safawids, sent governors to Yazd. Many of them were Kadjar princes. The appointment of a local man to the government was the exception. The most notable of the noble governors was Muhammad Wali Mirzâ, who held office from 1821 to 1828. He constructed a number of kanâts and repaired others (Muhammad Dja'far, 705 ff.), and founded charitable buildings (606, 620 ff.). During his governorate, trade prospered (600). Of Nâşir al-Dîn Shah’s twenty-four governors, Muhammad Kâmil Wali, who held office twice (1865-70 and 1876-80), was the most outstanding.

During the Russo-Persian war of 1826-8 disorder spread throughout the country. In Yazd ‘Abîl-Ri’dâ Khan b. Muhammad Ta’kî Khan Bâbî headed a revolt during the absence of the governor Muhammad Wali Mirzâ in Tehran, and turned out the latter’s family and entourage from Yazd. Husayn ‘Ali Mirzâ Shûdijâ al-Salâmâ was appointed governor of Kârnâmân, which had also revolted, and of Yazd, and was sent to restore order. He laid siege to Yazd but failed to reduce it and set out for Kârnâmân. In 1830 he renewed operations against Yazd without permission from Tehran. Abâbâs Mirzâ [q.v.] was accordingly sent from Tehran to restore order. He succeeded and proceeded to Kârnâmân. After he was summoned back to Tehran, ‘Abîl-Ri’dâ Khan and Shûdijâ Khan of Rawâr (who had been in rebellion in Kârnâmân) joined forces and renewed their rebellion but were defeated and captured by government forces. ‘Abîl-Ri’dâ Khan was taken to Tehran, and was handed over to Muhammad Wali Mirzâ and killed in revenge for his action in turning out Muhammad Wali Mirzâ’s family and entourage from Yazd (‘Abîl-Qâhir Tâhirî, Tarîkh-i Yazd, included in his Tadkhil-at-îDYalî, in Afshar, Yazd-nâmâ, ii, 1, 177-237, at 206 ff.)

On the death of Muhammad Shâh in 1834, there was renewed rioting in Yazd, but it subsided after Nâşir al-Dîn established himself on the throne in Tehran. In 1840 Abî Kâmil Mahâlîâr [see Ağá Kâmil] mounted a rebellion in Kârnâmân and Yazd. In 1848, there was a Bâbî uprising. Riots took place against the Tobacco Kêhte in 1890, against the Belgian customs administration set up in 1899, and against new tariff charges in 1903. In the latter part of the 19th century, modernisation began. There was an increase in the number of schools and of the local press. In the 20th century there was strong support for the Constitutional Movement and the formation of andijums in its support [see Durâr. iv, qâmûya. iii]. Under the Electoral Law, Yazd had the right to send two deputies to the National Assembly. Some of those elected played an outstanding part in the deliberations of the Assembly.

Yazd, throughout the Islamic period, maintained its distinctive character. Strong local patriotism was a marked feature. It is to be ascribed, in part at least, to the remoteness of Yazd and its situation on the edge of the Central Desert of Persia, and the fact that it did not lie in the path of invaders. More than any other city in Persia, it owed its development and growth to kanâts. Without them it could not have existed, still less have sustained a civilisation that, from time to time, attained a high degree of excellence. It shared the religion, language and literary heritage of its neighbours, but “because of its utter dependence upon kanâts it developed a strong personality of its own, different from that of other cities; and its people acquired a stability and firmness of character, self-confidence and assurance which distinguished them from the inhabitants of other cities. They had a special sense of identity with the soil. They tended it with love and care and made it flourish with the water of its ganâts, which they brought out with skill and toil from the depths of the earth” (Lambton, The ganâts of Yazd, 35). Until the development of modern communications, the spasmodic nature of the control exercised by the successive governments that ruled in Persia enabled local culture to flourish, and the fact that Yazd was situated on one of the trade routes from the Persian Gulf to the interior of Persia and Central Asia undergirded its economic development.

Yazd, some, but not all of which, are mentioned and utilised in the article.

YAZDADJIRD III, in Persian Yazdagedd, son of Shahriyar, son of Ḵusrav Aparwāz, the last Sassānīd emperor (reigned from the end of 632 or beginning of 633 till his murder at Marv in 31/651). It was in the early years of his reign that the Arabs started raiding into 'Irāq, defeating the Sasanid army at al-Kādisiyā [q.v.] and in other battles, capturing the capital Ctesiphon-al-Mada'in in March 637, and gradually extending across the Iranian plateau to occupy the whole of Persia. For further details, see sāsānids, at Vol. IX, 80.

YAZD, Mirzā Muhammad (Farrukhī) (1889-1939), Persian poet, journalist, and one-time Majlīs deputy in the post-Constitutional and early Pahlawī periods. Born of modest origins in Yazd, he spent a few years in the traditional maktabs and briefly attended a school founded in Yazd by English missionaries. The Constitutional movement (1905-9) attracted him to politics, and his "patriotic masāmsūn" poem of 1909 so enraged Dirgham al-Dawla Kashkālī, the governor of Yazd, that he ordered the sewing together of his lips, an event which provoked protests in Yazd and Tehran. In late 1910 Farrukhī left Yazd for the capital, where he published his poems in the radical press such as ʿĀzād ("Liberty"). When Dirgham al-Dawla fell from office, the new governor of Yazd, Ḥājjī Fakhr al-Mulk, made some compensation to Farrukhī.

During the First World War, Farrukhī was among those journalists who, in November 1915, left Tehran for Kuṃ and the kumīta-yi Dīfā-i Millī ("Committee of National Defence"), which later moved to Kirmānšāh where it founded the Davāt-i Muwakkat-i Millī ("Provisional National Government") under the premiership of Nizām al-SAʿīda Māfī. When the Russians took over western Persia and suppressed the Provisional Government, Farrukhī went to 'Irāq where he was detained by the British army. He escaped from Baghduzd and eventually returned to Persia, where he was briefly taken into Russian custody on suspicion of being a British agent.

In 1919 Farrukhī opposed the premier Wuthuk al-Dawla's [q.v.] ill-fated agreement with the British, and again in 1921 he opposed the coup d'état of Rīḍā Kāhn (the future ʿĪrāq Shāh Pahlawi). Subsequently he founded his newspaper Tyāfān ("Storm"), of which the first issue appeared on 26 August 1921. Publication of Tyāfān was often interrupted, and during the eight years of its life, the paper was suppressed more than fifteen times; yet each time it was banned, Farrukhī would publish in other periodicals such as Sūrat-i Shark ("Star of the East"). Paykār ("Battle"), Kūyān ("Uprising"), and Tāleṣ-ye Āṭa-yi Afkār ("The Primal Mirror of Ideas").

In 8 March 1922 Farrukhī and a group of opposition journalists took refuge in the Soviet embassy in Tehran, but were persuaded to leave by Rīḍā Kāhn, then the Minister of War. When, on 28 October 1923, Rīḍā Kāhn became Prime Minister, Farrukhī expressed his opposition, but in the same period favoured Rīḍā Kāhn's short-lived inclination towards forming a republic in Persia. In 1927, as the editor of Tyāfān, and in view of his political sympathies, Farrukhī was invited to Moscow to attend the tenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. In 1928 he was elected as a deputy from Yazd to the seventh Majlīs, where he joined the frīkhan-i udālātāyat ("minority faction"), traditionally a coalition of socialists. In the seventh session, however, that lobby consisted only of Farrukhī and Mahmūd-Riḍā Ṭūšī, a deputy and fellow-journalist from Lāhījān. From March 1928 Farrukhī also published a weekly edition of Tyāfān with a historical and literary orientation.

At the end of the seventh Majlīs (October 1930), and with no more parliamentary privilege to rely on, Farrukhī left Tehran for Moscow and then for Berlin. There he wrote against the political situation in Persia in the periodical Paykār ("Battle") founded in 1930 by Persian activists in Berlin, and then in his own Nāḥāt ("Movement"), until both were suppressed and Farrukhī was ordered to leave. Meanwhile, ʿAbd al-Husayn Taymurštāh, minister of the royal court, met with Farrukhī in Berlin and assured him of his safety if he returned to Persia. Farrukhī agreed, and in 1932 returned, but after a year of indigence in Tehran, he was arrested on a civil charge for debts owed to the paper supplier of Tyāfān.

Although the initial charges were of a civil nature, his political agitation inside the prison, expressed at times in passionate poems, soon turned him into a political prisoner and led to his constant transfer from one gaol to another: his term was extended first to 27 months, then to 30 months, and finally to three years. In the end he was transferred from Kaṣr prison to the infamous "clinic" at the police headquarters in Tehran, where on 18 October 1939 he was murdered by the prison's notorious medical practitioner, Pīčā ("physician") Ahmad Ahmādī, by air injection.

Although in poetical style Farrukhī observed the traditional patterns of prosody (ʿarāʾī), the content of his poems focussed on contemporary social and political topics. Major themes of the Constitutional period, such as patriotism and the quest for civil liberties and social justice, were expressed in his verse, hence his contribution to the composition of political ghazal is noteworthy. In Persian poetry, he can be placed in the long tradition of the poetry of protest against arbitrary rule.

Bibliography: For a fuller biography, see Ali Gheissari, Poetry and politics of Farrokhī Yazdī, in Iranian Studies, xxvii/1-2 (1993), 33-50. For Farrukhī's poems and biography, see Dēvān-i Farrukhī Yazdī, ed. with introd. by Ḥūsain Makkī, Tehran 1984. For his career in journalism, see Muhammad Sadr Ḥājjī Ṭāhrī, Lahijānī šakhlīyāt ("The citizens of Lahijān"), ed. with introd. by Ḥusayn Makki, Tehran 1984.

YAZID (I) b. MUʿĀWIYa, the second Umayyad caliph (r. 60-4/680-3). He was named as his successor by his father [see MUʿĀWIYa I]. His mother was Maysūmā, a sister of the Kalb leader Ibn Bahdal [see ḤĀDID B. MĀLR]. The Banū Kalb [see kāl b. warāra] were strong in the southern regions of Syria, and Muʿāwiya appointed Yazid as his successor in preference to an older half-brother, 'Abd Allāh, born of a Kuraishi mother. Yazid's kamy, Abū Ḥālid, refers to one of his own younger sons [see ḤĀLID B. YAZID]. During his father's caliphate, Yazid commanded expeditions (sawārīf) against the Byzantines and participated in an attack upon Constantinople (in 49/669 or 50/670) that is mentioned in both Muslim and non-Muslim sources. He is also named as having led the ḥādiqā in various years. Reports make him less than 40 at the time of his death at Ḥusawrān [q.v.] in Rabiʿ I 64/November
683, variant dates and other details being given about his birth. He had apparently nominated his eldest son Mu'awiya [see Mu'awiya b. Yazid] as his successor, but he did not receive only limited acceptance as caliph and died within months.

Yazid’s caliphate marked the beginning of the crisis, commonly referred to as fitna [q.v.], during which the Umayyads came close to losing the caliphate. Eventually they re-established their hold on the institution but in the person of Marwan I b. al-Hakam [q.v.] and his descendants rather than a representative of the Sufyānid line of which Yazid belonged. Following his father’s death in Radjab 60/April 680, Yazid was faced with the continuing refusal of ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr and al-Husayn b. ‘Affir b. Abī Tālib [q.v.], both then in Medina, to give him allegiance. Most of the reports about his caliphate concern his attempts to overcome their opposition and that of others. Al-Husayn’s attempt to make good his own claim to the caliphate ended in his death at the hands of a force sent by Yazid’s governor of Ḥijr, ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād [q.v. at Karbalā] in Muharram 61/October 680. Ibn al-Zubayr’s opposition led, in 64/683-4, to the siege of Mecca, where he had taken refuge, and to the bombardment of the town with catapults (maggazin) by an army sent by Yazid. During the siege, the Ka’ba was damaged by fire, but there are variant accounts of how exactly that happened and who was responsible for it. Yazid’s army, initially commanded by Muslim b. ‘Ukba al-Murrī [q.v.], had been raised in 63/683 primarily in response to the actions of the people of Medina, who had thrown off their allegiance to Yazid, expelled those Umayyads living there and, according to some accounts, established contacts with Ibn al-Zubayr. After defeating the Medina at the battle on the Ḥarra [q.v.], Muslim entered (and, it is said, sacked) the town, and compelled a number of its prominent men to return to their allegiance to Yazid. He then set off for Mecca, intending to force Ibn al-Zubayr, who had received the support of others of Yazid’s opponents, including several Khāridjītes [q.v.], to submit. On the way, Muslim died and his position as leader of the Syrian army was assumed by al-Ḥusayn b. Numayr al-Sakūnī [q.v.]. It is said who commanded the siege of Mecca. News of Yazid’s death in Syria reached him while the siege was in progress, and after fruitless negotiations with Ibn al-Zubayr he withdrew the army back to Syria.

In broad terms, Yazid seems to have continued the form of rule developed by his father which depended on the relationship between the caliph, his governors and the tribal notables (aṣnaf) in the provinces. His governor of Ḥijr, ‘Ubayd Allāh, was the son of Mu’awiya’s governor there, Ziyād. A Christian, Sardjūn, who had been prominent in the administration of Mu’awiya, continued to be influential under Yazid. (Robert Hoyland has questioned whether this Sardjūn, sometimes called “the masul of Mu’awiya”, sometimes “of Yazid”, and variously described as Yazid’s drinking companion or as sīḥib amirihī, was the father of John of Damascus, as Lammens and others have assumed.) The custom of receiving delegations (ruyāḍ [q.v.]) from the provinces at the court to win them over with gifts and flattery, institutionalised by his father, was less successful when Yazid attempted to use it to head off the opposition of the Medina. The image of Mu’awiya as operating more like a tribal shaikh than a traditional Middle Eastern despot, perhaps embodied in the well-known description of him by Theophanes as a “chief governor” (pro-xyzonymos), also seems applicable to Yazid and may be behind the eulogy of him in the Byzantine-Arab chronicle of 741: “he never . . . sought glory for himself by virtue of his royal rank but lived as a citizen along with all the common people . . . sīh regalis fastigi causa gloriām appetivit, sed communis com ornatus civitātis xixit; tr. Hoyland). The breakdown, beginning under Yazid, of the system of government used more successfully by Mu’awiya, may be ascribed partly to difficulties associated with the succession to the caliphate but more fundamentally to the changes taking place in the structure of the conquest society, analysed by Patricia Crone in her Slaves on horses.

Yazid is often credited with the creation of the new djūd of Kimnāsrīn [q.v.]. For an extensive discussion of that and other incidental information about him and his caliphate [his reduction of the tribute to be paid by the Christians from Najdān [q.v.], his suppression of privileges enjoyed by the Samaritans, his involvement in irrigation work, etc.], see Henri Lammens, Le Califat de Yazid I”. For a Sassānī type coin dated “year 1 of Yazid”, see the article by Mochiri cited in the Bibliography.

As the caliph under whom the Prophet’s grandson al-Ḥusayn was killed, the two holy cities of Arabia attacked, and the Ka’ba set on fire, and as the one who benefited from an appointment presented in Muslim tradition as a crucial stage in the corruption of the caliphate into a kingship, it is not surprising that the tradition generally is hostile to Yazid. There are frequent mentions of his penchant for drinking, singing girls, sexual licentiousness, hunting, playing with his tame monkey, and other such things which show him as a frivolous libertine. As James Lindsay has illustrated, however, some of the traditional material emphasises Yazid’s closeness to the generation of the Prophet and his role in the transmission of Muslim tradition, and there are different versions of an apocryphal tradition ascribed to ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Amr al-ʿĀṣ [q.v.] which includes “the King of the Holy Land (malik al-ard al-mukaṭḍasa)”, Mu’awiya, and his son in a line of righteous khulafāʾ. Even Ibn ‘Abbās is said to have given Yazid the hāya` and to have spoken favourably of him and his father.

The glowing account of Yazid in the Byzantine-Arab chronicle was cited by Robert Wellhausen and Lammens, who presented him, at least after his accession to the caliphate, as an able and worthy ruler traduced by opponents who hypocritically appealed to religion. More recently, Lindsay has argued that Ibn ‘Asakir’s biography of Yazid, although unable to ignore entirely the unfavourable traditional material, seeks to present as sympathetic an image as possible in order to convey a moral and religious message of its own. If that interpretation is valid, it is nevertheless true that the Damascus scholar was able to draw on some favourable material already existing in the tradition. It is probably impossible on the basis of the evidence available to make a judgement about Yazid’s ability or his character. Any attempt to do so, however, must seek to understand both the historical situation in which he ruled (insofar as that can be recreated) and the nature of the Muslim historical tradition which crystallised after the Umayyads had been overthrown.

YAZID (I) b. MU'AWIYA — YAZID (III) b. AL-WALID

lev. 394-412; Djalhab, Ta'rîkh al-Islam, ed. Tadmurî, Beirut 1990, s.a. 60-3 (the notice on Yazid in the necrology of the 7th tabaka, 269-73, has a useful bibliography, provided by the editor).


(G.R. Hawting)

YAZID (II) b. 'ABD-AL-MALIK, the ninth Umayyad caliph, r. 101-5/719-724. He was born in Damascus ca. 71/690-1. His mother was 'Aïka bt. Yazid b. Mu'awiya, and he was named after his Sufyanî grandfather, the caliph Yazid I. Thus Yazid II joined in the person of the Marwânî and the Sufyanî branches of the Umayyad family, making him a natural candidate for the succession. Like most other Umayyad princes, he appears to have travelled outside of Syria only to the Hijâz. Also, he seems to have received neither administrative nor military pre-ration for ruling, although Sulaymân b. 'Abd-al-Malik designated him his second successor in 99/717. Thus he was crown prince under 'Umar II and then became caliph on 'Umar's death on 21 Ra'dâb 101/9 February 720. He probably spent most of his reign at Damascus or on his estates in the dâjîn of al-Úrdunn [q.v.], where he died at Irbid on 24 'Shâbân 105/26 January 724.

At the beginning of his reign, Yazid II faced a serious if short-lived revolt in 'Irâk led by Yazid b. al-Muhallab al-Úzdî (101-2/720). This rebellion expressed the continued dissatisfaction of the Yamamî tribe in 'Irâk with Umayyad rule and elicited from the Umayyads a harsh repression of the Yamamî there. In order to strengthen the Umayyad position in 'Irâk, Yazid II reintroduced Syrian troops and tended to rely on the Mudâr tribal elements against the Yamamîs, as shown by his appointment of his Djarzîn-domiciled brother Maslama b. 'Abd-al-Malik (102-3/720-1 [q.v.]) and the latter's proctor, the Mudârî Djarzîn 'Umar b. Hubayra al-Fuzîrî (103-6/721-5 [see Ibn Hubayrâ]), to governors of the East.

His apparent tilt toward the Mudâr has caused Yazid II often to be portrayed as a pro-Mudâr and anti-Yamamî extremist, but such a judgement is unfair, as he actually tried to balance the conflicting groups, just as other Umayyad rulers did. Certainly, Yazid retained the confidence of the Syrian Yamamîs, for he gave them the governorships of the other two great provinces, the West and also al-Djarzîn, including Adharbâyjân and Armenia. Before joining it to the province of the East, he even appointed a Syrian Yamamî general as governor of Khûrásân.

On the other hand, relations between the Syrians and others, especially the Kûfians, remained poor. Also, Yazid II alienated the non-Arab Muslims or mawdîs by seeking to annul the reforms of 'Umar II that favoured them. Thus in Sind, Khûrásân, North Africa and Spain, attempts were made to reimpose the jizya that had recently been removed from the mawdîs. These attempts seem not to have been very successful. In Khûrásân, the new policy, applied under Sa'id b. 'Amr al-Harâghî (103-4/721-2), contributed to revolts and wars that continued for twenty years and played a considerable rôle in the Umayyads' later downfall. In North Africa, Yazid II's governor Yazid b. Abi Muslim was assassinated almost immediately for trying to implement such a policy (102/720), leading to a loss of caliphal authority and prestige and presaging the great North African revolt under Hishâm (from 122/740).

On the frontiers, Yazid II resumed the traditional Umayyad policy of military expansion after its brief suspension by 'Umar II. During Yazid's short reign, campaigns were carried out against the Franks in France and Sardinia, the Byzantines in Sicily and Anatolia, the Khazarîs in the Caucasus and the Turks in Transoxania. Furthermore, ideological struggle against other religions intensified, especially against Christian icon worship, with Yazid II's issuance of an iconoclastic decree commanding the destruction of all images of humans and animals throughout the caliphate (103-4/721-3), a step that preceded and anticipated the Byzantine emperor Leo III's iconoclasm.

Despite the momentous events of his reign, both mediaeval sources and modern scholars often portray Yazid II as a frivolous slave to passion, especially to his singing girls Hababa and Sallama. While there is no doubt that he cultivated poetry, like the other Umayyads, and had a refined artistic taste, the picture of his lack of seriousness and of Hababa's influence has been much exaggerated.


(Y. Lammens-Kay Blankinship)

YAZID (III) b. AL-WALID (I) b. 'Abd-al-Malik b. Marwan I, Umayyad caliph for approximately six months in 126/744. He is known in tradition as al-Nâkîs (the Depriver, or the Deficient; various explanations are given). He is said to have boasted that through his mother, one of Yazdagird III's granddaughters captured in Transoxania, he had inherited both Sásânid and Byzantine blood. He has a reputation for asceticism and piety, and was accepted as a righteous Imam not only by his immediate supporters but by some later theorists too (al-Kâfi 'Abd-al-Djâbbâr, Mugni, Cairo n.d., xx/2, 150).

Yazid obtained the caliphate by overthrowing his cousin and predecessor, al-Walid II b. Yazid II [q.v.], an act which initiated the third "civil war" in Islam [see FITNA]. The main support for Yazid came from the Kalbîs of the region around Damascus, and his short rule promoted Kalbî and Yamamî interests at
the expense of Kays and Mudar. He sent the Kalbi Mansur b. Djumhur to 'Irak to depose the pro-Kaysi governor Yazid [see YAZID B. AL-MUKTAR], but subsequently he made 'Abd Allah b. 'Umar II his governor there.

He is frequently described as a Kadarī [see KADARĪYAH] and as supported by the Qaylanīyah [see QAYLAN AL-DIMASRĪ]. The conception of the caliphal office put forward in his accession dīwān and in a letter sent to the 'Irakīs, both of which have been accepted as largely authentic in spite of the variant versions transmitted, was certain to remain aain among the Umayyads. As well as promising to right certain abuses charged, he appealed to the Book of God and the caliph should be chosen as a result of consultation (al-amr shura), and offered to stand down if found to fall short himself, so long as he was given the chance to repent. If another could be found who was considered preferable, he would be the first to give him the oath of allegiance.

Yazid seems to have died of natural causes—according to one report he was a victim of the plague (al-dān)—in Dhū 'l-Hijjah 126/September 744, and was succeeded by the equally ephemeral Ibrāhīm b. al-Walid (I) [q.v.].


YAZID B. ABD AL-MUSLIM (Dīnār), Abu 'l-Alā, secretary and governor under the Umayyads. He was a masūl, not by manumission (presumably by conversion), of Thakīr [q.v.], and foster-brother and secretary, but not masūlā, of al-Hajdājī [q.v.] (thus al-Dhahibiyār and al-Dhajīz). He ran the dīwān al-hawāζlā'ī for the al-Hajdājī and took charge of the taxes of 'Irak when the latter died in 95/714, but was dismissed and jailed on Sulayman's accession in 97/715. His cruelty was so notorious that he was killed in 102, either for branding his Berber bodyguards with the word haraζ in alleged imitation of Byzantine practice or for continuing the policy adopted in 'Irak of repatriating and reimposing the taxes on dhimmīs who left their land as converts to Islam. He was rumoured to be a Kharijīte.


YAZID B. ABI SUFYĀN (Hāζr), Hari b. 'Abd Rabbah, Arab commander of the conquests period, son of the Meccan leader Abū Sufyān [q.v.] by his wife Zaynab b. Nawfal and half-brother of the subsequent caliph Mu'awiyah I [q.v.], d. 18/639 without progeny (Ibn Kutayba, Mu'āζf, ed. 'Ukashā, 344-5).

With his father and brother, he became a Muslim at the conquest of Mecca in 6/630, took part in the ensuing battle of Hunayn [q.v.] and was one of "those whose hearts are won over," receiving from the Prophet a gift of 100 camels and 40 ounces of silver (Ibn Sa'd, ii, 1/110, vii/2, 127; al-Wāζkīrī, iii, 944-5; and see AL-MU'ALLĀFA KULUBUHUM). In Abu Bakr's caliphate, he operated in Palestine with Shurāhblī b. Hasana and 'Amr b. al-'Āζ [q.v.], and after the Byzantines were defeated at al-Adhajnāζayn [q.v.] and Damascus fell, he campaigned in the Balkāζ [q.v.] and captured the citadel at 'Ammān (14/635). When 'Amr left Palestine for Egypt, he appointed Yazid in charge of Syria, but Yazid died there, in company with many other Arab commanders such as Abū 'Ubayda and Mu'adh b. Djabal, in the notorious "Plague of Emmaus" [see 'AMMĀζ] in 18/639.

Yazid is called in later sources "Yazīd al-Khāζs" with a good image because of his part in the conquests and the manner of his death, accounted for by some authorities as that of a qaζhī [q.v.].


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YAZID B. DIΝĀR [see YAZID B. ABD AL-MUSLIM].

YAZID B. HĀΤIM AL-MUḤALLĀB [see MUḤALLĀB, jv.].

YAZID B. MIΚSAM IBN ΘΑBBΑ AL-THAKĀFI (fl. first half of the 2nd/8th century), Arab poet, member of the circle around the caliph al-Walid b. Yazid [q.v.].

He was a masūl of the tribe of Thakīf in al-Tāφ; according to the philologist al-Asma'I [q.v.], who knew him, his Arabic was nonetheless pure (Aqadaθ, vii, 103). Since his father died when he was still young, he became known as Ibn Ḍabbā after his mother, who was the dry nurse of the children of al-Mughira b. Shuθba [q.v.] and his son 'Urw was a woman of some standing. He seems to have befriended al-Walid early on, since on account of this friendship he was snubbed by the caliph Ḥighāζm (who disliked his nephew) at the latter's enthronisation in 105/724, whereupon he retired to al-Tāφ, there to live on funds provided by al-Walid. He returned to Damascus at al-Walid's accession in 125/743 and apparently stayed in his entourage. He may have returned to al-Tāφ after al-Walid's death, since al-Asma'I (b. possibly in 123/741) met him there.
Of his allegedly voluminous poetic output ("one thousand kasidas", according to the local patriotism of the 'Uthmanites, Aghani, vii, 103), besides a few fragments only three longish poems have been preserved: a complaint about Hishām’s behaviour, a congratulatory panegyric to al-Walîd on becoming caliph and an impromptu description of al-Walîd’s horse, at the latter’s behest, on the occasion of a successful hunt (all of them included in the Aghani article on him).

The narrative connected with the descriptive poem (mentioned in Hamilton, Walid, i:2, but without Yazid’s name) gives us a fascinating glimpse into the “handling” of poetry: after applauding Yazid’s feat, al-Walîd asks him to add an amatory prelude (tağhibh) to his poem—which would turn it into a complete kasida—and give it (the prelude, not the entire poem) to two well-known singers to set to music. Which he does.

The complaint poem against Hishām is composed in the more modern metre wasfı mısakdası, whereas the ode to al-Walîd is in the short and more “modern” metre hazaʔı muṯabbih, probably more to the taste of the addressee. The Hishām poem displays a strange rhyme: ‘Cūh, where -mā is the pronominal ending “we” of the perfect, and ‘G- is represented 20 times by the consonant /d/ and three times by another consonant.

So we have to consider it a tāsifiyya with a strong tendency to lacuṇa maʔ tā sīm [e.g., Al-Aṣma’i remarks (loc. cit.) that he sought out difficult rhymes (kaʔaʔ maʔlūs)].

Most of the material gathered on the Aghani is traced back by inād to Yazid’s grandson, ‘Abd al-Aẓīm b. ‘Abd Allāh.


(W.P. Heinrichs)

YAZID b. AL-MUHALLAB [see Muḥallabī, i:6].

YAZID B. ZURAY? Abū Mu‘āwiyah al-BAṣrī, trad- itioner of Bāṣṭa, b. 101/720 and d. in Bāṣṭa Šīrāz 182/Non-Dec. 798. His father had been governor of al-Ubulla [q.v.], presumably of Iranian origin. Shaykh ‘Abd b. Musāfīr was active in the Kurdish mountains before Shaykh ‘Adī b. Musāfīr, who was of Umayyad descent, settled there some time before 505/1111. At the same time, some Kurdish tribes in these areas still adhered to a faith which is described as “Magian” and was presumably of Iranian origin. Shaykh ‘Adī founded a Sūfi order, the ‘Adawiyya, whose centre in the Kurdish areas was the valley of Lālīsh, where his tomb later continued to be venerated by his followers. The ‘Adawiyya had a following outside Kūrdistān, but by the time of Shaykh ‘Adī’s successor Ḥasan b. ‘Adī [see ‘Adī b. Musāfīr], the Kurdish group appears to have acquired some characteristics which distinguished them from other ‘Adawiyya. The group’s peculiar beliefs and observances increasingly alienated it from the
surrounding Muslim population; the first major conflict, which widened the rift, took place in 817/1414. The term "Yazidi", which was already known locally, presumably came to be associated with the group on account of Shaykh 'Adi's Umayyad origins. Powerful Kurdish tribes joined the followers of Shaykh 'Adi, and during the first centuries after his death these played a prominent role in local politics. This power later decreased and from the 16th century onwards a long succession of persecutions characterised the community's history. In the 19th century some Yazidi tribes sought refuge in Christian Armenia and Georgia. The latter half of the 20th century saw large group of Yazidis from Turkey seeking sanctuary in Western Europe, followed by Yazidi immigrants from 'Irāk. The community's own account of its early history comprises legends explaining its origin and exceptional ontological status (the Yazidis are said to have been engendered by Adam alone, without Eve), and tales about Shaykh 'Adi's arrival among the Kurds, his miraculous deeds and his associations with some of his contemporaries; the latter accounts are held to explain the origin of the various lineages of Shāykhās and Pīrs (see below).

Religion. Although most modern Yazidis deny any links with Islam, their religious textual tradition reflects the Iranian religious origins of their faith. Theology and mythology, particularly the cosmogony, show traces of a non-Islamic tradition which may be of ancient Iranian origin. Religious vocabulary and imagery, on the other hand, largely derive from Sī'ism. While Yazidis have some characteristic beliefs, mythology, religious observance and acceptance of the obligations arising from a complex social system play at least as important a role in their religious life.

(a) Beliefs. Yazidis believe in one God, who created the world but is held to have entrusted it to seven archangels, the "Seven Mysteries" (Haft surr), whose leader is the Peacock Angel. Yazidi themselves do not admit the objective existence of good and evil, but whatever befalls the world—including what others might call evil—is attributed in Yazidism to Tā'ūs-e Mālaq. While Yazidis reject claims that their greatest leader is identical with the devil (Shāyānī), the strict taboo on the use of words associated with the latter suggests an awareness of some connection between the two. Some Yazidis say that Ibīls (q.v.) has been forgiven and is once more close to God. Besides God and the Seven, Yazidis venerate a large number of "holy figures" (khiṣar or mēr), some of whose names correspond to those of early Sī'ī saints, whereas others may originally have been local heroes or early community leaders. Most kbiṣar have special links with a lineage of Shāykhās or Pīrs; they can be worshipped by means of visits to shrines dedicated to them and by gifts to members of the lineage representing them. Some kbiṣar are thought to have special curative powers; otherwise their individual character and functions are in most cases not clearly defined.

Both reincarnation (donādīm, also kinī gharfīn "changing one's shirt") and the existence of heaven and hell are referred to in Yazidi texts, and to some extent in community discourse; some traditions exist which seek to reconcile these beliefs.

(b) Myths and legends. The Yazidis have a rich mythology, in which ancient Iranian, Christian and Judeo-Islamic elements can be distinguished, and which also comprises tales that have their origin in community history or serve to explain Yazidi observance. Only a relatively small part of the corpus of Yazidi myths and legends has so far been described in Western sources.

The myth of creation describes how God fashioned an embryonic form of the universe in the shape of a pearl, upon which he evoked the Seven Mysteries and made a Covenant with them, entrusting them with the control of the world. The Yazidi cosmogony has a direct parallel in the tradition of the Ahl-i Haḵḵ [q.v.], with which Yazidism has several features in common, and shows some similarities to the Zoroastrian cosmogony. It has been suggested that the myth goes back to an ancient western Iranian tradition which was not deeply Zoroastrianised. The theme of a Flood also figures prominently in Yazidi accounts of the origin of the world.

The textual tradition. As literacy was traditionally forbidden to all but a few Yazidis, most of their textual tradition has long been transmitted by word of mouth. This has influenced its character: the style is rarely abstract, and anecdotes, myths and legends predominate. These can be told in the form of "stories" (zcīnī), and they are frequently alluded to in the sacred hymns (kawī).

(a) The Kaws. The Hymns, a large corpus of texts which is still imperfectly known in the West, represent the Yazidi counterpart to both the sacred and the learned traditions of other cultures. Until the beginning of the 20th century this knowledge is said to have been taught in a "school" (maktāb) for Kāvwāls in the twin villages of Bā'gīkha and Bayānānī. The success of this "Sacred Books". The texts known in the West as the Yazidi "Sacred Books", the Mashaf-e Raḵš and the Kāvīr-e Qīthā, were probably written down by non-Yazidis on the basis of information deriving from the teachings of the kāvwāl school. A series of manuscripts containing these texts, first in Arabic and later also in Kurdish, came to light in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and were sold to Western researchers and institutions. A long academic debate concerning the status of these texts has resulted in a virtual consensus that the written texts do not represent an ancient tradition. The evidence of the kaws suggests, however, that the contents of the texts (though not the manuscripts) represent a genuine Yazidi tradition.

Observance. Prayer in Yazidism is felt to be a private, individual matter; communal prayer is unknown. Individual praying habits vary, as do prayer texts. Tying the "sacred girdle", and on some occasions kissing the neckline of the "sacred shirt" (on both garments, see below), form part of traditional praying routine. Paying homage to the rising sun by bowing to it, or kissing the spot where its first rays fall, are traditional non-verbal acts of worship. Pilgrimages to the shrines of holy figures and regular visits to one's Shāyakh and Pīr are also important parts of Yazidi observance.

Some Yazidi "taboos" (mamātābā) should be observed by the community as a whole (e.g. the ban on using words connected with Satan or cursing, wearing blue clothes, eating certain foods, and polluting earth, air, water or fire by certain acts), while others concern only Shāyakh of a certain lineage and their followers. Observance of taboos is now generally less strict than in the past.

(a) Holy places and objects. Yazidi villages normally have a local shrine, which is dedicated to a holy figure and functions as a religious centre. Further shrines, usually also associated with a kbiṣar, are found all over the territories where Yazidis live. The most impor-
tant and holy centre of Yazidi religious life is the area referred to as “Shaykh ‘Adi” or “Lalish”. This sacred part of the Lalish valley, entry to which is marked on one side by a small bridge known as the “Sirâṭ Bridge” (pora Šidî), contains shrines dedicated to most of the important holy figures of Yazidism. Chief among these is the central sanctuary dedicated to Shaykh ‘Adi. Holy places in the area further include a subterranean cave under Shaykh ‘Adi, known in Zoroastrianism. Aareh, the rock, and a second sacred spring, the Kdnî-yd Sipi, known in the Tiir (see below). The Celek tribe, whose ancestral territories are in the northern part of the Yazidi region, is a “Brother (or Sister) of the Hereafter” (shutik), and is untied and retied before prayer, cf. above) are also worn until recently by many religious Yazidis. The Kawwals are the repositories of Yazidi learning, and membership of three other social groups, the Kocaks (“little ones”), wear white clothes and are known for their piety. Kocak families come from all three castes; male members of these families often act as “servants” at Lalish, but the term kâcîk is properly used for visionaries, diviners and miracle-workers who are thought to communicate with the “World of the Unseen” (alam al-qâbî) by means of dreams and trances.

Social organisation. The most fundamental division of Yazidi society is that into three hereditary, endogamous classes or castes: Shaykhs, Pirs and murids (laymen). The Shaykhs are subdivided into three endogamous branches (Shamsanî, Adanî and Qatanî), each with several sub-branches. There are forty lineages of Pir, most of which may intermarry. The lineages of Shaykhs and Pirs essentially represent the Seven Mysteries and other holy figures of the Yazidi tradition.

Every Yazidi, including Shaykhs and Pir, must have a Shaykh and a Pir. A murid’s relationship with his Shaykh and Pir is hereditary, and members of each tribe can be affiliated to Shaykhs and Pirs from certain lineages only. This creates a complex web of social relations and obligations that is made even more intricate by the obligation on each individual to have a “Brother (or Sister) of the Hereafter” (kdnî-yd ‘âkhârî, kdnî-r-‘âkhârî, usually from a lineage of Shaykhs), a murâbbî or preceptor (this is now observed only in Northern Iraq) and, in the case of males, a karîf, an unrelated male on whose knees one has been circumcised and with whom a life-long bond exists.

Membership of three other social groups, the Kawwals, Fakirs and Koçaks, is also largely hereditary. The Kawwals are the repositories of Yazidi learning, who have been trained to recite the Kauk or to play the sacred instruments. They live at Bâshkî and Bahânî, and belong to either of two tribes (Hakkârî or Dumîlî). The Fakirs, who wear a black clothing and are known for their piety. Koçak families come from all three castes; male members of these families often act as “servants” at Lalish, but the term koçak is properly used for visionaries, diviners and miracle-workers who are thought to communicate with the “World of the Unseen” (alam al-qâbî) by means of dreams and trances.

The temporal and spiritual leader of the community is known as the Mîr (Prince) of Shaykhan. The Mîr and other dignitaries representing the groups described above have a seat on the Yazidi Religious Council (Mîrd-dâ-î Râhînî), which has considerable powers.


2. The descendants. From among al-Yazidi's sons there are six, among his grandsons (II), fifteen, and among his great-grandsons (III), seven, who excelled as philologists, Kur'ân readers, traditionists or poets. Their extant verse has been collected, albeit incompletely, and edited by Muhsin Ghayyâd, *Shîr al-Yazidiyya*, Nadjaf 1973. Among those who acquired a scholarly reputation, the following four sons should be mentioned: Abû 'Abd Allah (I.1) Muhammâd (d. shortly after 849 in Egypt; Ghayyâd, 93-4); Abû Ishâk (I.2) Ibrâhim (d. 225/840 in Baghdad; Kahhâla, i, 126-7); Abû 'Ali (I.3) Ismâ'il (d. after 275/888-9; Kahhâla, ii, 300; and Abû Abû al-Râhîm, *Al-Á'im*, known as Ibn al-Yazidi (alive before 1978/1922; Kahhâla, vi, 139-40).

Like their father, they all stood in a relationship of trust with al-Ma'âmûn, some of them even with the...
rank of privileged companion (nadim [q.v.]). Ibrahim, together with his nephew Ahmad (see below II. 1), accompanied the caliph military campaigns against the Byzantines. None of their numerous works has come down to us as such, except for a fragment of Ibrahim's dictionary of homonyms, Mu' 'tafaqa lafsahu wa 'khtalafa ma'ndhir; this work once consisted of 700 folios and kept the author busy, according to his own testimony, from the seventeenth year of his life to the sixty-sixth (Yakût, Udhâ', i, 360; al-Zirikli, Alâm, Beirut 1979, i, 79; Sezgin, ix, 74). Of Ismâ'il, we have a riwaya of a small anthûl book by his teacher Abû Fayd Mu'arridj al-Sadûdi, which was obviously transmitted to him orally. In 263/876 AD the caliph entrusted him with the education of his great-uncle (1.I) Muhammad. He was born in 228/843 AD, among his teachers, al-Riyashl and Tha'lab have pride of place, the for-
he nonetheless played an invaluable role in awakening
the national consciousness of the Arabs, as well as
being a key figure in the 19th century Arab lit-

erary revival.

2. Ibrāhīm (1847-1906) was the second eldest son of Nāṣīf, from whom he received his early education.

He became one of the most eminent scholars of his
day, spending the first part of his life in Lebanon but
then moving to Egypt where he lived until his death.

Ibrāhīm was principally a philologist, stylist and lex-

cographer, but also wrote essays and articles on a
wide range of subjects such as astronomy, chemistry,

physics and medicine. As a journalist he established
and edited three major journals and literary periodi-
cals that, aside from their intellectual value, formed
part of his major contribution to the development of
printing in the Arab world. As a poet he produced a dādān to express his patriotic fervour, using poetry
as a vehicle to arouse nationalistic sentiments in the
Arabs and to call them to seek independence from

Ottoman rule. He also wrote a number of letters in
poetic form to learned friends and literary figures deal-
ing with mainly linguistic themes collected together in
his Rasā'il al-'Yāzidjī (Cairo 1920). He was a reformer
who played a major role in the revival of the Arab
linguistic heritage that had laboured under centuries of
foreign rule. It was initially through his own jour-
nals, such as Badr (1895-1906), that he was able to con-
vey his strong reformist views on language. It was also in these journals and in

those owned by his friend Butrus al-Bustand [see AL-

BUSTAN, in Suppl.] (al-Dīnān) and his main rival al-

Shidyāk (al-Dawrā) that many acrimonious intellectual
and personal battles were fought. His serialised arti-
cles attacking the standards of Arabic employed by
his fellow journalists were published in one of his
most famous books, Lughat al-dādān (Cairo 1901).

In this work, he tried to show the decline in Classical
Arabic in the wake of the Ottoman empire. Although he
never argued against the need for the Arabic lan-
guage to adapt to the requirements of the modern
age, his reformist ideas were always based on classi-
cal, normative principles, often with an intent to

"purify". His lexical innovations for foreign concepts
were based on Arabic forms, such as the introduc-
tion of muntād for "balloon". Moreover, such was his
passion for Classical Arabic that he wrote critiques on
the Līdān al-'arab, and the Bushtand's al-Mūhitt, two of
the most famous Arabic dictionaries. His own dictio-
nary, al-Fard al-ḥāmīn min kātal al-ḥāmīn, was left unfinished. Ibrāhīm had his critics, of whom the most
vociferous were al-Shidyāk, Anastās al-Karmall and
Raghib al-Shartun. However, he also had many sup-
porters, especially amongst the al-Bustān family, who
helped to bring him the prestige he acquired. It is
also said that he greatly influenced the Lebanese poet
Khālif Murtān [q.v.] in his mastery of the language.

Notable amongst his other scholarly achievements are
that he completed, edited and wrote commentaries on
some of his father's works, and that he was instru-
mental in a revised Roman Catholic translation of the
Old Testament, which included the Vulgate, into

Arabic.

3. Khālīf (1858-89), youngest son of Nāṣīf, pro-
duced a varied but limited literary output owing mainly
to his early death. His play in verse entitled al-Maṣū'a
wsa 'l-waṣā (Cairo 1884, 1902) was one of the first
original tragedies in Arabic. His anthology of poetry
called Nasamāt al-awān (Cairo 1888, 1908) was
described by Dādurjī Zaydān as one of the finest
dādān ever written. He also wrote on stylistics, as
evidenced in an unpublished work on epitostyle, and
contribution to the debate on the status of Classi-
cal Arabic as standard colloquial Arabic through his
unpublished dictionary on the spoken language, al-

Shāb ṣayyād al-‘amāh wa ‘l-faṣiḥ. He also subscribed in

journals to the common view that the success of the
Arab world was dependent on a clear and uniform
linguistic strategy. He spent some time in Egypt, where
he established a short-lived journal called Mīrāt al-
garlinky before returning to his native Lebanon to teach.

4. Warda (1838-1924), daughter of Nāṣīf, pro-
duced mainly poetry which was published in a dādān of
about 100 pages (Beirut 1867, 1881; Cairo 1913
entitled Hadīkat al-waṭl. Her poetry consisted princi-
pally of elegies (mantāqī) which reflected the classical
tradition more than the contemporary scene (as did
the works of her father and brothers). Of more sig-
nificance, perhaps, is that she was one of the early
women writers in Arabic of the 19th century. The

estem in which she was held as a key representa-
tive of women in society at that time can be seen in
the tribute paid to her by Māvy Ziyādā [q.v.] in a
lecture published in the journal al-Muktataf in 1924,
in which she acknowledged her as one of a group of

women who "through the cognition and emotions
of its society", and as a "blessed daughter" of the

Arabs (Opening the gates. A century of Arab feminist writing,


tr. by M. Cooke). A portrait of Warda was donated
by the women of Beirut and hung next to those of
the great men in the city's public library. She died
in Egypt, where she in fact spent most of her life.

5. Hābīb (1833-70), eldest son of Nāṣīf, was intel-

lectually active in Beirut literary circles and learned
several languages. However, his only recorded work of
substance was an unpublished commentary on one of
his father's books on prosody and rhyme. He also
translated literary works into Arabic.

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Yazidji (i.e. scribe) Salih b. Siileyman in Suppl., venerated religious figure and poet of the first

poem of 9,008 verses. Throughout the work, the

Maghdrib al-zamān. This he later translated into Turkish

verses, completed in 913/1507-8; ms. in Istanbul Universities, v. TY 4051. As in the case of the Weslet el-nehjdt (better known as Mevlevi) of Süleymān Çelebi [q.v.], parts of it were publicly recited, besides being read in private circles in Turkish homes.

The fame of the Muhammediye extended farther than that of Süleymān Çelebi's Mevlevi, beyond the boundaries of Anatolia to the Crimea, Kazan, the Bashkirs and to Persia. However, it is not as popular as the Mevlevi in Turkey today.

Yażidji-oghlu Mehmed also wrote a succinct Arabic shahāt on Muṣṭafā dān Ibn al-Arabi's [q.v.] Fāsūs ah-ḥtam. Other works attributed to him, such as the Saltuk-nāme reported by Ewliya Çelebi [q.v.], Sez̤hatname, iii, 366, are no longer extant.

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the governor, he had to flee to Cairo. He entered the service of the great eunuch Rizk and became näẓir of the personal dāmur of the prince-mother of the caliph al-Mustanṣir [q.v.] and then grand kāfī of Egypt before succeeding, thanks to Rizk's support, Sa'daka b. Yūsuf al-Falāḥī, who had been put to death. (On al-Yazūrī's relations with the rival parties of al-Tustarī and al-Falāḥī, both of Jewish origin, see M. Gil, *A history of Palestine*, 634-1099, Cambridge 1992, 403-4 and index.) Although of Sunnī origin, al-Yazūrī was the first person in Egypt to exercise simultaneously the three supreme offices of the régime, ważir, kādī al-budād and dā'il al-dā'ūṣ.

Under his vizirate in 448/1056-7, the body of the great Fatimid general Anūshṭikān al-Dizbarī [see EF Index of Proper Names, s.v. Anūšṭīqīn al-Dzbarī] was brought from Aleppo, where he had been buried unceremoniously in 433/1042 after his dismissal by Ibn al-Dījarḍarī's [q.v.], to Jerusalem, his corpse to lie in glory at the side of former Fātimī and Ikhshīdīd [q.v.] masters of Egypt. It is likely that al-Yazūrī was responsible for this exceptional posthumous act of homage to a great figure in the Fātimid state, devoted completely to Syria and unjustly persecuted by a vizier of Irākī origin (Th. Bianquis, *Damas et la Syrie sous la domination fātimide*, Damascus 1989, ii, 521-3).

The vizier's irascible character and his pretensions led him to pursue an aggressive foreign policy. In 433/1042, al-Yazūrī reproached the Bābīdīs al-Muçizz b. Badīs [q.v.] for having placed before his own name, at the end of an official letter to Cairo, the expression suṣṭā'ahu "his creature" and not the expression abdhu "his slave", thus showing, in the time-honoured formula [q.v.], al-Muṭtadī al-tādhībī to have been confiscated from him, and his mounts sold for one thousand dinars. Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyāt al-dār al-wāṣītā* ms. Dar al-kutub al-misriyya, arab, ddr al-wizārāt 1820, 8, 9, records that his son Khatīr al-Mulk or for Wāfī al-Mulk, his associate in the vizierate and the supreme judicature, at that moment in post at Jerusalem. At the time of al-Yazūrī's arrest, three million dinārs are said to have been confiscated from him, and his mounts were sold for one thousand dinārs. Al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyāt al-dār al-wāṣītā*, ms. Dar al-kutub al-misriyya, *damma* ms. Dar al-kutub al-misriyya, 1820, 8, 9, records that his son Khatīr al-Mulk, having later fallen into penury, earned his bread mending clothes in the mosque of Fuwwa in Upper Egypt.

It is from al-Yazūrī's vizierate that one can date the end of the Fatimid empire outside Egypt and the fall of the civil administration which, after the crisis of 457-64/1065-72, became a military régime in which the caliph was placed under the thumb of the commander-in-chief, the amir al-dawādīr [see wāzīr. 1b]. *Bibliography: Given in the article.*

(Th. Bianquis)

YEΓANA, ‘ALI MÜNIF (1874-1950), Ottoman administrator, deputy, and minister during the constitutional period (1908-18), deputy during the republic, was born in Adana. He graduated from the *Mekteb-i Miṣrîyye*, the civil service school in Istanbul where he learned Arabic and Persian, in 1896. There he joined the secret opposition to ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II [q.v.] and promised to support the constitutional movement wherever he was posted. ‘Alî Münif was sent to Gallipoli (1896) and to towns in the Balkans. While he was kiṣim-makām of Kırpılı, he permitted the secret Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) *Ittihād ve Terakki Deme'yesi* [q.v.] to operate in relative freedom. He met and became friendly with Muḥḥem Ta'llāt [q.v.], one of the most important leaders in the CUP.

‘Alî Münif supported the constitutional movement when it broke out in Macedonia in June 1908. When elections were held in November, he was elected deputy for Adana and put in charge of the CUP's parliamentary party. But after the failure of the counter-revolution of April 1909, the CUP decided to strengthen its position in the provinces,
and such able administrators as 'Ali Münif were sent there. He was appointed governor (valide) of Ankara in November 1910, and then of Manastir in July 1911 where the CUP had its roots. However, in July 1912 the liberal opposition seized power through a military coup d'état. 'Ali Münif was dismissed along with other Unionist officials and was forced to work within the CUP. He was elected to the Central Committee, the Mektevi 'Umûmi, which played a critical role while in opposition. It organised popular meetings during the Balkan War favouring belligerency, and 'Ali Münif says that he addressed one such meeting on 21 September 1912.

The CUP recaptured power with the coup d'état of 23 January 1913. 'Ali Münif was sent as valide of Aleppo and instructed to appease the nationalists in Syria with concessions recognising the use of Arabic in local education and administration.

When Ta'at became Interior Minister, he appointed 'Ali Münif his under secretary. But in September 1915 he was sent to Syria, partly to curb Djemal Pasha's greedy ambition, maliciousness and abuse of friends, and foe alike, and was one of three of Mehemmed the Young Turks, Ottomanism, Arabism, and Islamism in the Ottoman Empire, 1908-1918, Berkeley 1997; Gemal Kutay, Sipahi mahkamalari: Malta, Istanbul 1963; Bilal Şimşir, Malta sürgünleri, Istanbul 1976.

YEŞİİ BAZAR [see MEHMET PASHA, YEŞİİ]

YEŞİİ OTHMÂN PASHA [see 'OTHMÂN PASHA, YEŞİİ]

YEŞİİ WALī AL-DIN [see 'OTHMÂN PASHA, YEŞİİ]

YEŞIİAHŞİĐI HASAN PASHA (d. 1012/1603), one of twelve Grand Viziers under Mehmed III (1003-12/1595-1603) during the Long War (1593-1606) with the Holy Roman Empire. Albanian in origin, he was raised in the palace system, began service in the Janissaries in 1580, was appointed as Yeni Ceri Aghasi on the Hungarian front in the 1594-4 battle of Lepanto, became Grand Vizier in 1597, returned to Albania in 1598, and was one of three of Mehemmed III's Grand Viziers to be executed, shortly after his dismissal on 27 Rabî' II 1012/24 September 1603. He was married to Ibrahim Pasha's widow, 'Ağibe Sultan.

Bibliography: See Orhan F. Kopruçu, Il 4 art. Hasan Pasha Temisi, for a detailed account of his career and an extensive bibli.

(VIRGINIA H. AKŞAN)

YEŞİİ BAZAR, in Turkish "new market", in Serb-Croat Novi Pazar, denotes both a region, the former "Sandjak of Yeşîî Bazar/Sandžak of Novi Pazar", and a town, now in Yugoslavia, on the Raška river (lat. 43° 09', long. 20° 29' E.).

1. The region. This and Zeta constitute the original heartland of mediaeval Serbia, corresponding largely to the ancient Rascia, and was in mediaeval times very important, as the remains of imposing churches, monasteries and baths there show. The Sandžak in the Ottoman state was largely populated, n.p.d. 1921, was an upland region situated between Serbia, Bosnia and Montenegro, of great strategic and military importance, since it assured communications between Bosnia and Rumelia, and prevented a direct link of Serbia and Montenegro and the Adriatic coast. It was part of the Ottoman empire for four centuries (mid-15th century to 1878), then with its western part, the "region of Lumi", garrisoned, according to the provisions of the Congress of Berlin, by Austro-Hungarian
troops till it was restored to the Ottomans in 1908. Entered by Serbian and Montenegrin troops in 1912, it was divided amongst these two powers, occupied again by Austria-Hungary in 1915-18, and then became part of Yugoslavia (except during 1941-4 when it was attached to “Greater Albania” under a Fascist Italian protectorate).

2. The town. This was founded ca. 1460 by the governor of Sarajevo Ghażî 'Isâ Beg [see Bosna, at Vol. I, 1263a] after the Ottoman conquest of the region ca. 1455, and called “New” to distinguish it from the settlement of Pazariste or Trgoviste, called in Turkish Eski Bazar. Thanks to its favourable situation on a plain at the crossroads of important routes between Bosnia and Macedonia, connecting towns like Sarajevo, Ragusa/Dubrovnik, Niš and Istanbul, the town developed rapidly, with a colony of Ragusan merchants apparently attested in 1461 and iron mines in the vicinity; it also served as a concentration-point for military conquests further west and northwest. It was visited and described by many Western travellers [see EI art. Novibazar, with references to their works], with its apogee in the later 17th century, when Ewliya Celebi visited it (1660); he mentions, with some exaggeration, 40-50 mahalles, 23 mosques, 11 mesheqûb, 5 medrese, 2 tekkes, etc. But this prosperity was ended by the Turco-Austrian wars, with the town devastated by Austrian troops and Serb insurgents in 1689 and again in 1737. A period of anarchy under semi-independent commanders of the frontier districts (âtâ beyler). Although the recruitment of cash-paid soldiers had plenty of precedents, from the Rûm Salâdûk gürûh-ê'âris (Bombaci, 345) to the xara (q.v.) troops introduced by Sultan Orkhan (q.v.) after the fall of Iznik in 734/1331 (Kemâl Pâsha-zade, II, Defter, 47-55), those with a vested interest in the preservation of the old military order saw the “new troop” as a threat. Ottoman sources closest to the events, such as the anonymous chronicles, reflect the considerable unease which the creation of the xara and later the yeni-êrê among the frontier forces. Apart from its importance as a means of confronting the military might of neighbouring states, Ottoman sultans increasingly came to regard the possession of a personal army of permanent salaried troops (şâğâs ivâns) as an essential tool in combating centrifugal tendencies among the Turkmen beys. For ceremonial purposes, too, a court-based imperial bodyguard, called by the Ottomans kapû bilânî or closely modelled on the Salûdûk xalûns-mi-dêngû (Bombaci, 349), gained an increased importance from the time of Orkhan onwards as the Ottomans sought to set themselves apart from neighbouring Muslim states in Anatolia, whom they regarded as belonging to the petty dynasts or multiâl-ê-salûdû (q.v.). It was, however, only after the Ottomans' acquisition of Edirne and the opening up of a new sphere for imperial expansion in Europe after the mid-760s/1360s that the need for a dependable, centralised military organisation began to assert itself more convincingly.

The initial source of recruitment for the corps was the şâğûx reîm or one-fifth treasury tax on war captives whose introduction by the Ottomans is dated in sources of a later period to 764/1363-4 (Osmanh kanunnameleri, in MTM, i/2, 325). This practice, despite the outcries by traditionalists and supporters of the early Ottoman status quo, who regarded it as a hateful innovation [see BöD], actually rested on long-standing Islamic precedent [see FAY']. The “newness” of the yeni-êrê can also be questioned on the grounds of the duties and functions performed by it in the period immediately after its establishment. Apart from the parallel institution of the xara, another group, the 'azad (q.v.), played a very similar battle role to the Janissaries and outnumbered them in the first period by a very considerable margin (Inalcık, Military expenditu, 93). The collective presence of the Janissaries in the army of Murâd I was limited to no more than 2,000 (Ferrudin, Münseh'û, i, 114) and it seems that his great-grandson Murâd II, who died in 855/1451, was still only capable of mustering a Janissary force of
about 3,000 men (Inalcik, Fatih devri, 118). Ottoman military practice was not revolutionised by the introduction of the Janissaries, whose only distinction in comparison to the ‘azabs was their permanent salaried status. In this early period, as later, the Janissaries’ coveted position as ğanbaktı kula was a source of jealousy not just among the akınglı border raiders (see above), but also a source of grievance to the irregular infantry forces whose conditions of service, armaments and fitness for battle were indistinguishable from the Janissaries. The Janissaries’ continued use of the crossbow and related technologies in the mid-9th/15th century is attested in a variety of Ottoman sources (see, for example, the Kauşun-tı Yehüeriyân, fol. 110b). Because of their limited numbers, sufficient in practical terms for little more than vanguard and imperial escort services, Janissaries did not assume a crucial offensive role in the Ottoman army until they came into their own after the mid-9th/15th century in a more specialised role as troops trained for the assault of fortified places.

The still undeveloped state of Ottoman siege techniques in the early period is apparent from contemporary accounts describing the failed sieges of Kruje in 854/1450 (see Âk-derân. 4) and Belgrade in 860/1456. Contemporary sources on the Belgrade campaign concur in their view that, while Ottoman artillery achieved its purpose in undermining enemy defences, the assault troops failed to capitalise on the opportunity which their success had offered (Mihailovic, 107-10, and Tursun Bey, 38-40). By contrast a detailed account of Ottoman success in the Belgrade siege of 927/1521 attributed a leading role to the Janissaries who, by advancing ahead of the artillery, cleared a path for the best placing of the siege guns thereby ensuring the success of the final assault (see events of 1 Ramadân/4 August; Tauer, Histoire de la campagne, Persian text, fol. 95b [pp. 78-9], French tr., 53). Despite the early textual evidence referring to Janissaries and other Ottoman troops armed with arquebuses (see Petrović, in Parry and Yapp (eds.), War and society, 193-4), the most authoritative sources on the state of Ottoman warfare in the mid-9th/15th century, such as the anonymous account of the battle of Varna, give an equal prominence to the continuing use in battle of more “primitive” weapons such as axes, pikes and maces (see the index of Inalcik and Oguz (eds.), Gazavatname, s.v. balta, kılıncık, topâz) in addition to the still ubiquitous bow and arrow. Firearm did not assume a dominant place at the centre of Ottoman military provision until the early years of the 10th/16th century (see Inalcik’s remarks on the “modernisation” of the Ottoman military order under Sultan Süleyman I (1520-66), in Parry and Yapp, op. cit., 198).

While we do not have enough detailed knowledge of the actual state of Janissary tactics and training during the first century of the corps’ existence to reach any conclusive assessments, from the standpoint of its institutional continuity there can be little doubt that the period of the interregnum following the Ottomans’ defeat by Timûr at the battle of Ankara in 804/1402 brought serious disruption to evolving Janissary service traditions. It is thus only from the reign of Mehmed II onwards (see below) that we can confidently trace the evolutionary phases through which the corps passed.

2. The evolution of the Janissary corps (855/1450-1566)

Institutional growth and development

The size of the corps inherited by Mehmed II at the time of his second accession in 855/1451 was still modest. Two years later, as a natural consequence of the transfer of his capital to Istanbul and the creation of an extended administrative apparatus, the membership of his standing military corps increased.

From Mehmed’s time, it became necessary to distinguish Janissary regiments according to the time and circumstances of their creation in three principal subdivisions: the dżemâl or pâyâdâgân (later expanded to 101 regiments) for those created before Mehmed’s reign; theおかげ (in Suppl.) (おかげ, a small corps of keepers of the palace sounds absorbed into the ranks of the Janissaries by Mehemmed I in 855/1451 (later expanded to 34 regiments); and the bölük or agha bölükleri (numbering 61 regiments), created in a further expansion undertaken early in the reign of Bayezid II (q.v.). Hence by the 1480s, when the Janissary institution had already assumed its final structural profile, the “imperial bodyguard” of the early 15th century had grown to 196 infantry regiments each referred to by the generic term etta (i.e. "common", “shared” (q.v.), which meant that each had its separate mess arrangements and a chief officer called (in the case of the agha bölükleri) the çorbağlı (i.e. dispenser of the soup (q.v.)). These smaller units within the three divisions formed the actual focus of loyalty and identification for the majority of Janissaries, who in a further allusion to the communal nature of their joint enterprise were also referred to as hearthmates (öğak-eri; see ogak). Some Janissary regiments had specialised functions which served to accentuate their sense of distinctiveness and separation. Consequently, when speaking of general institutional developments, it is important to be wary of the obvious but dangerous assumption that the Janissaries always functioned as a monolithic and cohesive whole and remain conscious of the degree to which regimental pride and loyalty motivated Janissary behaviour (see section 4, below).

The expansion of the Janissaries during the reign of Mehemmed II from about 5,000 to perhaps 10,000 by the end of his reign (Inalcik, Fatih devri, 118) reflects the needs of an expanding empire, and if we accept that each of the 61 new regiments introduced by his successor Bayezid had, at first, 50 members (Kauşun-tı Yehüeriyân, fol. 84a), its increase to roughly 30,000 over less than half a century was formidable. Mehemmed’s decision to try to meet the empire’s growing military needs by converting vaqf and mülk lands to mîrit ownership and redistributing them as timâr to the growing ranks of the provincial cavalry had met with fierce resistance from established Muslim families in Anatolia. Bayezid’s alternative plan of expanding the Janissaries had the double advantage of appealing public opinion while at the same time providing the empire with a professional soldiery on a scale unmatched in either Europe or Asia at the time. Neither the fiscal nor the political implications of Bayezid’s military policies seems to have attracted much critical notice or caused any of the furore associated with a later phase of the Janissaries’ expansion in the closing decades of the 10th/16th century (see below).

During the reign of Sultan Süleyman I (q.v.), the corps experienced a period of relative stability, maintaining its size and proportional share of treasury allocations with consistency. While it retained its nominal strength of between 12-13,000 members, in battle deployments the usual figure was more like half that number, as the record of a salary distribution in the field while on campaign in Hungary demonstrates (Topkapı Sarayi Müzesi Arşivi, D. 9619 dated 948/1541, showing the presence in Süleyman’s army of
By the early 11th/17th century, the Janissaries had established the Janissary system, which included the regulation of Janissary enrolment and discipline. The Ottomans were closely linked to the Janissaries, with the latter providing the Ottoman army with a reliable and loyal force. The Janissary corps, with its unique structure and training, played a crucial role in the Ottoman military strategy.

The Janissaries were initially recruited from the Janissary corps, which was a special corps of the Ottoman army. The Janissaries were recruited from the Ottoman Empire's Muslim communities, and their training was rigorous, with a focus on discipline and obedience. The Janissary system was designed to be both a military and a political institution, with the Janissaries maintaining their own political structure and leadership.

The Janissaries were instrumental in the Ottomans' military campaigns, and their effectiveness was reflected in their ability to maintain order and discipline. The loyalty of the Janissaries was essential to the Ottomans, and their cooperation was sought in any military action.

The Janissaries also played a significant role in the Ottoman court, with the Janissary corps providing the sultans with a reliable and obedient force. The Janissaries were involved in the political intrigue that characterized the Ottoman court, and their influence was apparent in the decisions made by the sultan.

The Janissaries were also involved in the Ottoman military and social reforms, with the Janissary corps providing the Ottomans with a reliable and obedient force. The Janissaries were instrumental in the Ottoman military strategy, with their participation in military campaigns being a significant factor in the Ottomans' success.

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Janissaries’ rejection and refusal of the sultan’s patronage by the overturning of their soup cauldrons. Aside from such moments of exceptional and irresolvable bitterness, however, the Janissaries took their responsibility for protecting the honour, reputation and personal safety of the sultan as a sacred trust. The historian ʿAbdī Pasha-zade (q.v.), while holding some reservations about the legal basis as well as usefulness of the corps in the early days of its existence (see above), still gave recognition to this protective aspect of the Janissaries’ responsibilities in his account when he noted: “the sovereign needs the household troops at his [right]/that they might watch over him [day and night]” (Enəklîkoğlu ʿEniçerî Kapudâ) ki Khâbi geç-geçeler he tapudâ) (Târîkh, 50; on the multiple senses of taqū as used in this verse, see the Bihl. under this author).

4. Janissary self-governance: the traditions of jurisdictional autonomy and judicial immunity as sources of regimental cohesion. Although they performed key fixed roles in court ceremonial and battle field deployment, the Janissaries were keenly aware and zealously protective of their independence and sense of regimental pride. While heedful of the superior position of the sultan as the ultimate source of patronage, they staunchly defended their jurisdictional autonomy. One sign of each regiment’s status as a closed corporation was that each maintained a separate communal welfare chest (mâna, tankh, from which Janissaries could draw in retirement and which also provided for widows and orphans of deceased Janissaries. Each regiment also had an officer called the rektî-i khağa (paymaster-general), who oversaw the distribution of funds held in trust for use by those in special need as well as the collection of contributions for each regiment’s independent campaign provisions fund (kumanyd). All these special funds were administered at the regimental level (Kawdîn-i ʿEniçerî, fols. 39a). From the standpoint of fiscal autonomy and responsibility for the discipline of and imposing of punishments on its own members, each regiment within the 196 was run as a separate entity with a principled objection to outside interference in its members’ welfare. This organisational structure fostered a strong sense of regimental pride and loyalty, a source of Janissary strength that neither the sultan nor the agha of the Janissaries himself was disposed to tamper with. Rules for the punishment of lapses in Janissary discipline were precise and allowed maximum scope for the carrying out of the required punishments (usually flogging) in the relative privacy of the offending soldier’s regimental barracks (Kawdîn-i ʿEniçerî, fols. 41b-42a). In the final analysis, the Janissaries’ elite status derived not so much from their material condition, since (barring income from another source) their maximum entitlement when they reached the top of the pay scale after more than a decade of active service was no more, in the early 10th/17th century, than 12 akçe per day (see ʿUmer), but rather from their visible separation from the common rank of society commanded by the privilege of wearing a regimental uniform and the immunity from public prosecution which it symbolised. The very strong impression is left in one of the few genuinely contemporary accounts surviving of the deposition and murder of ʿOthmân II in 1031/1622 that it was the sultan’s persistent disregard for the time-honoured tradition of the Janissaries’ judicial immunity that so provoked their anger (Tuglî, ʿHiremsına, 493, 504). The communal ethos binding Janissaries together was felt most forcefully at the regimental level among smaller cohorts of men who were both recruited and trained under very similar conditions and who, after completion of their training, served together in a succession of campaign postings. The protection of such unit’s administrative autonomy thus had considerable importance for the maintaining of general morale within the corps.

The General Commander of the Janissaries reserved promotion to some of the regimental commands for those who had served at his side as one of the personal aides and as attendants who made up his obligatory suite on special ceremonial occasions (see the section on the agha gelîkleri in the Kawdîn-i ʿEniçerî, fols. 75a-76b). By this means, he had knowledge of and was able to exert some control over the mood of his troops at the regimental level. However, in combat situations especially, the higher level of authority represented by the agha of the Janissaries had little direct influence over the soldiers’ performance.

Recommendations for promotion and commendation for deeds of valour on the battlefield were admittedly processed by means of the commander’s ard (petition) to the sultan, but this list of candidates for reward was itself generated within the regiments. With very few exceptions, moreover, (see the list in STO, iv, 771-8) the average term of office for aghas of the Janissaries was relatively brief. Because of their overriding concern with institutional aspects of the corps’ history, even the seemingly most comprehensive works on the Janissaries have left a perhaps exaggerated impression that Janissaries belonged to a monolithic entity governed by clear lines of authority and possessing a distinct chain of command which emanated from the centre.

5. Recruitment, training, promotion and battle performance of Janissaries.

The effectiveness of the Janissaries as a key element of Ottoman military provisioning in the era of the Pax Ottomanaica in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries is generally recognised. Opinion is, however, divided on the question of whether their recognised superiority derived from selectivity in recruitment, thoroughness in training or the exceptional quality of the esprit de corps generated in individual Janissary units whose fighting strength represented, in round figures, about 100 men. While the subject is too large to treat in any detail here, a review of some of the basic elements of the system may help to clarify some controversial aspects. From what we know of Ottoman recruitment practices it seems that they gave preference in selection to boys who had already entered early manhood. This is reflected in the rates of the penâfîk, which in several examples dating from the pre-Süleymanîd era (texts transcribed in Uzunçarşılı, Kapukulu ocaklan, 87-90) indicate that the ages between 12 and 19 were considered optimal for the purpose of military training. Such theoretical guidelines were apparently also followed in the actual practice of the devshirme (q.v.), since we know from a published example relating to Bosnia that the actual age span found in one group of recruits ranged from 13 to 19 (see the study by Meriç cited in devshirme). Other texts of the early 10th/17th century (see the example in Refik, Devshirme esâli, 4-5, dated 1031/1621) suggest the consistent adherence to an age at first recruitment between 15 and 20, which may indicate a bias towards a slightly shorter period in training but otherwise conforms closely to earlier practice. If we accept that most Janissaries began their training at the age of 14 or 15 and completed a course of basic training lasting a minimum of four to five years, they were ready to
enter active service at the age of 19 or 20 at the peak of their physical development and endurance potential. References in the advice literature to an optimum period of 15-20 years in basic training before admission to active Janissary units seem not just highly unlikely but wholly impractical (see, for example, Koç's p. 11 of his 1041/1631-2, Aksüt, 71: on-bole yiarmi çahula ommanyin...) and the anonymous Kiš-ı Mümteşab of ca. 1029/1620, Yülçel, 7, which recommends that cadets should serve terms of 6-7 years as əğmeji əğlan, then 5-10 years as bostanqil [q.v.] before being inscribed in the Janissary rolls. At all events, Janissary vacancies (mahāb) created by the retirement or death of veterans had been filled on a semi-continuous basis by those most fit for service between the ages of 18 and 23 without regard to the regular intervals prescribed for the general exodus in which candidates destined for the scribal services also took part.

Irrespective of its duration, the emphasis during the initial training period was placed on fitness, physical endurance, self-discipline and deference, as well as obedience to those with greater seniority and rank. The probationary period actually continued even after a cadet's induction into a permanent Janissary regiment, termed 'going up to the gate' (kapuya dkmak, be-dergah olmak), as recent inductees were initially assigned menial chores such as floor sweeping and mess duties in the Istanbul barracks. Although target practice and other drill was routinely carried out during the off-season between campaigns, it would not be too far from the truth if we were to suppose that formal training in the arts of war began with exposure to actual conditions of battle at the front. The emphasis on recruitment and peace-time training of Janissaries which follows in its main lines the views expressed in the Ottoman advice literature [see NASİHAT AL-MULUK] misses the essential point that battle experience was the most crucial element in a soldier's training. One of the chief deficiencies of the Janissary corps in the 12th/18th century was not inadequate training, but the lack of recent combat experience as the inevitable consequence of the prolonged period of peace between the signing of the Treaty of Belgrade in 1152/1739 and the empire's remobilisation for war with Russia in 1182/1768.

Idealised perceptions of the quality of the corps before the introduction of new recruitment categories beginning from ca. 990/1582 (see below) have given a distorted weight to selection criteria which, despite their undoubted importance, must be considered as only one of the relevant variables affecting Janissary performance. Allowances for campaign equipment and provisions (yağ aksçi, iffer florisi), and bonuses and rewards for exceptional deeds of bravery, distributed both on the battlefield to encourage the troops and as part of generalised celebrations held to mark significant Ottoman victories [see DONAMMA, 2], also played a very significant role in motivating the Janissaries to achieve the maximum performance levels which their training, fitness and expertise permitted.

6. Attitudes towards the Janissaries in Ottoman political writing of the late 10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries.

Although the expense of maintaining an expanded Janissary corps had already begun to attract notice in Ottoman political writing as early as Lüfti Paša's [q.v.] treatise dating from the mid-950s/1560s (İstascade, ed. Kütükoğlu, 35), the topic acquired increased urgency from about 1580 onwards. A series of authors beginning with the prolific 'Ali saw the problems besetting the Janissary corps in their time as chiefly due to irregularities in the method of their recruitment and the resultant insinuation of non-devshāme recruits, referred to in the texts as eğmeji (outsiders) or səplama (intruders) spoiling the purity of the corps. 'Ali's remarks in a work written towards the end of his life in 1087/1676, Bostanqil, 3, 90, 92, 95, are directly connected with circumstances associated with Murad III's precedent-setting grant of fast-track promotion to the Janissary corps to a group of what he called 'city boys' as part of the celebrations to mark the circumcision feast held for prince Mehemmed (later Mehemmed III [q.v.]) in 990/1582 (see the Fuskil-i bali, Nurüssoamîye ms. 3399, fol. 132a: sırlı hâmâyında İstanbul devshârıname) in the aftermath of 'Ali's retrospective regarding the significance of the events of 1582, which he regarded as the defining moment in the Janissaries' general slide towards mediocrity, a group of later writers took up the theme of the corruption of the Janissaries reproducing and immortalising 'Ali's brief remarks in close paraphrase. Among them Koç, Bey, writing in 1041/1631-2, more than thirty years after the penning of 'Ali's treatise, repeated the reference to the sırlı hâmâyın of 990/1582 as the source of all later corruption (First risâle, ed. Aksüt, 44). Tracts written in the intermediate years also insisted on the seriousness of admitting city boys (çehre oğlanlar, a code term for recruits among whom Turks and other Muslims had insinuated themselves) to Janissary membership without explaining the unsuitability of Turks for military service except by the repetition (or unexpressed assumption) of standard ethnic stereotypes which held them to be 'unruly'. It is clear that the views of such 'traditionalists' were seriously out of touch with the military realities facing the empire, as their texts contain no reference to the empire's pressing need for recruits to man the dozens of new garrisons which were being erected, renovated and expanded to guard the Ottomans' advancing frontier in the east during the 990s/1580s and beyond [see 'ÜZMÂN PAŞA (ÖZDEMİR-ÖZBEK)].

Whatever its basis in fact, the theme of the corruption of the Janissaries gained general acceptance in the popular consciousness and achieved a particular popularity in the aftermath of 'Othmân II's dethronement and murder in which the Janissaries were implicated. Anti-Janissary sentiments reached a kind of climax during the term in office of the reformist Grand Vizier Kemânçeh Kara Muştafa Paşa between Şha'ban 1048/December 1638 and Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1053/January 1644, but the kind of dramatic spending cuts he was advocating, while desirable in the abstract, were hardly practicable, since the empire was on the eve of gearing up for a renewed phase of its centuries-long confrontation with Venice which would involve a significant military build-up in both Dalmatia and Crete [see JUBA]. Kâthib Çelebi [q.v.] was one of the few Ottoman thinkers of the mid-11th/17th century to see the desirability of maintaining steady Janissary enrolments, both because of their obvious military value and also as a means of avoiding the political turmoil associated with sudden or dramatic changes to their status. In his view, a slight oversupply of military capacity in peacetime was preferable to last-minute arming, with the cost of supplying the soldiers by recruiting inexperienced leventā [q.v.] and other irregulars on the eve of battle. As the son of a soldier himself, with considerable first-hand exposure to conditions at the front, where he had served in a variety of scolar capacities, Kâthib Çelebi was better equipped than most to draw sound conclusions. Unswayed by the anti-Janissary sentiments afflict
many of his contemporaries, he fully realised that Ottoman reliance on forced conscription of peasants to man fortresses in remote areas of the frontier represented the worse of two evils (see ch. 2 of the Divâr al-tâmâl, 1293–39).

It is noteworthy that later theorists such as Şâîr Mehmed Pasha [q.v.], writing ca. 1120/1708 at a time when the Janissary numbers had mounted to 53,200, including pensioners (otârâb), thus representing a huge burden on the treasury, tended to follow in Kâthîb Celebî's footsteps in advocating a gradual diminishing of the Janissary ranks as the best policy (Wright, Ottoman warfare, 114; "slowly and deliberately accomplished").

7. Peacetime and non-combatant duties of the Janissaries.

Apart from their duties associated with the waging of war, the Janissaries played a very considerable role in state ceremonial and ritual (see MARASIM 4). The regular pay distributions to the sultan's household troops were themselves organised as ceremonial occasions called ʿsilfe divanı or ghâbole divânı [see DÎVÂN-I HÎMÂVÎN], often timed to coincide with the presence in the capital of foreign diplomatic missions. On these occasions, the presence of the Janissary regiments in full strength made a powerful impression on Western envoys, who were in any case already in awe of the Ottomans because of the scale of their permanent standing armed forces, which dwarfed those of contemporary European states. The four solak regiments (the 60th to 63rd ğmeât) created in the time of Bâyeyzîd I with a nominal membership of 20 each (Kawdanîn-i Teftîrînîn, fol. 102b) but later expanded to 100 each [see şolak] were reduced to an exclusively ceremonial function under sultans who, as became increasingly common after the reign of Mehemmed III [q.v.], declined to accompany the army on campaign.

The laws of protocol also dictated that the agha of the Janissaries should personally escort the sultan to and from the palace on the occasion of his obligatory Friday visits to one of the capital's principal mosques [see SELAMÎ]. In addition to these fixed duties, Janissary units assumed general responsibility for essential functions of municipal governance from fire fighting (Kawdanîn-i Teftîrînîn, fol. 48a-b) to night sentry duties and the preservation of law and order, both in the city (koldolashmak, see ibid., fols. 49a-50b) and the provinces (yusufleâlîk, see ibid., fols. 50b-52b). The latter assignments were typically for periods of either three or nine months, depending on the town's proximity to the capital. The nine-month term for provincial inspectorate and guard duty was reserved for assignments to the remotest parts of the empire (ilâhî). Janissaries accustomed to a privileged life at the centre of the empire's political, cultural and economic life regarded these stints in the provinces as hardship postings, and anxiously awaited their rotation back to the capital.

Janissaries assigned to provincial garrison duty were intended only to supplement locally recruited forces (yedî kâf) but, if war-time circumstances required, their times could be extended. References found in normative sources of the 11th/17th century (see the Second rézâle of Koçî Bey, ed. Aksüüt, 92, and Kora Kemânîşî Pasha láyîhat, ed. Unat, 450) suggest that Janissaries posted as kafe nêbedîleri served a term lasting three years, but there was quite a wide variation in actual practice. The essential point is that, at any given time, a very substantial proportion of the corps was employed in this manner as part of the empire's frontier defences. This proportion might rise in the context of a prolonged conflict in a particular sector of the frontier to as much as one-third of the total membership. For example, figures provided by Hüseyn Hezârênî [q.v.] for the year 1080/1669-70 show 14,379 out of a total of 53,849 Janissaries, or 26.7%, were employed in provincial garrison duty, but ten years earlier in 1070/1660 the proportion had been 39.5% or 21,428 out of a total membership of 54,222 (Murphey, Ottoman warfare, 45). The fact that Janissaries were counted as absent (na-mevâslîd), when roll calls were carried out in the trenches during wartime, is a reflection not of Janissary truancy but rather of the actual pattern of use to which Janissaries were put. To a very considerable degree, these legitimately included responsibilities for defence and other non-combatant duties. It was the permanent responsibility of the 34 sekban regiments to function as the home guard, and it was the agha of the sekbanî who, as the corps' second-ranking officer, designated for the agha of the Janissaries and fulfilled his superior's ceremonial and administrative duties when his chief was absent on campaign. While their numbers in all but the key strategic fortresses like Buda and Baghîddâd were counted not in thousands but hundreds, Janissaries formed an integral part of the social fabric in the provinces as much as the capital. By restricting ourselves to an assessment of the narrow range of their activities when Janissaries were being used as commandos and assault troops, we gain a distorted picture of their role, which was in its essence and by design multi-functional.

8. The economic position of the Janissaries.

The most impressive presence of the Janissaries was in Istanbul, since in addition to two barracks of their own, the eskî and the yedî odârî, and the residence of the Janissary agha himself called the agha köşkâs (see above), there were also thousands of Janissary cadets domiciled in the palace gardens scattered all round the imperial capital. The presence of tens of thousands of Janissaries and Janissary trainees in the city meant that the interpenetration of military and civilian life was an inescapable part of the urban experience in Ottoman Istanbul. The involvement of Janissaries during peacetime as artisans and tradesmen is noted in Ottoman sources as early as the reign of Mehemmed II [q.v.], declined to accompany the army on campaign.

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they could accumulate represented a welcome source of stimulus for the local economy, which was heavily based on production of goods for immediate household consumption. As official institutions, too, the Janisary garrisons were purchasers on a grandiose scale of basic supplies from local markets. Moreover, when the Janissaries' basic policing function was properly carried out, the protection they offered provincial populations from the depredations of brigands and other sowers of provincial anarchy provided the necessary environment of safety and security favouring trade and sustained economic growth.

The indication of the general economic position of Janissaries, although biased towards the higher-ranking and most prosperous group among them, is provided in data compiled from the probate records of 11th/17th-century Istanbul. Table I is a summary of this information which, although it is silent on the crucial subject of the sources from which Janissary wealth was accumulated, nonetheless gives a valuable impression of the high social standing and economic position of the Janissaries at the peak of their power and influence in the 11th/17th century.

9. The retirement of the Janissaries from active service after 1700, their elimination in 1826 and its after-effects.

The common association of the Janissaries with growing political instability of the Ottoman empire in the 12th/18th century needs careful reassessment. Recent research has cast some considerable doubt on the once prevalent notion of the endemic predisposition of the Janissaries to revolt and rebellion. This research (see refs. in Bibl. under Janissary-senfl relations) goes a long way towards refuting or at least muting the constant harping on the theme of Janissary waywardness as found in the Ottoman court chronicle tradition and repeated by modern proponents of the "conspiracy theory" of 18th-century Ottoman politics. From the strictly military point of view, however, there can be no doubt that the 18th century brought major changes both in public perceptions concerning the Janissaries and the new position assigned to them in the altered deployment patterns of the period. In the new environment, partly determined by the Ottomans' consistently non-interventionist stance in Europe after 1739, the size and expense of the corps became increasingly difficult to justify. In military terms, the Janissaries had already begun to outlive their usefulness when, driven by fiscal pressures, Mahmud I [q.v.] decided in 1153/1740 to legalise the selling of Janissary pay-certificates (esâmit) (Ahmed Djevdâd, Târîkh-i 'âskert, iii, 52-3, and Aksan, Whatever happened, 26-7). The timing of this decision from the standpoint of the Janissaries' regimental cohesion could not have been more unfortunate, as the inauguration of a prolonged period of peace, lasting until 1182/1768, meant that no new Janissaries were being recruited or trained. At the same time, the corps' existing members either retired or lapsed into varying degrees of inactivity. Thirty years after the introduction of Mahmut II's fiscal measures the empire was not noticeably better off, while the effect on its military preparedness was catastrophic. When it went to war with Russia in the late 1760s it did so with inexperienced, demoralised and sadly ineffective troops, which included large numbers of superannuated Janissaries brought back from retirement to face Russia's recently-modernised army. The Ottomans' desperate attempts during the 1767-74 war to pick up where they had left off three decades earlier placed intolerable strains on Ottoman resources, and policy makers' attention was necessarily divided between demands from competing services. In the aftermath of the disastrous defeat at Çeşme [q.v.] in 1184/1770, it was natural that naval concerns should gain a certain predominance in their thinking. Significantly, in the post-war period, too, when the Ottomans undertook a broadly-based renovation of all the empire's defence capabilities, the naval sphere was again assigned priority. The Ottomans' first imperially-sponsored technical school founded in 1187/1773 and called the mühendis-êskâne-yi hârî-i hâmîyân was, as the name suggests, intended to give priority to the naval sphere. The founding of its counterpart institution, the mühendis-êskâne-yi hârî-i hâmîyân, devoted to the scientific and technical aspects of land wars, was deferred until 1208/1793. Worries about Ottoman naval preparedness continued during the reign of the military moderniser par excellence Selim III [q.v.] and while some of his advisers such as Ta'âurdjik 'Abdullah Efendi advocated undertaking a serious (and well-funded) effort to improve the condition of the Janissaries (see his Lâyîâ, pt. ii, 259-70), in the end the demands for a modern navy were given equal priority (Lâyîâ, pt. i, 330-9) and in the end other options for upgrading the Ottomans' land forces were pursued [see Nizâm-i Cedid].

Between 1770-2, when the Ottomans were still at war with Russia, experimentation with alternatives to the Janissaries had in any case already begun. The very existence of the şenâflîs (rapid-fire artillerymen) being trained by the Baron de Tott in the capital, although ostensibly a replacement for the jafari, was, as is sometimes implied, no more than the Janissaries proper, was enough in itself to engender real fears among the Janissaries at the front about their collective future. The fact that the experiment was essentially a failure and that the prototype unit ordered to the front never actually reached its destination (Aksan, "Wretched Fanatics") did little to allay these fears, and the truth is that already in the 1770s, their days were numbered. Finding a viable replacement for the Janissaries was, however, a complicated problem, and the last half-century of the corps' existence saw a series of phased reforms and policy reversals. There were valid reasons for this gradualism, and it is wrong to attribute the slowness of reform principally to Janissary obstinacy, resistance and conservatism, as is sometimes implied.

Even the "abolishing" of the corps by Mahmut II's imperial fiat in 1242/1826, dubbed in the sources the "auspicious event" (isâmit-yi hâyriyye), was not so absolute or final as the name would suggest. The transition to local recruitment models was, in some areas, painfully slow and, especially in border areas such as Bosnia, it met with fierce resistance from the local Muslim notables. In Bosnia, for example, it took seven years for the sultan's "abolition" of the corps to take full effect and be replaced with a reliable local militia (O. Moreau, Recruitment, 264). It was in the provinces closest to Istanbul and least vulnerable to attack that the transition to a regionally recruited land army was quickest and most successful [see Radif. 3]. In the short to medium term, it cannot be said that the removal of the Janissaries brought any real solution to the empire's military difficulties. The empire was militarily unprepared in both the 1828-9 Russo-Ottoman war and the first phase of its conflict with Muhammad "Ali [q.v.] in 1832-3 and the diplomatic interventions needed to bring these disastrous episodes to a close, established a new pattern of Ottoman dependency on foreign aid which lasted to the era of the Crimean War and beyond. The 1830s heralded not so much a new era of promise for accelerated military modernisation by the Ottomans as the inau-
Table I

Value of estates left by retired and active members of the Janissary* corps between 1005/1594 and 1078/1668 (based on Oztürk, *Istanbul tereke defterleri*, 438-93)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>name of deceased</th>
<th>P. no. in Oztürk</th>
<th>inventory no. in Oztürk</th>
<th>date of death (hijri)</th>
<th>place of death</th>
<th>value of estate (in akça)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mehmed Cawush</td>
<td>438</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1005</td>
<td>sefer-i sultanı</td>
<td>127,676</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muşafatı Agha</td>
<td>444</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1027</td>
<td>sefer-i şahreş</td>
<td>529,378</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâlihi Câwush</td>
<td>448</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>1037</td>
<td>şahreş seferi</td>
<td>380,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matarâdji Mehmed Agha</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>1046</td>
<td>sefer-i hümayûn</td>
<td>260,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Redjeb b. Haydar</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1046</td>
<td>sefer-i şahreş</td>
<td>273,750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el-Hâdîdi Yahyâ (solak)</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1048</td>
<td>şahreş seferi</td>
<td>862,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derwisî Agha</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>1048</td>
<td>Ordu-i hümayûn'da</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan Agha</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1048</td>
<td></td>
<td>201,486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İbrâhîm (su-basîhi)</td>
<td>454</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>1048</td>
<td>sefer-i şahreş</td>
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</tr>
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<td>454</td>
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<td>1055</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamza Beşbe</td>
<td>456</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>1055</td>
<td></td>
<td>127,243</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muşafatı Agha</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1058</td>
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</tr>
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<td>460</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>1059</td>
<td></td>
<td>187,003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Ali Agha</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>1059</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>398,880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahmed (çorbadji)</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>118,415</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ozcâ Agha</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>Girid</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murâd (su-basîhi)</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>1060</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>129,017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmed (oda-basîhi)</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>1070</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>81,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abîdiân (oda-basîhi)</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ahmed Beşte</td>
<td>476</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td>Küçükdepa-yeri</td>
<td>266,857</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Ali Beşte</td>
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<td>256</td>
<td>1079</td>
<td>Küçükdepa-yeri</td>
<td>238,352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şâ‘bân (oda-basîhi)</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1077</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>206,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Abd al-Rahîm b. Şâ‘bân (solak)</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>1,728,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmed Agha</td>
<td>480</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1077</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>2,447,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmed Agha (yeńîceri ketkudâ-yeri)</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>225,070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mehmed Beşte</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>145,840**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khalîfe b. Muşafatı</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Rumelî</td>
<td>1,378,634</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muşafatı Agha (zirhdji)</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>İstanbul</td>
<td>9,659,838***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muşafatı Khalîfe (yeńîceri)</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>145,634</td>
</tr>
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<td>Hasan Agha</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>141,450</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mehmed Agha (corbadji)</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>662,537</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mehmed Agha</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>105,032</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Ali Câwush</td>
<td>488</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>473,162</td>
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<td>Ahmed Agha (muhdîr)</td>
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<td>185</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>644,153</td>
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<tr>
<td>‘Ali Agha (mehter-basîhi)</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>Girid</td>
<td>471,434</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Some titles (e.g. çawûş) are ambiguous and could refer to military or non-military officials other than Janissaries. In a few cases, however, additional, functionally specific, information is given (e.g. solok, turnadji-basî, oda-basî, mataladji, etc.) confirming the individual’s status as a member of the Janissary corps. When the place of death is given as “on campaign” (e.g. sefer-i şahreş, sefer-i sultanı), this increases the likelihood that individuals bearing ambiguous titles were in fact Janissaries.

** This estate was also composed mostly (145,300 akça) worth of cash. Many Janissaries lived in barracks as bachelors and thus had no private homes to dispose of at the time of death.

*** This estate was composed almost entirely of cash in the amount of 9,054,530 akça, with a further 32,368.5 akça owed to the estate by creditors.
guration of the “Eastern Question” in western politics.

**Bibliography:**
5. **Studies on the Janissaries,** 1360-1700.

(a) **General.** H. Inalcik, *Expediendbe for the Ottoman army,* in Inalcik and D. Quataert (eds.), *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire,* Cambridge 1994, 88-93; idem, "Faith over empire: tebihkar and vezikalar," in *VJ. Parry and M.E. Wright,* *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror (1451-1481) in the passage from p. 30 of the Giese ed., the word tâpu carries a variety of connotations. Its primary meaning is "presence" or "vicinity" (see *Vara* *nlâzâh,* v, 3748-51) implying the obligation of the Janissaries never to abandon the sultan whether in his sleeping or his wakeful state, while a collateral meaning of the term refers more to active "service" (*ibid.*, v, 3754-5) with the obvious reference in the case of Janissaries to military service; Tursun Bey, facs. of text and summary, English tr. Inalcik and R. Murphy, *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Bey,* Minneapolis and Chicago 1978; Hüseyn Tughî, *Tirtârdîqî,* text in Roman transcription by C. Romer (ed. and Ger. tr.), *Tiirkische Schriften aus dem Archive des Palatín Nikolaus Esterhazy, 1606-1645,* Budapest 1932 (nos. 51-77 (pp. 149-203) are private letters; see in particular the letters exchanged between Janissary officers garrisoned in Hungary (Buda and Eger/Eger), nos. 60-1 (pp. 172-7). On the abolition of the Janissaries, see Mehemmed Es’ad, *Uşû-i yüzef,* Istanbul 1293/1876.


(c) **Weapons and equipment.** In addition to the studies on Ottoman gun-casting by Lefroy (1870) and Foulkes (1930) cited by V.J. Parry, in art. E. Fornasier, "The technology of gun-casting in the army of Muhammad II,* in Birinci Uluslararasi Türk-Islam Bilim ve Teknoloji Kongresi,* Bildiriler, 4 vols. Istanbul 1981, i, 163-70; H. Inalcik, *The socio-political effects of the diffusion of fire arms in the Middle East,* in V.J. Parry and M.E. Wright, *Ottoman statecraft. The Book of Counsel for Veziers and Governors,* Princeton 1935.

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[ R. Murphey]

YEŇI KAL'£, in Turkish, "the New Fortress", a fortress in the southeastern Crimea.

It was founded by the Ottoman sultan Mustafa II in 1114/1702 to protect the nearby port of Kerč and provide a counterweight to Azov, which had been conquered by Peter the Great in 1696 (and held by Russia for 17 years) [see AXYA]. When Catherine the Great's armies marched into the Crimea in 1771, Yeńi Kaľe and Kerč fell into Russian hands without resistance and in the Treaty of Külük Kaynardja [q.v.] of 1774, the Porte ceded its rights to them, thus giving Russia control of the northern Black Sea shores.

Bibliography: See that to KAĽE.

[Ed.]

YEŇI 'OTHAMNĽILAR, the Young Ottomans, a political grouping which strove for the establishment of a constitutional régime in the Ottoman empire.

The group was formed in 1865 by a group of six young civil servants who had been trained in the new government offices created under the Tannızmât,
Janissary vanguard observes the crossing of the Drava en route to Sigetwâr in 1566. Miniature from the supplement (tatimma) to the Sâylemân-nâme of Lâkânân b. Sayyid Husayn [q.e.] covering the years 968-74/1561-66. Chester Beatty Library, MS T 413, folio 60b; reproduced by kind permission of the Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin.
Detail from the 1559 Istanbul panorama of Melchior Lorichs showing the agha kapusu or headquarters and chief residence of the Janissary commander located behind the Suleymaniyye mosque. Courtesy of Leiden University Library (BPL 1758, Tafel X).
and specifically in the Translation Bureau of the Porte. Some of the leading members of the group, such as Namık Kemal [q.v.], also pioneered modern journalism in the empire. The Young Ottomans opposed the leading statesmen of their day, Mehmêd Âmint 'Ali Paşa and Fu'âd Paşa [q.v.], accusing them of establishing a tyrannical régime, of giving in to foreign pressure and betraying the Ottoman interests in the Balkans and on Crete, and of neglecting the Islamic heritage of the empire.

The group formed in 1865 originally called itself the İttifâk-ı Hâmîyet (Patriotic Alliance). It was loosely modeled after similar movements in Europe, notably the Carbonari in Italy. From 1867 onwards, the group received powerful support from Muştafa Fâdîl Paşa [see Fâdîl Paşa], a brother of the Egyptian Khedive Ismâ'îl, who had been a high Ottoman bureaucrat, but had fallen out of favour with Fu'âd Paşa. Muştafa Fâdîl Paşa bore Fu'âd an even stronger grudge when the succession to the khedivate was changed in 1866 and he lost his position of heir-apparent to Ismâ'îl. In February 1867, Muştafa Fâdîl, who had been living in Paris since 1866, declared himself the head of the "Party of Young Turkey" to the French press. This apparently denoted a vaguer group of Ottoman reformists than the Patriotic Alliance, which did not recognise him as its head.

At the same time, the Young Ottomans in the empire came under increasing pressure because of their criticism of the régime and their support for Muştafa Fâdîl. Leading members of the group were banned from the capital. Fâdîl Paşa reacted by inviting them to Paris, whether they escaped with the help of the French embassy. For the next three years, the Young Ottomans waged a war of words on the government of Fu'âd and 'Ali Paşa in Istanbul by way of numerous newspapers that they published in London, Paris and Geneva. Muştafa Fâdîl Paşa made his peace with Sultan 'Abd al-'Azîz during the latter's visit to Paris in August 1867 and returned to Istanbul, but he continued to subsidise some of the Young Ottoman publications. Other powerful politicians, among them Khedive Ismâ'îl, also tried to use the Young Ottomans to put pressure on the government in Istanbul.

The Young Ottomans were a loose grouping of individuals with very different ideological standpoints. Under their general and vague constitutionalism, some came close to European liberalism (Namîk Kemâl), while others were more conservative and monarchist (Diyâ Bey, later Paşa) or Islamist ('Ali Şu'âwî [see Şo'âwî]). The most accomplished political thinker in the group, Namîk Kemâl, tried to show that "European" ideas like liberalism, constitutionalism and parliamentarianism were not alien to Ottoman tradition, but could be found in early Islam as well. The effort to explain European liberalism to an Ottoman audience necessitated the development of a new vocabulary as well. Modern political terms such as milâlet ("nation"), avatam ("patrie") or hûrriyyet ("liberté") were coined by the Young Ottomans.

After the deaths of Fu'âd Paşa (1869) and 'Ali Paşa (1871), almost all Young Ottomans returned to Istanbul. Their hopes of gaining political influence were soon dashed, however. Their newspaper publications again brought them into conflict with the authorities. In 1873 Namîk Kemâl used another novel medium—European-style theatre—to convey his message in a patriotic play called Wâtan şâdîdük Sîlisine ("The Fatherland, or Silistria"). This brought about an outburst of public support but also led to most of the Young Ottomans being sent into internal exile. When an Ottoman constitution was finally proclaimed in December 1876, this was the work of a number of very senior statesmen and soldiers who were not directly influenced by the Young Ottomans. Although the movement soon lost whatever strength it had had, it remained extremely important as an example to later generations of reformists. The Young Turks, who brought about the constitutional revolution of 1908, took much of their ideals from the Young Ottomans. As important as the strictly political role of the Young Ottomans was their role in the development of journalism (and therefore of "public opinion") in the Ottoman empire [see Fârî'da, iii.]

For the course of events involving the Young Ottomans and Young Turks from 1875 onwards, see DÜSTûr, ii. and OTMâNî. 1, 5; and for the reformist and intellectual currents of the time, see ISLâm, iii. and PAN-TURKISM.

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(E. ZÜCHER)

YEÎÎ SHEHÎR, modern Turkish Yenişehir, a town of northwestern Anatolia, in what was the classical Bithynia. It lies in lat. 40° 17' N. and long. 29° 38' E. at an altitude of 245 m/800 feet in a long depression running from İnegöl in a northeasterly direction, where this narrows; this plain is drained by the Gök Su, whose waters are used here for irrigation purposes and which flows past Yeni Shehir into the Sakarya river [q.v.].

Yeni Shehir played an important role in early Ottoman history. It was the first town of significance to be taken at some point in the early 8th/14th century by 'Othmân I [q.v.], who made this town and a few others around it his headquarters, using Yeni Shehir as a base for expansion westwards to the Sea of Marmara, thus cutting the communications of Bursa [q.v.], the last independent Byzantine city in the region, with Constantinople, so that 'Othmân's son Orkhan [q.v.] was able to capture Bursa in Dümâdâ 1 716/April 1326. This northwestern region eventually became the eyâlet or province of KhuĎawendi (q.v.). After Timîr had defeated Bâyezîd I at Ankarâ in Dümâ 1-Hid新加/July 1402, the Timûrid army ravaged first Bursa and then Yeni Shehîr and Iznik. The decisive battles subsequently took place at Yeni Shehîr. On 22 Rabi' ii 886/20 June 1481 the Ottoman prince Şehîr [q.v.], who had made Bursa his capital in his bid for his father Mehemmed II Fâtih's succession, was defeated by his elder brother Bâyezîd II and the commander Gedîk Ahmed Paşa, and fled with his family and the last Kâramâdîn prince Kâsiêm b. İbrahim to the Mamlûk court in Cairo. On 27 Muharrâm 919/15 April 1513 a further battle took place at Yeni Shehîr when Selîm I [q.v.], exactly one year after his accession, defeated his elder brother and rival for power, Ahmed, and executed him.

Thereafter, Yeni Shehîr played only a reduced role in Ottoman history, although it was the home town of Yenîşhehirî 'Abd Allâh Efendi, Shâhîzâd al-Islâm 1130-42/1718-30 under Ahmed III. The European guide
books of the late 19th century depict it as a modest place, the centre of a konak in the sandjak of Ergöç in Khudawendigar province (actually erected in 1885 out of the Turkish konak), with around 2,500 inhabitants, all Muslims, several mosques, including the mosque and imaret of Sinan Pasha, a khan, baths and the türbe of a certain Baba Sultan (see Murray’s Handbook for Constantinople, Brusa, and the Troad, London 1898, 129; a population figure of less than 5,000 is given in Baedeker’s Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern, Leipzig 1914, 265). Yemen is described by the late 19th century historian as the centre of a kadi in the province of Aleppo, Hasan Pasha. But Kapi Kullari Janissary troops loyal to the Sultan put down the revolt, punished 333

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Murray's Handbook for Constantinople, Brusa, and the Troad, London 1898, 129: a population figure of less than 5,000 is given in Baedeker's Konstantinopel, Balkanstaaten, Kleinasien, Archipel, Cypern, Leipzig 1914, 265). Yemen is described by the late 19th century historian as the centre of a kadi in the province of Aleppo, Hasan Pasha. But Kapi Kullari Janissary troops loyal to the Sultan put down the revolt, punished

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the rebellious Janissary chiefs and established themselves in Damascus to counter its Janissary corps that was becoming dominated by Damascenes and known accordingly as Yerliyya or "locals". Thus two Janissary corps came to exist in Damascus. The Kapı Kulları Janissaries took control of the citadel, the walls and the gates of the city. The Yerliyya Janissaries were entrusted with garrisoning the fortresses along the Pilgrimage route to the Hidjaz, but most of them stayed in Damascus to serve their own personal interests. The Yerliyya Janissaries were known in Damascus as Damasci Dinasığı ("masters of Damascus") and the Kapı Kulları Janissaries as Düstul al-Kal'a ("masters of the citadel"). The strongholds of the Yerliyya were in the Midān and in Şük Sürücü, which was close to the citadel. The Kapı Kulları were rotated at intervals and reinforced by fresh troops periodically to keep them immune to infiltration by local people. Many of them, however, lived in the city quarters and joined the guilds, which further caused economic rivalry between them and the Yerliyya (Abdul-Karim Rařeq, al-'Arab wa l-'Uthmāniyyun, 1516-1916, 22). Damascene power groups and with the approval of the sultan, expelled the Kapı Kulları from Damascus. The prestige of the Yerliyya soared as they controlled the citadel, the walls and the gates of the city. A group of them, known locally by the Turkish term zorab or zorbaşı (sing. zorba, meaning "insolent one" or "rebel"), went out of control (Redhouse, Turkish dictionary, 589; Dozy, Supplement, 1, 504; Ahmad al-Budayn, 214-16; Ahmad Tzzat ad Pasha al-Hallāk, Hawādith Dinasığı al-'Uthmāniyya, 1154-1173/1762-1741, ed. Ahmad 'Izzat 'Abd al-Karim, Cairo 1959, 62 ff.). Challenged by the zorab, the governor Asād Paşa al-'Āzm (1743-57) used his private troops, the Dalātīyya, in 1746 to discipline them. Many of them were killed and their houses destroyed (al-Budayn, 214-16; Rařeq, al-'Arab, 258-61). To guard against the resurgence of Yerliyya power, Asād Paşa reinstated the Kapı Kulları Janissaries in Damascus. Further clashes between the two corps weakened the Yerliyya, who sought help from the local Ashrāf (al-Budayn, 214-16; Rařeq, Provence, 171-5, 223-6). The animosity between the two Janissary corps, each representing special interests, continued until 1826 when the Janissary corps was altogether abolished in the Ottoman empire and replaced by the new European-style army known as Nizāmi Dji dred (gaz.).

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(Abud-Karim Rařeq)

YESHLIKÖY, a town of what is now the urban agglomeration of Istanbul, on the shores of the Sea of Marmara 15 km/9 miles from the city centre; before 1924 it was known as Agios Stephanos in Greek and Ayastefanos in Turkish.

The place is not mentioned in Byzantine sources, but appears in Villehardouin when he describes the arrival of the Crusader fleet in 1203 and mentions "an abbey at St. Stephen three leagues from Constantinople" (ed. Paris 1661, 127). After the Ottoman conquest, Meşemmed II deported large numbers of persons during his Serbian campaign of 1454 and installed them there (Ducals, xii, 11; Anonymous Gies, 111; Kritovoulos, B22 (2)). It was probably from these that the Ottoman village of Ayastefanos arose; in 1498 the inhabitants comprised 20 hearths of share-cropping slaves (ortakçı kullar) with Slav forenames and 24 hearths of free residents, with Slav and Greek forenames, and a few Muslims, a total of ca. 170 persons (BBA, Tapu tahrir 1086, ff. 64b-66a).

By an act of waqf in October 1505, Bāyezid II attached the village to the mosque that he built in the capital, and ca. 1525 the Defterdî İbrahim Çelebi rented out to the waqf a stretch of ground at the modern village of Bakırköy as a pleasure garden, which was taken into the waqf after his execution in 1534. Ewliya Çelebi probably exaggerated when he counted 500 hearths at Ayastefanos in the mid-17th century, but mentions a lekke, a small bazaar and two churches. Parallel to agricultural activities there (the requirement of milk delivery to the capital for a yoghurt factory there, yorganlı kökhisnâ, is mentioned for March 1762: Istanbul küllyâni, vii, 119-20), the village early acquired a residential character. The Wallachian prince Constantine Brancovan retired to a house there after his deposition in 1715. The place prospered above all thanks to the Armenian Dadian family, who in 1796 founded a gunpowder factory in the adjacent village of Azâddî. Ohannes Dadyan (d. 1869) built in 1826 an Armenian church of St. Stephen, and the Greek church, of the same dedication, was renovated in 1845 by his nephew Boghos Dadyan. A Greek primary school was opened in 1862, a Roman Catholic church was added in 1865 and the first mosque built in 1905 (cf. Pars Tuglaç, The role of the Dadian family in Ottoman social, economic and political life, Istanbul 1993).

At the time of the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, the Russian army reached Ayastefanos, and it was there that the Treaty of San Stefano was signed setting up an (in fact, ephemeral) Greater Bulgaria (3 March 1878). The village was connected to the capital by steamer in 1852 and by a suburban railway line, utilising the
Orient railway line, in the 1880s. In 1887, lands of the Dadian family between the railway line were granted out, permitting a considerable expansion of the village, which had 160 families in 1905. During the counter-revolution of 1909, the deputies of the new Ottoman parliament retired to Ayastefanos, to which there also arrived the first battalion of the relieving Army of Salonica (‘Abd ul-Rahmân Şeref Efendi, Türkiye, Ankara 1998, 20-1, 34-5). The Greek population of the village was not included in the population exchanges of the post-war period. It now in 1924 took on the name of Yeşilköy.

The original military airport of 1911 gradually became the main airport for Istanbul. In 1990 Yeşilköy had 22,674 inhabitants.

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(S. YERASIMOS)

YEŞILKOY — YETI SU

in mediaeval Turkish "[the land of] the seven rivers", rendered in recent times by Russian scholars as Semirec'e, a region of Central Asia.

It comprised essentially the lands north of Transoxania [see MA WARA' AL-NAHR] which stretched from the basin of the Issik-Kol [q.v.] lake northwards to Lake Balkhash [q.v.], and it derived its name from the numerous rivers draining it, such as the Çu [q.v.], which peters out in the desert to the northeast of the middle Sir Daryâ [q.v.], and several rivers flowing into Lake Balkhash such as the hi [q.v.], which rises in Dzungaria and flows through Kuldja [q.v.] into Semirec'e, and the Karatal, Aksu and various others rising in the northern slopes of the Tien Shan and in the Alatau mountains further north. What was the mediaeval Semirec'e is now comprised in the northern part of the new republic of Kirghizia and the southeastern part of that of Kazakhstan.

Although the lower reaches of the Çu and the rivers entering Lake Balkhash run through arid, desert lands, in their upper courses, along the foothills of the mountain masses, and in the lands around the Issik-Kol, the terrain has always been attractive for human settlement, with at times towns and agriculture and with pastures suitable for nomads and their herds. This has given Semirec'e a geographical and cultural identity of its own, and at several periods it has played a significant role in Inner Asian history. In particular, the generally east-west-running rivers provide routes through the Tien Shan into eastern Turkistan (the Chinese Sinkiang [q.v.]), with the Hi, further north, forming a particularly important strategic corridor via Kuldja into Dzungaria, with the possibility of passing by Urumci and Komsó [q.v. in Suppl.] through the Kansu [q.v.] corridor into the western part of China proper. Hence these routes have always been important, inter alia, for commercial exchanges between Western Asia and China.

In pre-Islamic times, Chinese annals of the 2nd century A.D. mention Semirec'e as being in the hands of a nomadic people, the Wu-sun, with the Hsiung-nu or Huns controlling the upper Irrihan river [q.v.] lands to the north of it and Dzungaria. In the 4th century, the Chian-chuan confederacy, which had arisen out of the disintegration of the Huns, incorporated Semirec'e in their territories. In the early 7th century, the Buddhist pilgrim Huien-Tsang (Xuan-zang) [q.v.] through the Kansu [q.v.] corridor into the western part of China proper, having passed through Lake Balkhash and the Tien Shan into the eastern Sir Darya region as his base against the Kharaqan Shah 'Ali' al-Din Muhammad [see KHARAQAN SHAH]. But a Qipalad Mongol force under Kudlay Noyon had already reached northern Semirec'e in 1211, defending the Khâqân for control there, and in 1218 Čingiz's commander Duhe Noyon defeated Küljüg and entered Bâlaghân without a fight, the Muslim inhabitants there being thankful to shake off Küljüg's tyranny. Semirec'e thus escaped devastation by the Mongols, and travellers through the region in the 13th and early 14th centuries, both Chinese and Western ones, describe there a flourishing agricultural and commercial economy, with populous towns such as Almaligh [q.v.] in the upper Hi valley.
The rule of the Mongol Čaghatayids [see ČAGHATAY KHAN; ČAGHATAY KHANATE] was favourable to the adherents of non-Muslim faiths, for the Čaghatayid Khāns themselves resisted conversion to Islam until the mid-14th century. The Neumonds of the Neumonds of Tokmak and Pishpek, discovered by Russian amateur archaeologists at the end of the 19th century, have yielded nearly 600 grave stones in inscribed in Syriac script, most of them in Syriac language but some in eastern Turkish; their dates range from 1186 to 1345. In the reign of the Khān Čangši (1334-8) Roman Catholic missionaries built a fine church near Almaligh, and in the same century the famous monastery on the shores of the Išik-Kol [Barthold, Zurif Vorlesungen, 206; T.W. Thacker, A Nestorian grave stone from Central Asia in the Gulbenkian Museum, Durham University, in Durham University Jnal., N.S., xxviii [1966-7], 94-17]. But the definitive conversion to Islam of the Čaghatayids in the mid-14th century led to persecution of the Christians of Semireč, and thereafter, mention of their faith fades away. Semireč was in any case much disturbed from this time onwards by intrincic warfare amongst Mongol claimants to power, and in 776/1375 Timūr [q.e.] invaded Mogholistan [q.e.], as the whole region north of Transoxania was now generally known, the first of several expeditions against the local Turk-Mongol ruler of Semireč, Kamār al-Dīn, who was eventually driven out and fled to the Altai mountains region. Soon afterwards began incursions into Semireč by the Buddhist Mongol Oyrats, called by the Muslims Kalmuks [see KALMUKS], who now became an enduring factor in the history of the region and who raided as far as the Šr Daryā province. As a result of all this unrest, Chinese sources of the 15th century no longer speak of flourishing towns and villages in Semireč but of a land exclusively inhabited by nomads who dwelt in tents.

At the beginning of the 16th century, pagan tribesmen of the Turkish tribe of the Kirghiz [q.e.], who had traditionally lived in the upper Yenisei region, moved southwards into Semireč, this being the first attestation of this people in the neighbourhood of what has become their modern home, the new republic of Kirghizia. Threats by both the Kalmuks and the Kirghiz against Transoxania led to attacks on them by the Turk-Mongol amirs of Transoxania, including Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥādīr Dughlāt [q.e.], in whose Tārīḵ-i Raṣādī these invading peoples from the northern steppes, what subsequently became known as the Kazakh Steppe, and their territory of Mogholistan, are designated the Ḏātā, with a pejorative implication that this means "marauders, robbers" (cf. Ottoman lote “band, group"), with a neutral meaning, however; Radloff, Versuch eines Wörterbuchs der Türk-Dialekte, iii, 1983, and see also Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥādīr, tr. N. Elias and E.D. Ross, A history of the Moghuls of Central Asia, London 1895, introd., 75-6; Barthold, in Four studies on the history of Central Asia, i, 54, 139). Nevertheless, Kalmuks domination of Semireč lasted until the mid-18th century, when in 1755-6 Chinese armies came westwards and overthrew the Kalmuks. The Kirghiz and Kazakhs were now left virtually independent in Semireč until the armies of Imperial Russia advanced through the Kazakh Steppe. The Russian occupation of Semireč brought them up to the frontier with China, and in 1864 a treaty between the two empires defined this frontier, thus enabling Russian forces to secure their flank for an assault on the Khānate of Khokand [q.e.], and in 1865 Russia put an end to Khokand’s independence. Semireč was henceforth part of the Russian governorate-general of Turkestan, and in 1899 formally became one of its five component districts (oblast); Alma Ata or Almaty (now the capital of the Kazakh Republic) was developed as the administrative centre of Semireč under the name of Vernyi (“the loyal [city]”). After the Russian Revolution and the civil wars in Russia, the region was divided between the Kazakh and the Kirghiz SSRs, and the name Semireč became obsolete.

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**YILDIZ [see TĀDL AL-DĪN YILDIZ]**

**YILDIZ KÖŞKÜ [see YILDIZ SARAYI]**

**YILDIZ SARAYI,** the most recent of the Imperial Ottoman palaces, situated on the heights above the European Bosphorus shore and above the quarter of Besiktas. The whole complex of buildings, set in a large park, covers almost 50 ha.

Like other Imperial residences along the Bosphorus, it had its origin in a garden and a hunting ground. Mentions of pre-19th century buildings are confused. The first trace is of a fountain with an inscription from 1219 [i/I 804] which apparently went with a pavilion built by Selim III for his mother Mihrīšah Sultan. It was probably this building which for the first time bore the name Yıldız “star” since it is not mentioned by the meticulous chronicler of Selim’s movements, Ahmed Effendi, in his Rûznâme, but first appears in the Tārīḵ-i Enderun of Khīḍr Ilyâs Agha (Istanbul 1987, 63) in connection with a visit of Mahmu’d II (1808-39 [q.e.]) on 3 August 1812; it is also mentioned at the same period by Andreadis. In 1834-5 Mahmu’d built a small pavilion surrounded by a garden. It was demolished in 1842 and replaced by ʿAbd al-Medjīd (1839-61 [q.e.]) with a building for his mother, called the Kaşr-i Dülûkî, and he undertook the laying out of amenities to the west of a vast park surrounding this structure. Following a first plan done by the German Stefl, other German landscape architects, Schlerff in 1860 and Viennhild in 1862, also worked there.

The Ciraghan palace completed in 1871 on the Bosphorus shores by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz (1861-76 [q.e.]) was linked by a bridge over the road with the Yıldız park, making the latter a pleasing ground for the new palace. The Malta and Tent Kiosks were then built there by the Balian brothers, Sarkis and Hagop. At the same time, the sultan embarked on a series of buildings on the higher part of the park destined to function for public audiences and the reception of ambassadors and dignitaries, the Büyük Mabeyn Köşkü and the Indian Lady Pavilion. Round this nucleus, ʿAbd al-Hamīd II (1876-1909 [q.e.]), fearing that being too near the coast would make him vulnerable, built his own residence and made Yıldız a symbol of his absolute power. A new team of landscape specialists, German, Italian and French, laid out gardens in the English style, whilst the architectural construction was undertaken by Sarkis Balian and then Raimondo d’Aronoce.

Access to the palace was by a rise, to the right of which was built in 1885-6 the Hamdiyye mosque.
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convenient for the sultan to attend the Friday worship, with the nearby Terrace Pavilion built for the congregation. The rise ended in the Harem Gate, the apartments of the wives and the odalisques; the apartments of the chief eunuchs, governesses and the less favoured odalisques. Behind this last was the interior garden, arranged round an artificial water scheme with an island in it on which was a miniature farm. At the south end of the garden was the Belvedere Kiosk, (Djihannuma Koshki), and at the north end the apartments of the wives and the odalisques; the whole ensemble of the private apartments and garden was surrounded by a high wall. To the west of the ensemble were the service buildings and further out, and isolated, the apartments of the royal princes. At the extreme north was a grand pavilion for the reception of guests, the Chalet, Shale Koshki, which connected with both the private apartments and the great park situated to the east. The building was built in three phases, corresponding to the rhythm of royal visits, including the German Kaiser Wilhelm II's two visits of 1889 and 1898, the first two phases being the work of the architect Raimondo d'Aronco, 1857-1932) and a building with the quarters of the chief eunuchs, governesses and the less favoured odalisques. The role of Islam among this people of West Africa. The pre


YIRMISEKIZ MEHMED [see MEHMED YIRMISEKIZ].

YOGHURT ('t.), from older Turkish yoghur, Ottoman yoghum, yoghur "to knead" [dough, etc.], yoghourt, a preparation of soured milk made in the pastoralist, more temperate northern tier of the Middle East, Central Asia and the Balkans, appearing as yoghurt/yoghurt in Mahmud al-Kashgharti's (Dineân bangît al-turk, tr. Atalay, 1, 182, ii, 189, iii, 164, 190; Brockelmann, Mitteltürkischer Wortschatz, 92. Cf. also Radolf, Versuch eines Worterbuch der Türk-Dialekte, iii/1, 412-13; Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen, iv, 173-5 no. 1866; Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish, 906-7). It seems to have been used for therapeutic purposes by the pre-Islamic Ughur Turks (G.R. Rachmat [Arat], Zur Heilunde der Uiguren, I, in SPWAW Berlin, phil-hist. Kl., xxiv [1950], 6, 12, Pt. II, in ibid., xxv [1932], 8.

Partially skimmed milk is reduced over a slow heat, and after cooling, a quantity of a previous fermenta
tion is introduced and then the whole left slowly to cool and become more solid. The product is called müst in Persia; laban in Syrian and Palestinian Arabic; zabādī in Egyptian Arabic; laban in 'Irākī Arabic; rābîb, laban, laban, etc. in the Armenian peninsula. A cool, refreshing drink is also made from yoghourt and water (ayran in Turkish; dugh in Persian; laban in India). Yoghurt figures extensively in Middle Eastern eating practices, both in cooked dishes (see e.g. D. Waines, In a chef's kitchen, Mediterranean cooking for the modern gourmet, London 1989, 64-5, 78-9) and mixed with vegetables such as cucumber (the müst-kūyār of Persian cuisine, cf. E.G. Browne, A year amongst the Persians, Cambridge 1926, 190-3).

Bibliography: See also IA, art. Yogurt (Kazım Yetiş); Larousse gastronomique, s.v. yoghourt, yoghourt.

(c.E. Bosworth)

YORGAN LADIK [see LADIK].

YORUBA, a people of West Africa. The present article deals with the role of Islam among the Yoruba.

The earliest attested presence of Islam among this people of what is now Nigeria would seem to date back to the Old Oyo empire in the 16th century. The role of Songhay-speaking Muslim traders in the early spread of Islam is reflected in a number of Songhay loanwords in Yoruba. The earliest term for
the Muslims, *inali* “People from Mali”, probably refers to this group. Islam apparently first took root among traders, craftsmen (especially weavers) and warriors (especially horsemen) in Oyo towns. Muslim slaves from the north were also absorbed into the royal and aristocratic households. All these groups became involved in the overthrow of the empire (ca. 1797-1837) and in the establishment of new warrior city states. The heterogenous Muslim groups of Ilorin overthrew their Oyo warlord in 1824 and founded an Islamic amirate under Sokoto [*q.v.*] authority. The *amirs*, descendants of a Fulani preacher who had forged the Islamic community, were elected and controlled by a council of the leading warlords. The cosmopolitan but increasingly Yorubanised town became famous for its Islamic schools and its scholars and saints.

Ibadan, the second warrior state and Ilorin’s most formidable antagonist, also developed a Muslim majority. Ilorin, Ibadan and their dependent Yoruba towns became crucial for the spread of Islam as an element of urban culture and associational life, especially among the Yoruba marketwomen. The same happened in Lagos, a British colony since 1861 with sizeable groups of Muslim slave returnees from Sierra Leone and Brazil. Yoruba Muslim slaves and freedmen had already played a leading role in the *Male* revolt of 1835 in Bahia.

Islamic communities expanded markedly during the colonial period (1895-1960). Widely propagated by preachers and local associations and increasingly entrenched in the communal structures, Islam grew along with Christianity in Yorubaland. As Christian missionary education came to dominate the educational institutions in Western Nigeria the Muslims tried to meet the challenge. The spread of the Ahmadiyya [*q.v.*] model, mainly by young Islamic scholars and preachers who had forged the Islamic community, were elected and controlled by a council of the leading warlords. The cosmopolitan but increasingly Yorubanised town became famous for its Islamic schools and its scholars and saints.

Three main meanings are attested in the literature: (1) in the Ottoman empire, primarily a special term with legal, administrative and fiscal implications denoting a particular class of nomads obliged to serve in the Ottoman army; (2) in modern ethnological and anthropological literature, a term for, and also a self-designation of, nomadic pastoralists, including elements in various stages of sedentarisation, used in an ethnic sense as opposed to Turkmen [*q.v.*], Kurdish [see KURDS, KURDISTAN] or other pastoralist tribal groups of Anatolia; and (3) in Ottoman and modern times, a general, and therefore less appropriate, term for nomadic pastoralist Turkish tribal groups.

**Etymology and significations.**

The term Yörük/Yürük is usually derived from the old Turkic verb “to walk, to march” *yörük* (references in Sir Gerard Clauson, An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish, Oxford 1972, 957). Middle Turkic forms range from *yör* “to walk, to travel” (see e.g. Mahmud al-Kashgharf, *D̨dvin lughdt al-turk*, ed. and tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, *Compendium of the Turkish dialects*, iii, Cambridge, Mass. 1985, index 231) to *yörük* and *yörü*- in texts from the 13th to 15th centuries (Clauson, ibid.). In most modern Turkic languages the stem is found with high rounded front vowels, e.g. Tü. *yörü* “to move, to march, to go”. In Anatolia, also, the forms *yörü*- and *yörü*- “to march” are attested in vocalised texts from the 14th century, e.g. in the *Kütüb-i Ġhunya* in Old Anatolian Turkish (ed. Muzaffer Akkus, Ankara 1993) and in the Otomur examples for the 15th to 17th centuries, see Tarama *sözüllü*, vi, Ankara 1972, 4775-7. The noun *yörük/yörük* (with deverbal nominal-forming suffix -*k*) “walking, going briskly, running, fast (horse)” appears only in Çaghatay, Crimean Tatar and Ottoman Turkish (W. Radloff, *Versuch eines Worterbuches der Tur-Dialekte*, iii, St. Petersburg 1905, col. 604). In Ottoman historical texts, mainly of the 15th and 16th centuries, the term *yörük* has a specific administrative or fiscal meaning (see below). European lexicographers tend to render only the general meaning, probably because by their time, the word had to a certain extent lost its particular meaning; e.g. F. Meninski (1623-98), who has for *yörük* “vagabond, person of no fixed abode” (*Lexicon Arabico-Persico-Turcicum*, Vienna 1780, iv, col. 5617); J.Th. Ziesker lists *yörü*/*yörük* as meaning “someone who walks, runs, a vagabond”, while Yörük is for him the name of a nomadic tribe and a village in Asia Minor (*Türkisch-arabisch-persisches Handworterbuch*, Leipzig 1866, ii, 971), reflecting the ethnic connotation of the term prevalent from the 19th century onwards. J.W. Redhouse goes a step further and lists for *yörük*, 1. “active, that goes fast, fleet”, 2. “nomadic, especially (with pi. *yörügên*) a nomadic, pastoral Turkman settled in Asia Minor” (A Turkish and English lexicon, Constan-
1. "going briskly, marching", 2. "fast (horse)", 3. hist, infantry connected to the Janissaries" and the ethnonym Yörük "Turkmen (sin nomads in Anatolia)" (Tsakyroglou 1891, 344) or Toruk pasjaû Ewd-lî fdtihdn (Defterdar Sari Mehmed Pasha, tdfihdn ddbiti, 1890, 2214); K. Steuerwald, however, has yorük, 1. "going briskly, marching", 2. "fast (horse)", 3. hist, infantry connected to the Janissaries" and the ethnonym Yörük "Turkmen (sin nomads in Anatolia)" (Turc.Himaniyesi Wörterbuch, Wiesbaden 1972, 1040, 1034). In regional forms of modern Turkish, the verbal stem yoruk- "to march" and similar meanings, is attested as well as yoruk- "goçebe" (nomad), yoruk- "dağlı, kaba kışi" (mountain-dweller, rough person), while yörük is connected with yörük- "güçlü, çekici, çalıktan, eline ayağma çabuk" (strong, quick, diligent, nimble) (Türkçêle halk âçgondan derlemê sözçüllû, xi, Ankara 1979, 4310, 4333, 4325).

**History**

The phenomenon of the Yörük should be set within the context of the immigration of Turkmen tribal groups into Anatolia beginning with the 11th century. In pre-Mongol times and in connection with the Mongol conquests (13th century) and Mongol claims over large areas of Asia Minor up to the mid-14th century, unknown numbers of Turkmen took hold of grazing grounds for seasonal migration. To date, no source antedating the mid-15th century has been found that spells out the name Yörük (Cf. Cahen, *La Turquie pré-ottomane*, Istanbul 1988, 107, as opposed to Çabuk, in *IA* (1986), 430-1). When from the second part of the 14th century onwards, Turkmen nomadic groups, along with the colonising dervishes, began to take possession of the Balkan peninsula in an organised way, they contributed eventually to its Turkisation and Islamisation. Some of the tribesmen might have been the ancestors of those people who were to become known under the name of Yörük two generations later.

In a brief separate section, the code of laws (kânûn-nâme (*q.v.*)) for the taxpaying subjects (*veysi*, sing. *veşiş*) of Mehmed II the Conqueror (*r. 1451-81*) specifies the organisation, military equipment and obligations of the Yörük who, as auxiliary troops, were considered as belonging to the *askeri* class and therefore were exempt (*müsâlem*) from all but military service (ed. and tr. F. Kraeltz-Greifenhorst, *Kânûn-nâme Sultan Mehmeds des Eroberers*, in *MOG*, i [1921-2], 28, 43; Akgündüz 1990, i, 354-5). It specifies that a unit (*şâhiş*) should consist of 24 men serving in rotation, one of them as soldiers (*şahbâr), then as his aide (*çatal*) and the remaining 20 (*şayuk*) paying for the four fighters' expenses and shovelling their duties back home. Under Süleyman Kântû, the number of men in a unit was raised to 30 (Akgündüz 1992, iv, 548). General, provincial and district kânûn-nâmés as well as those specially issued for the Yörük dating from the reigns of Bayezid II, Selim I and Süleyman regulate with increasing detail the functions of the Yörük and the legal and fiscal framework they had to comply with (Akgündüz, ii-v, index). A kânûn-nâme of the mid-15th century specifies that the Yörük may migrate along their traditional routes, but should they cause damage to the fields or harvest, the fine they would have to pay would be assessed in regular court proceedings (Fr. tr. N. Beldîcêamu, *Les actes des premiers sultans conservés dans les manuscrits turcs de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris. I. Actes de Mehmed II et de Bayezid II du ms. fonds turc ancien 39, Paris-The Hague 1960, 123; Ott. text in Akgündüz 1990, i, 463). The damage caused by the pastoralists might have been one of the reasons for the Ottoman state's perennial policy of forced settlement and deportation. Extreme examples are that of Yörük deportations to Cyprus after the conquest of this island (1571) or, in the early 18th century, from western Anatolia to northern Syria. The main reason, however, was their independent way of life, which was considered incompatible with the basic system of the centralised Ottoman administration.

Tax registers from the time of Süleyman Kântû (1520-66) permit us to assess globally the nomadic population in western Anatolia alone at 80,000 households (*khânê*) for 1520-35 (İnalçık 1994, 34-5), with the greatest nomadic concentrations in the districts (*sandıklâr* (*q.v.*)), of Ankara, Kutâhiya, Menteşe, Aydın, Sarukhân, Teke and Hamîd (*q.v.*), or, in other words, areas where the Turkmen principalities of the 14th and 15th centuries had flourished. By 1570-80, their number had increased to around 120,000. Unfortunately, the registers do not permit a systematic distinction between Turkmen and Yörük tribes. However, the term Türkmen tended to be more closely associated with those Anatolian tribes that showed a preference for *şîrîn*ism (İnalçık 1986, 40-2). On the European side, Yörük tribes pursued their life of seasonal transhumance, with a growing tendency toward sedentarisation, in Thrace, eastern Bulgaria, the Dobrudja, in the Rhodope and Balkan mountains adjoining the Maritsa and Vardar river valleys, and north of Thessaloniki (İnalçık 1994, 36). The most comprehensive study, based on archival materials, of the names, locations, numbers and functions of the Rumelian Yörük from the 15th to 19th centuries is Gökbilgin 1957, summarised in Çabuk 1986. Based on tax registers, O.L. Barkan suggests for the early 16th century a total number of almost 38,000 Yörük households, or one-fifth of the total population of the European provinces (Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire ottoman aux XV*-et XVI*- siècles, in *JESHO*, i [1957], 32-3). From the early 17th century onward, the number of households registered as Yörük was in steep decline (Gökbilgin 1957, 56-92). On the economic plane, Yörük engaged primarily in animal husbandry, producing wool and hides as well as carpets for an international market, while their small-scale agricultural activities were concentrated on cash-crops such as wheat, cotton and rice (İnalçık 1994, 37-9; for taxes on the Yörük in the 17th century, see Regional structure in the Ottoman economy. A Sultanic memorandum of 1636 A.D., ed. R. Murphy, Wiesbaden 1987, index). In war and peace, they also played an important role in long-distance transportation.

Different from the Eastern Anatolian Türkmen and Kurdish tribal federations, the Yörük were organised in military conscriptions within the Ottoman administration, serving mostly as provincial auxiliary forces, as guards of roads and mountain passes, as falconers, and horse raisers, in military transport, road construction and maintenance, ship building and mining. Their leaders were indifferently called *beg/bey* (A. Birken, *Die Provinzen des Osmanischen Reiches*, Wiesbaden 1976, 60, based on Ewliyâ Celebi, a title that was abolished under Sultan 'Abd ul-Ḥamîd II (1876-1909) (*Tsakyroglous 1891, 344) or *Yörük paşasî/Evdâl-î fâşhân dâbîhî* (Defterdâr Şâi Mehmed Paşa, *Şâha i vocâyâ*, 1066/1656-1670, ed. Abdulkadir Özcân, Ankara 1995, passim).

During the 17th century, owing to large-scale sedentarisation, the number of Yörük registered in Rumelia decreased considerably. In 1102/1690-1, during the protracted war with Austria, the tribal Yörük were reorganised as more tightly disciplined auxiliary forces under the name Sons of the Conquerors (*Evdâl-î fâshân*). This system was modified only in 1243/1827-8, when Mahîmd II (1808-39), in another attempt to reform the army, incorporated Yörük forces in the new *Aşkîri manâşûrâ*. From 1261/1845-6, the Yörük were subject
to taxes and military service like the rest of the population (Gokbilgin 1957, 255-342, with texts of twelve relevant tax (tahrir) registers and list of 26 additional documents up to 1846).

During the Tanzimat [q.v.] period, from ca. 1860 onwards, in order to strengthen central state control, the Ottoman government again made every effort to settle the volatile nomadic tribes (Tsakyroglous 1891, 342; Wenzel 1937, 83-7). In his Tezkires Ahmed Djewdet Paşa [q.v.] gives a general idea of how the pacification and reform in the Koza and Çukurova regions of southeastern Anatolia were put into effect (ed. C. Göllü, Istanbul 1966, tesvîrle 26-9). 

Ethnography.

The earliest European ethnographic information dates from the end of the 19th century. Tsakyroglous (1891), who ca. 1880 became acquainted with Yörik groups with winter quarters in Borlu and summer camps near Gördes, and Bent (1891), who seems to have visited Yörik of southwestern and southern Anatolia, contract each other in the description of the physical appearance of the Yörik. Otherwise, they describe in some detail their economy, transhumance, tribal structure and beliefs. Both sources mention strictly pastoralist Yörik migrating from winter (kıyla/kişilik [q.v.]) to summer (yıyla/yılak [q.v.]) encampments, and half-settled Yörik cultivating modest fields.

The Ottoman policy of controlling the nomadic pastoralists by encouraging and enforcing settlement was continued under the Turkish Republic, because nomadism was now considered retrograde. Since the 1950s, the policy of large-scale agricultural development through irrigation in the coastal plains of western and southern Anatolia, as well as in the Çukurova plain, has left a majority of tribes without grazing land and has brought about their impoverishment and social break-up. With his book Binboğular efsanesi (1971), the Turkish author Yaşar Kemal set up a literary monument to the decline of Yörik tribal life. In contrast, some groups who happened to become landowners in the newly-irrigated areas became wealthy by growing fruit-trees and cotton, some of them eventually giving up most of their cattle-raising activities or even becoming fully sedentarised (Roux 1961 for the case of the Antalya region).

In modern and contemporary research, the Yörik are mainly studied as keepers of the traditional ways of life of nomadic and semi-nomadic pastoralists in the Anatolian part of the Republic of Turkey. The patterns and conditions of their migrations, their economy and adaptation to new forms of economic demands, their social organisation and handicrafts have attracted field-researchers from Turkey and abroad. The question whether the popular designation of all Turkish-speaking nomads as Yörik/Yörik is an improper generalisation, and in which way the term reflects an historical, ethnic and social reality, seems to have been settled by ethnologists to the extent that there is indeed a distinction to be made between Türkmen, Yörik, Tahtaci and Çepni. The Tahtaci [see TARTHTACI] are set apart by their religious affiliation—they are Alevi—and by their exclusive occupation as wood-cutters; the Çepni, also Alevi, claim descent from the Çégbe [see ÇEGBE]. An historical relationship between Türkmen and Yörik is assumed by most scholars, although exact details remain somewhat elusive. The Türkmen and the Yörik themselves acknowledge this relationship insofar as a Türkmen might not consider himself a Yörik, whereas a Yörik might think of himself also as Türkmen (A. Gokalp, Tètes rouges et bouches noires, Paris 1980, 32-3). According to research conducted since the 1950s, a majority of the Yörik tend to call themselves Yörik, whilst a minority prefer their tribal name, which is often a personal or a place name, no common ancestor, mythical or historical, being claimed. Among Yörik groups, group identity is maintained through patrilinial descent. They are organised in tribes (şiire), lineages (kahile, stilâle) and families (aile), with marked endogamy, but without paramount chiefs (Andrews 1989, 59-60).

The present number of Yörik is not known, since they speak Turkish and are therefore not separately listed in the official census. A recent study estimates their number at ca. one million, ca. 10,000 of these being fully nomadic, while the rest are part-time nomads or are settled (Kunze 1994, 71, 77). Today they are distributed primarily along the Taurus mountain range from western Anatolia (İzmir, Söke) all the way along the southern coast via the gulf of Antalya to Adana and its hinterland up the Ceyhun river. The winter quarters are in the coastal river plains, while the summer ones are beyond the Taurus range from western Anatolia (İzmir, Soke) all the way into the Balkan peninsula. In the 1980s, Svanberg came across ca. 200 Yörik who led a traditional life in some isolated hamlets in the mountains of Macedonia. According to him, they belonged to the Bektâşist religious community (I. Svanberg, Gagavouzika and Jurucki. Urgent tasks for Turkologists, xiii-xiv [1988], esp. 114-16). Most Yörik are said to belong to the Hanafi school of Sunni Islam, but there are also Alevi Yörik, about whom not much is known (Andrews 1989, 59, 62). Folklore studies and recent research on Yörik textiles refer to the preservation of pre-Islamic or shamanistic beliefs (Brüggemann 1993).

The Yörik dialects still await study in more detail. A recent study on the Anatolian dialects states that they show minor variations in vocabulary, phonetics and morphology in comparison with the dialects of settled Turks (Demir 1996).

The characteristic traits of the Yörik "black tent" (kara şahir), made from goat hair, as well as the textile arts of the Yörik, embroidered clothing, saddle bags (heybe), sacks (çuvâl) and, in particular, kilims and brocaded flatweaves, have now been quite well studied. The most comprehensive study of their flatweaves is by Brüggemann (1993), who, however, deals also with Türkmen ones, since he postulates that Turkish nomadic tribes shared over the course of time a common language of patterns, motives and techniques. Yörik folklore, customs, music and dances have been studied more systematically since the 1950s, but increased sedentarisation and interior and exterior migration have caused these traditional arts to fade away.

Bibliography: A bibl. with 190 items is I. Svanberg, A bibliography of the Turkish-speaking tribal Yörik, in Materialia Turca, v (1979) [1981], 23-50; the subsequent publications in the v.s. Yörik in Turko- logischer Anzeiger/Turkology Annual, i ff., Vienna 1975 ff. Almost every volume of the journal Türk Folklor Araştırmaları (i ff., 1949-50 ff.) contains an article on Yörik customs and material culture. In addition to references in the article, see Ahmed Akündüz, Oomans kamnameleri ve hakuki tahdilleri, i-v, Istanbul 1990-2; Ethnic groups in the Republic of Turkey, comp.

YOZGAT, a town of north central Anatolia, lying some 160 km/100 miles east of Ankara on both sides of a tributary of the Delice Irmak (lat. 39° 50’ N., long. 34° 49’ E., altitude 930 m/3,330 feet).

It was founded by members of the Djobbârâzâ/L Çapanoğlu family (supposedly yoz means “pasture, herd”), while gat is a dialectal word for “town”). On record since 1116/1704, this dynasty, possibly of Mamalu-Turkmen background, constituted one of the major ağa lines of central Anatolia, controlling a territory far beyond its original power-base in the sanjak of Bozok (wildlet of Küm, see Ocean Mert, XVII. ve XIX. yüzyılarda Çapanoğlular, Istanbul 1980). Very few towns existed in this region when the Djobbârâzâ came to live in Yozgat sometime in the mid-12th/18th century. The settlement grew as the Çapanoğlu family encouraged immigration, part of it non-Muslim (V. Cuiin, La Turquie d’Asie, Paris 1892, i, 297; this author stresses the modern, well-built aspect of the town, which at that time possessed 15,000 inhabitants).

Such urban development continued to a pattern not rarely encountered in the 12th/18th century, when the Ottoman state encouraged its appointees to revive trade and communications; slightly earlier, Neşhevhir [q.v.] had been established, located only about 150 km/95 miles to the south. Mustafa Pasha built the new town’s principal mosque, along with a mausoleum for the founder’s family (1192/1778). It was enlarged by his son Süleyman Beg in 1210/1795, who created a unique ensemble by transforming the son ğemîli yeri of the older mosque into a link between the two structures (G. Goodwin, A History of Ottoman architecture, London 1971, 400-2).

The next major event in the history of Yozgat pertains to the Turkish War of Independence, when in 1920 members of the Çapanoğlu family, still powerful in the area, in the name of Sultan Mehmed VI Wahid al-Din rebelled against the Nationalist forces led by Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk). The uprising was quelled by the Yeşil Ordu troops of Cerek Edhem [q.v.]; however, the latter’s demand that a governor deemed responsible for the incident be handed over to him for punishment was refused by Mustafa Kemal. These events are often regarded as the beginning of the rift between Ataturk and Cerek Edhem (see art. Yozgat, in Yurt anıkslopodisi, Türkiye il il, dünüa, bugünkü, yarın, x, Istanbul 1982-4, 7646-7; contains extensive bibliography). They may also have caused the Turkish language to acquire the expression bu için altından bir çarpanolu çıka to denote a troublesome situation. Present-day Yozgat is an il or provincial capital (over 36,000 inhabitants in the 1980s) and the centre of a largely rural area. A lack of industrial employment opportunities, and the fragmentation of village holdings, have led to large-scale emigration from this area.

Bibliography: See also Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, Turkey, London 1943, ii, 594-5, and Istanbul (Seyda Eroğlu) YÖCEL, HASAN ‘ALI (1897-1961), Turkish statesman, educator and author.

He was born, the son of a post and telegraph inspector ‘Ali Reşid and Neyice, the daughter of an army colonel, in Istanbul on 17 December 1897. Hasan ‘Ali attended the Wifa’i-i Pithâsî between 1911-5, and then, after military service during the First World War, graduated from Istanbul University in 1921. Until 1927, he worked as a teacher in several lycées in İzmir (Ertek Muallim Mektebi) and Istanbul (Kuleli, Istanbul Erkek, Galatasaray) where he lectured on philosophy, literature and Turkish language. He continued his career at various posts in the Ministry of Education, and was sent to Paris to study the French educational system. In 1935 he was elected to Parliament as the representative for İzmir of the Halk Partisi, and in 1938 was appointed the Minister of Education, playing a leading role in the Turkish modernisation process by initiating various reforms within the educational and cultural spheres. The translation of various world classics and encyclopedias, the establishment of the Ankara State School of Music, studies on the Turkification of language and the realisation of the Village Institutes project (see qalerev) were among his major initiatives. After resigning from office in 1946 and from the party in 1950, he served as the consultant to İş Bankası Cultural Publications between 1956-60. During 1960, he worked on the Commission for the Preparation of the National Education Plan. He died in Istanbul, on 26 February 1961.

Throughout his life, Hasan ‘Ali wrote many books and articles for various newspapers and magazines, including Akşam, Uluo, Cumhuriyet, Onuç and Dünya. The most often recurring themes of his works were culture, education and philosophy; in them, he expressed his faith in modernisation harmonised with traditional values. He also wrote poetry and collected his works in several volumes.


**YUFRIDS**, the first local dynasty to emerge in the Yemen in the Islamic period (232/847-947). The name is often erroneously vocalised as "YuTirids", but the 9th/10th century Yemeni scholar al-Hamdânî, who was a contemporary of the Yufrids, makes it clear that Yufrids is the correct spelling (al-Îktîlî, Südarabîsche Minoriten, ed. O. Löfgren, Uppsala etc. 1953, 36, and al-Îktîlî, ii, ed. Löfgren, Uppsala 1965, 71).

The family was of Dhî Hitâlî, a tribe from Shíbâm-Kawkabân some 40 km/25 miles north-west of Sa'înâ. The founder of the dynasty, Yufrî b. 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Hîlâlî, had been watching the increasing impotence of the 'Abbasid governors in Sa'înâ. In 232/847, after some skirmishes with, and a failed attack upon, the 'Abbasid forces in the Yemen, the Yufrîd army defeated the 'Abbasid governor, Hîmyar b. al-Îhrîth.

We hear little of the rule of Yufrî b. 'Abd al-Rahmân, other than that the dynasty held vast areas of the Yemen from Sa'îdâ [q.v.] in the north to al-Dînâd near Ta'izz [q.v.] in the south, and for some time the Yufrîds maintained their outward allegiance to the 'Abbasïds in Baghdîd. In 258/872, the old and infirm Yufrî hid over the reins of power to his son, Muhammad.

In 262/876 Muhammad left the Yemen to perform the pilgrimage, leaving his son Ibnrîmîn in authority. In 269/882, Yufrî, presumably to deny them a role in the government of the house, conspired with Ibnrîmîn to have both Muhammad and his brother, Ahmad, murdered in the minaret of the mosque in Shíbâm. Such an appalling crime brought widespread chaos to the Yemen with many tribes in revolt against the perpetrator Ibnrîmîn, who withdrew to Shíbâm. The 'Abbasid caliph Mu'tamîd despatched as governor to the Yemen 'Abd Allah b. al-Husayn, in a move to attempt to strengthen the hand of the Yufrîds, but he was unable to reach the country until 282/895. The new governor did manage to pacify the area around Sa'înâ.

At this particular juncture, our historical sources turn their attention elsewhere. With much of the north of the Yemen in complete chaos, Yahâliya b. al-Husayn, the future first Zaydî imâm al-Hâljî 'Îlj-hâljî, entered Sa'îdâ in 284/897 and over the next few years a Zaydî imâmate was established there [see Zaydîyya].

The only historical information which we have on the Yufrîds at this time is that of their struggles against the Zaydî forces. In the south of the country, too, another dangerous enemy lurked. Two Fâţîmid-İsmâ'îlî propagandists, Ma'nur al-Yaman [q.v.] and 'Ali b. al-Fadîl, were building up a strong force and threatening to move northwards on Sa'înâ. The historical period of the period is now a confused account of tripartite power struggles in the whole of the country, involving Yufrîds, Zaydîs and İsmâ'îlîs.

Al-Îhâdî died in 298/911 and the two Fâţîmids in 302/915. This at last left the Yufrîds without serious threat. 'Asâd b. Ibnrîmîn, the leader of the dynasty, was able to establish peace in Sa'înâ and throughout much of the country, although we cannot be sure how far north his authority extended. When 'Asâd died in 344/955, leaving no clear instructions for his succession, serious family squabbles broke out. Sa'înâ was lost and the last Yufrîd ruler, 'Abd Allâh b. Khâlîf b. 'Abd Allah died in Ibb in 387/997, after a tour of Tihiba and Najd and this date marks the end of the Yufrîd house.

The Yufrîd mosque in Shîbâm stands to this day, although the minaret in which the 269/882 murders took place was replaced at a later date [see R. Lewcock and G.R. Smith, *Two early mosques in the Yemen: a preliminary report*, in *AARF*, iv (1973)]. The tomb, set at right angles to the western outer wall of the mosque, mentioned a Yufrîd, perhaps Yufrî b. 'Abd al-Rahmân himself, and local tradition has it that it is his tomb. A visit to the mosque in 1997, however, revealed that the tomb is now in ruins and no inscription immediately visible.


**YUGOSLAVIA** "land of the South Slavs", a Balkan state which came into being through the peace treaties consequent on the end of the First World War, 1919-20 (St-Germain, Neûtly, Trianon), as the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes under the ruling house of its largest component, Serbia. According to the constitution which came into effect on 1 January 1921, this was to be a unitary state, but this was never fully achieved, and arrangements in August 1939 envisaged a federal structure. Such developments were cut short by the German invasion of April 1941, after which the territories of Yugoslavia fell under Axis (German, Italian, Bulgarian) occupation till 1944-5. After the Second World War, Yugoslavia came under Communist control, with the January 1946 constitution abolishing the monarchy and setting up a Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia that lasted until the break-up of the federation in the early 1990s.

Such regions of what became Yugoslavia as Macedonia, South Serbia ("Old Serbia") and above all Bosnia and Herzegovina had substantial Muslim populations, comprising ethnic Turkish incomers and converted indigenous Slav peoples. Many of the former element returned to Turkey after 1919 [see MÜHAFÎR 2], but substantial numbers of Muslims have remained in Bosnia, and in recent decades, the numbers of Muslims in the Kosovo region of South Serbia [see KOSOVA, KOSOVO] have grown through the immigration thither of Albanians [see ARNAVUTLUK]. In the census of 1953, the last one which noted religious affiliation, 12% of the population of Yugoslavia was Muslim. See for the history in Islamic times of the various regions of Yugoslavia, Bosna; KARADAG; KOSOVA; MAKADUNYA; SIRB; DALMATIA, in *Suppl.*; also *MUSLIMUN*. 1, and the *Bibl.* there, especially A. Popović, *L'Islam balkanique*, Berlin-Wiesbaden 1986. (Ed.)
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YUHANNA B. SARABIYUN, a Christian (Nestorian) physician of the 3rd/9th century. He wrote in Syriac a medical compendium (kusndak) in two different forms, one with seven, the other with ten diseases.

The second, called the large compendium (al-kusndak al-kabir), was corrected by the Sahibian Abu 'l-Hasan Thabit b. Ibrāhim b. Zahrūn (d. 369/980). An extract was made by Yahyā b. Djamāl al-Dīn al-Hīrī al-Muṭaṭṭābū bīl-Ḥalabī (who was still alive in 1198/ 1783). The complete work has been preserved in the Istanbul ms. Ayasofya 1736.

According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, the first compendium, called the small one (al-kusndak al-saghir), was translated into Arabic by the secretary Mūsā b. Ibrāhim al-Ḥadīthī on behalf of the physician Abu 'l-Hasan b. Nāffs. This translation is said to have been superior, stylistically speaking, to that of Abī Bīghr Matthew b. Yūsūf al-Kunnī (d. 328/940) and to that of the well-known annotator Ḥasan b. Bahlūl al-Awānī. This last was translated by Gerhard of Cremona under the title Practica Joannis Serapionis alter breviarium nuncupatae; in later times this translation was often reprinted. The Latin translation led to a Hebrew one by Mūsh b. Mazlih (Steinschneider, Hebräische Übersetzungen, no. 474). In this way, the structure and the contents of the work became known rather early. The seven treatises deal with: 1) diseases of body and nerves; 2) diseases of eye, mouth, lungs, breast and heart; 3) diseases of stomach, intestines, and those caused by worms; 4) diseases of liver, spleen, kidneys, bladder, gout; 5) skin-diseases, wounds caused by a bite, gynaecological diseases; 6) fever; 7) composite medicines (akrdbddhīn).

Most of the quotations from Yūhannā are found in al-Rāzī, the others in the Dhakhīra of (Ps.) Thābit, in the Dārīm of Ibn al-Baysār, in the Minḥād of Kūhīn, in the Akrdbddhīn of Kallāmī and others (enumerated in M. Ullmann, Die Medicin im Islam, 102-3). According to the critical al-Madżūsī who in the preface to his main work, the Kūmīl al-yundā lāl-tibbīyya, reviews the achievements of his predecessors, not many positive elements are to be found in Yūhannā's work: e.g., he finds fault with the latter for limiting therapy to medicaments and diets, while disregarding "manual treatment" (surgery); furthermore, there are allegedly many complaints about omissions, deficiencies and inaccuracies (see Ullmann, Medicin, 142-3).

From a quotation in Abī Sahīl Bīghr b. Ya‘kūb al-Sidīzī’s Al-Rāsiyā lāl-tibbīyya, it might perhaps be concluded that Yūhannā also wrote a Kitāb fi ‘Aqrār makālid il-Dāhidūn, in Dietrich, Medicina Arabica, Göttingen 1966, 67 l. 18.


YULBARS KHAN, the Uyghur Turkish leader of a Muslim rebellion at Komul [q.v. in Suppl.] in Eastern Turkistan or Sinkiang [q.v.] during the 1930s, b. 1888, d. ? in the mid-1970s.

In 1928 the second Republic Chinese governor of Sinkiang, Chìn Shū-jen, overthrew the last autonomous khanate of Central Asia, that of Komul in the extreme eastern end of the province, adjacent to the frontiers with Mongolia and Kansu. His anti-Muslim policies provoked a rebellion there in April 1931 of the Uyghurs, and possibly some of the Tungans [q.v.], under the joint leadership of Yulbars Khan, who had been an adviser and official of the last Khabir of Komul, and the less effective Khodja Niyāz Hādīdīji. Yulbars appealed to the Han Muslim warlord of northwestern Kansu, Ma Chung-yin [q.v.], and the latter's intervention enabled local Turkish elements to take over most of southern Sinkiang and set up in September 1932 an "Eastern Turkestan Republic" based on Kāshgār [q.v.], which in November 1933 became the "Turkish-Islamic Republic of East Turkestan". Yulbars and Khodja Niyāz, however, represented conservative Komul sentiment, seeking limited autonomy for Komul rather than secession from China, and they were suspicious of local Muslim leaders who were prepared to call in Soviet Communist support. Yulbars was a fluent Chinese speaker, and he was later to choose exile in Taiwan rather than Turkey.

It soon became clear that Ma Chung-yin was following his own interests rather than those of the Turkish peoples of Sinkiang, and in early 1934 his forces destroyed the Kāshgār republic, although further rebel activity was to continue there. Yulbars fled to Nanking in 1937, but returned to Komul in 1946 as an adherent of the Kuo Min-tang. He fought against the increasing power of the Chinese Communist in Sinkiang, but in the winter of 1950-1 had to flee to Tibet and hence to Taiwan, where he retained the post of governor of Sinkiang in exile, eventually dying there.


YUNAN refers to the ancient Greeks, reflecting the name "Ionians". Yūnān means Greek (noun and adjective) and al-yūnānīyya or, less commonly, al-yūnānī (with or without bugha or lūzān), the ancient Greek language. The vocalisation yūnānī, instead of yuynānīyya, is favoured by some (cf. al-Tawḥīdī, Baḍ‘ir, ed. W. al-Kādī, Beirut 1408/1988, viii, 11), is stated to be the generally accepted form by al-Samānī, Anāb, ed. Haydarbūd, xi, 336, and may have been favoured by the Arabic word formation fi-lūnānī. The ancient Near Eastern designation of the "Greeks" as Ionians has continued being used through the ages in the Near East and eventually became common, apparently through some Aramaic form, in Muslim civilisation as a kind of cultural artifact. Authors such as al-Yākūbī, i, 161, 164 (referring to Ploemmy, Kūnān; al-Mas‘ūdī, Tabārī, 115; al-Samānī, loc. cit., quoting ʿĪsāhān Ibn al-Kalbī; Kātib al-Ḍārāfīyya, ed. Mahāmad Ḥadīj-Sadāq, Damascus 1968, § 161, had no doubt that yūnānī was derived from the name of the biblical Yūnān b. Yāfṭīf (Javan, the son of Japheth; Gen. x. 2, 4), although in the genealogy offered in al-Tabarī, i, 218, the form of the name is the traditional Ṭawān. In fact, the form Ṭawān for Javan is not attested elsewhere in older times, at least as is known so far (Syriac Yūnān < Greek accus. Ἔλλην, for Jonāh/ Yūnīs, is not applicable here). Although biblical names underwent as yet unexplained changes on their way into Arabic, in this case it seems likely that the noun/adjective yūnānī, derived on the model of Aram. yuynāy (Ar. ḏī > ḏānī), was primary and led to a reconstructed form Yūnān for Ṭawān. In translations from the Greek, yūnānīyya is the ordinary rendering of Ἔλλην, but occasionally also occurs for synonyms

Plenty of information on everything Greek seeped, of course, from the Graeco-Arabic translation literature [see TÅRAJMA, 2.] into wider learned circles, but only a few general points can be made here.

The internal Muslim geographic/cartographic tradition had no precise notion on where to locate the Yunan, except for some vague generalities such as Athens being the origin of the ancient Greek philosophers or Macedonia being the country of Alexander the Great. Their status as the predecessor nation and dynasty to the contemporary Rūm is known but not widely understood among mediaeval Muslims, except some favourably placed scholars. Historical tradition and speculation preferably assumed an original habitat for the Yunan in Asia Minor or Syria. There were other, highly speculative theories, as, for instance, one credited by Hamza al-Isfahání, Tā'īrīkh, book IV beg., to a 3rd/9th-century Christian source about an era dating from the departure of a legendary Yunan from Babylon and lasting until the merger of the Yunan into the Rūm and their eventual disappearance. Following earlier interpretations of Gen. x. 2 and 4, Rome occasionally appears as a foundation of Javan and its descendants (De ṣaḥābhī, § 187). Even al-Andalus could be said to have had them as its first rulers (Ibn Khalil-kan, ed. ‘Abbās, v, 323, 326, in the article on the conqueror of Spain Mūsā b. Nusayr [q.v.]).

The relationship of the ancient Greek language to the language of the (eastern) Rūm, which moreover involved the distinction between pagans and Christians, was widely acknowledged but again not known in detail, cf. the discussion by N. Serikoff, Rūmi and Yunanî, in Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, class [1996], 169-94. The excellent knowledge of ancient Greek possessed by certain scholars in the Muslim world in early 'Abbāsid times faded rapidly in the 4th/10th century. A few technical terms, book titles, names and the like continued to be widely recognised as ancient Greek and in some cases acquired the status of cultural icons, especially names such as Sukra, Allāṭīn, Aristophēlēs (Arīṯūṭī), Bukra, and Arīṯūṭī. In general, however, even concerned Muslims like al-Kindī, al-Fārābī or al-Bûrūnī knew little, if anything at all, of the language. In some regions, learned Christian scholars retained some knowledge of Greek sufficient for translating minor texts into Arabic. In Western Islam, ṣubkī, ṣubkīyya, is occasionally mentioned as the correct designation of the ancient Greek language (Ṣa'id al-Andalusi, tr. R. Blachère, 56, 77; IAU, ii, 47, cf. F. Rosenthal, The Classical heritage in Islam, London 1975, 39, 195).

Notwithstanding all this natural lack of information about long past and forgotten historical reality, the fundamental importance of the ancient Greeks and their intellectual achievements for the formation of Islamic civilisation was fully realised among Muslims. It became, and has remained to this day, the subject of a never-ending and often passionate discussion between supporters and opponents, Muslims and non-Muslims alike. Graeco-Arabic relations indeed occupied a central position in Islamic studies today; however, the meaning of the ancient Greek heritage for every and all individuals in Muslim intellectual life still needs comprehensive investigation. During the early centuries, a statement like that of the historian al-Ya'qūbī, i, 106-7, characterised the ancient Greeks as “philosophic sages” who cultivated medicine, the “essential verities” (i.e. metaphysics), arithmetic, geometry, astronomy/astrology, agriculture, alchemy and elixirs as well as talismans and (magical) apparatus. This view would have found general concurrence at the time. In a way, it has remained the popular view throughout. At the same time, sophisticated learned schemes of organising all human knowledge began to evolve. They classified all the sciences, (scientific) medicine, logic and philosophy as the realm of the “non-Arabs”, that is, predominantly, the ancient Greeks, as against the “Arab” disciplines concerned with matters of religion and language, literature and philology. In various forms, these classifications became standard throughout mediaeval Islam.

A vehement opposition to all learning connected to the ancient Greeks began at a very early date and intensified in the course of the centuries. The reasons were manifold, such as its evidently foreign and non-Muslim origin and its introduction into Arabic by mostly non-Muslim translators. Above all, it threatened a more severe conflict on the religious level, in that it introduced ideas and methods contradicting traditional Muslim beliefs and raised the eternal problem of faith versus reason more explicitly than had been the case before in the Near Eastern environment. This provoked an attitude of distance and hostility to the very term yunān and often the rejection of everything considered “Greek”, as, for instance, the rejection of “philosophy” as heresy, pointedly expressed in the proverbial man tafaṣalas ta‘zandaka “he who philosophises commits heresy” [see ZiNDIK].

The struggle between defenders and opponents is exemplified, for instance, by the witty parody of a narrow-minded official who is represented as being shocked by the sacrilegious implications of Euclidean geometry (cf. Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī, Ahlīsh al-waṣīr, Damascus 1385/1965, 235-47, see also Al-SARABDĪ), or is seriously pictured in the debate about (Arabic) grammar and (Greek) logic led by al-Sīrāfī [q.v.], reported by the same al-Tawhīdī in another work and most recently discussed by G. Endress, Grammatik und Logik, Amsterdam 1986, 163-299 (Bochumer Studien zur Philosophie 5 = B. Mojsisch (ed.), Sprachphilosophie in Antike und Mittelalter). By far the most detailed and instructive discussion of the subject remains I. Goldziher, Stellung der alten islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften, in Abh. Pr. Ak. Wiss. (1916), no. 8. In the end, a kind of compromise came about. While Greek logic and metaphysics as such were mostly, but not always, vilified and rejected, they played an often unacknowledged vital role in Muslim theological and juridical discussion. On the other hand, the Greek heritage in the sciences was accepted as indispensable, often with apologies and accompanied by efforts to prove the usefulness of those sciences for religious purposes, as in the case of mathematics and astronomy. And medicine continued to rely almost exclusively and without apology on the ancient Greek authorities and their writings [see TĪMĀB].

Bibliography: For the history of Graeco-Arabic relations, cf. the fundamental study by D. Gutas, Greek thought, Arabic culture, London and New York 1998. The subject touches practically all levels of Muslim intellectual activity and thus much of the modern scholarly literature. The small selection of references given in this article may thus conveniently be supplemented by the numerous articles in the EI devoted to Greek authors and sciences, see, for instance, FALSAFA and FALASIFA or the entries on pharmacology, medicine, agriculture, astronomy,

AL-YUNNÍ, KÜTB AL-DIN ĀBU ‘L-FAṬĀ ‘ĪSÁ b. Muḥammad b. Ṭūlūn b. ‘Abd Allah, Syrian historian and Ḥanbalī Shaykh, b. Damascus in 640/1242, d. Ba‘labakk in 726/1326, best known as the author of the Dhayl Mir‘at al-zamān, a continuation of the Mir‘at al-zamān of Sībīb Ābu al-Dжалwī (d. 654/1256). Al-Yunní belonged to a scholarly family originally from Yūnān, a small town in the region of Ba‘labakk; his family claimed descent from Dжалар al-Šādik [q.v.] and in some sources, bore the nisba al-Husaynī. Following the death of his father, then that of his elder brother, he inherited the role of leader of the Ḥanbalīs of Ba‘labakk, an important centre of Syrian Ḥanbalī theology at the time. He conformed to the family tradition in his capacity of scholar and Shaykh, in maintaining stable relations with the dynasty in power, and in his sympathetic attitude towards the Sūfīs.

His father Muḥammad Tāki al-Dīn Ābu ‘Ābd Allāh (572-658/1176-1260) was linked to the Ḥanbalī Sūfī Shaykh Ābd Allāh al-Yunnī (534-617/1139-1220), whose daughter he married and whom he succeeded. His biographers present him as a Kādirī mystic who, like his father-in-law Ābd Allāh, claimed kinship with the Shaykh Ābd al-Kādir al-Djalānī [q.v.]. His mother, Zayn al-ʿArab bt. Naṣır Allāh b. Sā‘īt al-Dawla al-Ḥasan b. Yahyā, who died in 693/1294, came from a scholarly Syrian family. His half-brother Shāraf al-Dīn Ābu l-Ḥusayn Āfīrī (621-701/1223-1302), a scholar known primarily as the transmitter of the Ẓābīh of al-Bukhārī, provided a list of al-Yunnī’s masters, which has survived; cf. G. Vajda, *La maqāla de ‘Ābd al-Qādir al-Yunnī*, in *JĀ*, cedix [1971], 223-46. Finally, the marriage of his daughter to Aybak al-Ikṣandārī al-Salīḥī, a Mamlūk thirty years her senior who died in 674/1276, consolidated the family’s links with the Bahri Mamlūks.

Al-Yunnī first attended classes in Ba‘labakk and Damascus, where he was taught by the eminent masters of the various madhhabs. In 659/1260, the year following the death of his father, his elder brother ‘Alī, who had taken responsibility for his education, sent him to Egypt. He subsequently visited Egypt twice, in 675-6/1276-7 and then in 688/1289, taking the opportunity to pursue his research into Ḥadīth and visit sages and Sufis; he also received ǧīzās from scholars such as the Mālikī Yahyā b. ‘Alī al-ʿAjzār and the Shīʿī Ḥizā al-Dīn Ābu al-ʿĀzīz Āfīrī; Ābī al-Salāmī [see *AL-SULAMI*]. His principal activity was the collection of testimonies and data concerning his contemporaries, original material that he later incorporated into his work. In 675/1275, he made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. When in 680/1281, al-Malik al-Manṣūr al-Kālāwīn was fighting the Mongols, he made his way to Ḥims and participated in the campaign; he was subsequently to devote a biographical notice to a scholarly friend who accompanied him and who died in battle. After his third visit to Egypt, he spent most of his time in Ba‘labakk and in Damascus where he continued his compilation of information. It was on the death of his brother ‘Alī, assassinated in 701/1302 in his library, that he became Shaykh of the Ḥanbalīs of Ba‘labakk and dedicated himself to this function, to the dissemination of knowledge and to the editing of his own works.

Al-Yunnī first chose to summarise a universal history which he admired, the Mir‘at al-zamān by Sībīb Ābu al-Dжалwī, in a Mājdīsar of four vols. Then, around 680/1281, he decided to compose a supple-ment, with a chronicle of events starting from the year 654, the date of the death of the Sībīb [and continuing until the year 711, judging from the manuscript which has survived]. Hence the title, Shaykh Mir‘at al-zamān. Al-Yunnī thus placed his Dhayl within a family of works: al-Muṭażam by Ibn al-Dжалwī [q.v.], the Mir‘at al-zamān by Sībīb Ābu al-Dжалwī and the Hawādīḥ al-zamān of al-Dżarār [q.v.], with the pattern of chronological presentation comprising, for each year, a list of sovereigns and princes followed by an account of events (hawādīḥ) and then obituaries (saṣāfīyāt). In spite of its title, which identifies it as a “continuation” or “supplement”, the originality of al-Yunnī’s work was recognised by Western scholars as soon as the first volumes were published, on the initiative of Fritz Krenkow. Subsequently, Cl. Cahen described several manuscripts of the Dhayl, of which there exist two versions of unequal length. He made efforts to uncover the sources of the work and to identify reciprocal borrowings between the author and his contemporaries, while stressing the originality of the work. Ulrich Haarmann, and then Li Guo, have pursued this project, comparing al-Yunnī’s work in particular with that of al-Dżarār. They have also analysed the role of al-Bīzālf [q.v.] in the transmission of the works of the two authors. In his study devoted to al-Yunnī, *Early Mamluk Syrian historiography*, Li Guo has laid emphasis, largely in accordance with a formal analysis of the classification of obituaries, on the differences between the two versions of the text: one, more developed and with obituaries arranged in alphabetical order, contains personal testimonies, accounts and anecdotes that are not found elsewhere and that give information concerning the history of Ba‘labakk, of Damascus and of al-Shām in general; while in the second text, which is shorter, obituaries are arranged in chronological order and the other type of material is lacking.

The sources used by al-Yunnī are of various natures: chronicles and biographical dictionaries found in the library of learned Syrians of the time, such as Ibn Khallikān, Abū Shāma, Ibn Ḥamīmawayh al-Djavānzī, Ibn Shaddādī, Ibn ‘Ābd al-Zahir and Ibn Ṭāsfī; years 673-7 by Muhmmad Munfr al-Shadhīlī; years 687-90 by Anrang Melkonian (unpublished diss.); and years 697-701 by Li Guo (thus the years 687 to 696 and 702 to 711 are not yet published). Continuing Cahen’s work, Li Guo has also reconstructed families of manuscripts, of the Mājdīsar Mir‘at al-zamān of the Dhayl, for which he has listed 23 manuscripts. What may be added here in this context concerns the identification of the “mysterious Istanbul manuscript” which has served as a basis for the edition of part of the text published in Haydarātbād (four volumes covering the years 654/1256 to 686/1287). In fact, while the years 654 to 672 (vols. i and ii and the first part of vol. iii) were edited on the basis of known manuscripts (those of Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3146, 3199 and of Oxford, Bodleian, Pococke 132), the section concerning
the years 673 to 686 (beginning at p. 111 of vol. iii and including the whole of vol. iv) is based on a manuscript which is imprecisely identified on the title pages. It is in fact a manuscript preserved in the British Library, under the classification India Office (vol. iii, 345), not featuring in the printed catalogue. The manuscript was copied by Krenkow in 1945-6 and served as the basis for the edition made by a group of Indian scholars under the direction of Muhammad Munir al-Shadhilti (cf. J. Sublet, "Un manuscrit égaré.

Furthermore, a work of manâkıb has been attributed to al-Yunini, but its authenticity is problematical. For example, Li Guo relies on Hadjdj Khalifa, vi, 155 no. 13094 (Katib Celebi 1834-44) and on Bagdath Ismail Paşa, Hayyât al-şráfîn, ii, 479, in saying that al-Yunini, finding that Siîb Ibn al-Djawi had devoted to al-Djîllânî only a very short notice, is said to have written a work intituled Manâkıb 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djîllânî. Some additional information may be supplied in this context. The Arabic manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale de France contains a copy dating from 961/1554 of which the first (corrupt) folio bears the title Bagdath al-atvâr. G. Vajda (in his unpublished notes Bahajat al-asdr.) identified the text as Manâkıb 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djîllânî was 'Abd Allah b. Umayn al-Yunîni. This is thus a case of apologetic biographies of both al-Djîllânî and of 'Abd Allah al-Yunîni, our author's father-in-law. Vajda considered the text identical to that of Berlin (Wetzstein 1855) which is, according to Ablwardt's catalogue (no. 10097), the work of 'Ali b. Muhammad al-Yunîni, who died in 701/1301, our author's brother. It may be deduced from this that numerous members of the Yunini family composed Manâkıb 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djîllânî, thus rendering homage to the Şûfi şaykh whose memory they all revered, and as a result confusion was created between members of this family. Li Guo also poses the question of the identification of a Tarîkh Bagdath which was allegedly composed by al-Yunîni but of which the text has not been found.

The cordial relations that al-Yunîni maintained with scholars and historians ensured that numerous biographical notices would be dedicated to him, although in his own time he enjoyed only a modest reputation. Thus al-Djshâli (q.v.), who attended his transmission sessions in Damascus and in Bablak, paid him restrained homage.

Works such as the Dhayl contain an impressive store of materials for the history of Syria in the second half of the 7th/13th century and in the early 8th/14th century. The Syrian authors of the time may be considered as constituting a school, and analysis of their works entails a redenomination of the historiography in the region in the period of the first Mamlûks.


(JACQUELINE SUBLET)

YUNNAN (YUN-NAN), a province in the southwest of China, bounded in the east by the provinces of Kuei-chou, Kuang-hsi and in the north by the province of Ssu-ch'üan, and in the south to west by Vietnam, Laos and Burma.

1. History.

The province, first established under the Mongol Great Khan Kubilai in A.D. 1253, received its name from that of ancient Yunnan county, which is identified with Hsian-yun Prefecture, Yunnan province. Yunnan Province is a highland country; the climate is generally mild, but agricultural products are not always plentiful. According to the statistics of the government of the People's Republic of China, the Hui (Muslim) population of Yunnan is given as 522,046 (1.36% of the total population of Yunnan province in 1990). They are mostly distributed in the eastern part of the province, mainly near rivers and roads. They live alongside Han Chinese and native non-Chinese minorities.

Under the T'ang dynasty, in the middle of the 8th century, a native tribe of Yunnan called U-man ("Black Barbarian"), which is identified with the Qarqadjan belonging to the Thai race, rose to power in 937 and founded the Nanchao kingdom (with its capital at Tali). In the Sung period, the Nanchao kingdom was succeeded by the Tali one, which survived for about 150 years in the same territory up to the mid-13th century. Then came the Mongol domination over Yunnan province. In the T'ang dynasty, it is reported that Taji (i.e. Tadjik, that is, Arab) soldiers who had come to help the dynasty as reinforcements, migrated to Yunnan province in the early 9th century, settling there and becoming the first Muslims in Yunnan; but this tale is uncorroborated elsewhere.

The origin of the Yunnan Muslims should probably be traced back to the early Yian dynasty, when the Mongol Royal Prince (later Great Khan) Kubiilay [q.v.], who marched into China proper, conquered the above-mentioned Tali kingdom. Many soldiers and merchants from West Asia, and Central Asian Uyghurs who were members of Kubilay's army, settled in the province, many of them being Muslims. A Muslim general, Sayid-î Adjali Shams al-Din 'Umar (1211-79), who was reported to be of Bukharan origin, is said to have surrendered to Cingiz Khan in Transoxiana in 1219, but have become Cingiz's vasal, and then to have participated in the expedition to China, subsequently being appointed civil governor of Yunnan in 1273. He is further said to have pacified local tribes and to have spread the Islamic religion there. The town of K'un-ming, situated in eastern Yunnan, now became the administrative capital, and was later also called Yunnan-fu (see further
Under the administration of Sayyid-i Adjall Shams al-Din and his descendants, Muslims in Yunnan, Soo-ch’uan and Shen-hui prospered in the later 13th century and were gradually absorbed into local society as time went on. After the collapse of the Yuan, the first Ming Emperor Ch’u Yiiang-ch’uang in 1381 ordered that Han and Muslim generals should proceed to Yunnan to get rid of any Mongol remnants, and they established Ming rule there. In general, the Yunnan Muslims, like those of other provinces, were gradually Sinicised under the Ming; also, many Muslims immigrated from surrounding provinces into Yunnan.

Under the Ch’ing dynasty that took over from the Ming in the early 17th century, a policy began of colonising native peoples of Yunnan with the power of both Han Chinese and Hui armies. Chinese and Muslims gradually spread further into the province: the Muslim population of the province is reported to have reached at this time ca. 800,000, making it the second densely-populated province of Muslims in China next to Kansu [q.v.]. As the Ch’ing policy of colonisation and absorption of the native Yunnan population continued in the early 19th century, Chinese pressure increased, with friction between Muslims and Han Chinese, especially in the western region with its centre at Yung-ch’eng fu (Pao-an). Revolts of the Yunnan Muslims against the Ch’ing authorities now began to occur. Quarrels between Muslims and Han Chinese at Ch’u-hsiaung fu in 1854 marked the opening of the Great Rebellion which continued and raged for eighteen years all over the province; for details, see PANTHAY and TÜ WEN-HSIU. After a period of subsequent repression, there was comparative calm, or at least an uneasy peace, for the Yunnan Muslim community. But with the triumph of the Communist regime in 1950 and its pursuit of a militantly anti-religious policy, the position of the Yunnan Hui, and their perceived “differentness” in a state which was pathologically suspicious of all non-Han religious and ethnic identities, worsened. In such a closed state, details of discrimination and persecution are largely lacking, but the lowest point of Hui fortunes under Communism was clearly reached during the Cultural Revolution, epitomised in the “Shadian Incident.” Shadian is a village in southwestern Yunnan adjacent to the Vietnam border and has been famed since Ming times as a centre of Muslim piety and learning. After requests by the Hui of Shadian for the reopening of their mosques had been refused by the local Communist Party authorities, in July-August 1975 units of the People’s Liberation Army moved in, razed Shadian to the ground and massacred over 1,600 Hui of the district, with 866 killed from Shadian village alone. Not until 1979, after the Fall of the Gang of Four, were apologies given and reparations made; but Yunnan Muslims understandably remain suspicious of PRC government attitudes and policies. For details of the Incident, see Gladney, Muslim Chinese, 137-40.

2. The community.

Yunnan Muslims have been and are still engaged in farming, handicraft, retail trade (especially with Burma), salt manufacturing (salt mining), eating-houses, inns, transportation, pottery-making, etc. They were also engaged in the mining of silver, copper and tin in the employment of local Ch’ing authorities. The Yunnan Muslims are not dissimilar from those Muslims of other provinces of China. They are Chinese-speaking Muslims calling themselves either Hui (Muslim), Hui-min (Muslim people) or ch’ing-ch’ing (pure-true) Hui-hai, and now, under the People’s Republic of China, they are called Hui-tsu (Muslim people). Each Muslim community is located around their own ch’ing-ch’ing süü (mosque). There are now reportedly about 650 mosques in the region. As religious leaders, they usually have an akhon (leader of the worship), a khalîfa (student, apprentice), and sometimes an imâm (hereditary leader of the worship), just as in other provinces. They observe the Two Great Ī’s, the mausûlî al-nabî (Muhammad’s birthday), dî‘ârî, and the mîrâqî, bârâ’î, zabî-i kadîar, etc.

Most Yunnan Muslims follow the kadîm or “old”, “traditional” or “orthodox” form of Chinese Islam, basically that of Hanaafism, as observed by 90% of all the Chinese Muslims. There are also the Qâhirîyya order and the Ikhâwân movement among Yunnan Muslims. The Qâhirîyya originally appeared in Kansu province in the early 18th century. It had its own centres at Sining, Ning-hsia and also at Peking, and must have been propagated in Yunnan. For Qâhirî practices, see KANSU and TAJAWWÛR. In Chinese Islam. The Ikhâwân was specifically called Hsu-ch’eng or New Religion, i.e. new as opposed to the Kadîmin. The Ikhâwân maintain strict observance of the Qur’ân and spurn membership of the mûng-huan or the tarîka institutions [see TAJAWWûR, 8]. In Yunnan the Ikhâwân make up ca. 10% of all Muslims.


(T. SAQUCHI)

Yûnûs b. Maţţa, the prophet Jonah, son of Amittai (II Kings xiv. 25). The name entered Arabic ultimately from the Greek Septuagint rendering of the Hebrew, most likely transmitted through Christian Palestinian.

The Kur’ân mentions Jonah four times as Yûnûs, without giving his father’s name, once as Dhu ‘l-Nûn (XXI, 87) and once (LXVIII, 48) as sâhîb al-hûţ “the Man of the Whale”. Yûnûs is the only one of the major and minor biblical prophets who is mentioned by name in the Kur’ân; a prophet who is swallowed by a whale naturally figured significantly in the popular imagination. Yûnûs is numbered among the apostles of God (IV, 163; VI, 86). Sîra X is named after Yûnûs, and tells of a town which came to believe in the one
God and therefore its fate of “chastisement and degradation in the present life” was averted (X, 98). A paraphrastic rendering of the story of Jonah appears in XXVIII, 139-48 (cf. also XXI, 87-8): Yûnûs, an apostle of God, fled on a ship which was overloaded. He was condemned by lot and a fish swallowed him. He was worthy of blame. If he had not praised God, he would have remained in the fish’s belly until the resurrection. However, he was thrown sick upon a barren shore, and a gourd was caused to grow up over him. He was then sent to rule over a hundred thousand people who became believers and God gave them respite for a further period.

Al-Bukhârî and al-Nawawi quote a hadith kudsi which says “No one can say he is better than Yûnûs b. Mattâ’, even if his genealogy goes back to his father” (see Noldeke, Gesch. des Qoq., i, 257; W. Graham, Divine word and prophetic word in early Islam, The Hague 1977, saying 44); al-Tha‘labî, Kisas, 366, quotes this simply as a statement of Muḥammad and provides the understanding that Mattâ’ was Yûnûs’s mother’s name and that the characteristic of being a prophet and carrying the name of one’s mother was distinctive with Īsâ and Yûnûs alone.

Muslim legend further develops the material. Yûnûs served God in Nineveh at the time that he became enraged. The puzzle of why he became angry is answered in at least two ways:

(1) He became angry because his mission to warn the people of Nineveh of their need to repent in order to avoid their forthcoming destruction was so urgent that the angel Gabriel did not allow him time to mount a steed or put on a shoe before leaving.

(2) He was angry because the calamity that he had prophesied would befall Nineveh was delayed at the last minute, thus making him appear to be a liar last minute, thus making him appear to be a liar.

Yûnûs prophesied that the punishment would come after 40 days; on the 57th day the colour of the sinners changed. They repented, restored all that they had unjustly acquired, even the objects immersed in their houses (cf. the principle enunciated in BT, Gittin, 55a); men, women, children and animals clothed themselves in sackcloth; suffocating thirst, of both women and animals, were separated from their nurses. But on the day of ‘Aḡhûrâ’, God granted forgiveness.

Urged by Satan, Yûnûs embarked on the ship. The overloaded ship could not go backward or forward, a sign that a runaway slave was on board. Jonah confessed his guilt, but the sailors would not throw him into the sea; three times they cast lots and then threw down an arrow oracle (al-Tha‘labî). Finally, Yûnûs threw himself into the jaws of the whale (Ibn al-Athîr), which, it is said, had come from India on account of Yûnûs’s mother Mattâ’ (ad-dhikr kudsi). God commanded the whale, saying: “Whale, O whale! We shall not make Jonah into your sustenance! Rather We make you a retreat for him, a sanctuary” (al-Tabarî, i, 783). The threefold darkness (see Kur‘ân, XXI, 87) of the inside of the fish, depth of the sea and the darkness of the night enveloped Yûnûs. The fish was swallowed by another fish and then that one by still another (al-Tabarî, Tafsîr, ad Kur‘ân, XXI, 87, as a second opinion on the meaning of the “darkness”). God made the fish transparent so that Yûnûs could see the wonders of the deep. He heard the songs of praise of the sea monsters just as the angels heard his prayers from the inside of the fish. It is disputed whether Yûnûs remained 3, 7, 20 or 40 days in the fish. Hurling out upon the shore, he was given shade by a gourd tree, and was suckled by a goat (Ibn al-Athîr) or an antelope (al-Tha‘labî) or a gazelle (al-Kisa‘î). Yûnûs found shade under a gourd tree which then withered, causing him to lament. God then reproached him for not having lamented the 100,000 people whose death he sought. This admonition was impressed upon him by other means also: by fruit trees, by the example of a potter who is anxious about his pots, and a sower who is anxious about his seeds. Then Yûnûs had a shepherd announce his approach: the earth, a tree, and an animal of his herd, all miraculously bore witness to the truth of the message. These motifs reflect the apparent connection between Jonah and nature and especially the animal kingdom. The king ceded his throne to the shepherd, and himself went to live with Yûnûs as an ascetic. Notably absent here are any of the messianic aspects of the story developed in the New Testament (Matt. xxii. 39, Luke xi. 29) and in the Midrash (L. Ginsberg, The legends of the Jews, Philadelphia 1909-38, iv, 253, vi, 351 n. 38).

The fact that God forgives the sinful town on the day of ‘Aḡhûrâ’ suggests a Jewish basis for these developments in the legend: the Book of Jonah is recited in Jewish worship in the afternoon of the Day of Atonement, which was connected in early Islam to the fast of ‘Aḡhûrâ’ (q.v.). According to al-Kisa‘î, Yûnûs was conceived on ‘Aḡhûrâ’ (see W.M. Thackston, The Tales of the Prophets of al-Kisa‘î, Boston 1978, 350 n. 90, for a list of other events in the lives of the prophets which happened on this day). A legend, mentioned by al-Ya‘qîbî (q.v.) in his Ra‘d al-rapidân, probably originated at a later date and indicates the extent of the active development of legendary material throughout the centuries, even down to contemporary times (see e.g. P. Bachmann, Das Skandalon des Propheten Yûnûs und eine neue arabische Jona-Geschichte. Yûnûs fi baṭn al-ḥût, von Abd al-Gâfrî Mikkdwi, in J.M. Barral (ed.), Orientalia Hispanica, sive studia F.M. Panja octogenario dictae, Leiden 1974, i, 55-76; Yûnûs asked the angel Gabriel to show him the most pious person in the world. The angel showed him a man who lost his feet, hands and eyes one after another and, notwithstanding, put his confidence in God and gave himself up to Him (cited in R. Basset, Mille et un contes, récits et légendes arabes, Paris 1927, ii, 122, no. 77).

Al-Kisa‘î extended the miraculous elements to the earlier history of the prophet. His father was 70 when Yûnûs was born. His mother, who became a widow soon after, had nothing left but a wooden spoon, which proved to be a cornucopia. As a result of a miraculous dream, he married the daughter of Zakariyya’ b. Yahyâ (see ZAKARIYYA’; here reflecting the chronological confusion surrounding this person). He loses his wife, both his sons and his property. He therefore will not pray with the others on the ship. In the end, everything is miraculously restored to him.

YUNUS — YUNUS EMRE 349

manes dans le Coran et dans les vies des prophètes, Paris
1933, 129-31; C.C. Castillo, Jonas en leyenda musul- 
mana, in al-Qumrist, iv (1983), 89-100.

YUNUS b. HABIB, prominent Basran gram- 
marian and philologist (ca. 90-182/708-98).

In the early sources, his important position as a 
grammarians is indicated by the 230 occurrences of 
his name in both syntactic and morphological parts 
of Sibawayhi's Kitāb. He is mentioned as a direct 
source of information in Abū 'Ubayda's Majāz al-
Karā ('transmitting Abū 'Amr b. al-Abī 'l-'Abbā's 
teaching), and the books of al-Farrā' and al-Ākhfa. In 
al-Djumāhī's Tabakdt, Yūnūs describes personally the 
development of grammatical studies from the early 
days of 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ḥādhik (d. 117/728 [q.v.]). 
His fabulous readiness to share knowledge is men-
tioned by the early short biographical treatise of Abū 
Ḥamid. The many details added by the later sources 
include a grandfather's name and kunya (both of these 
being Abū 'l-Rahmān), dates of life and origin. He 
is presented as a mawla of several Arab tribes. A 
Persian origin was mentioned by a Shu'ūbi author 
(Talmon, Arabic grammar, 7 n. 35). A recurring anec-
dote seems to suggest attribution by some biographers 
of pre-'Alīd sentiments to this scholar. The list of 
Yūnūs's teachers and students seems to draw mainly 
on the meagre information extracted from the early 
sources referred to above. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions five 
books written by this scholar, of lexical and philo-
logical, not grammatical, character. These include 
Mālati' al-Kurā, K. al-Lughāt, K. al-Nawdīr (al-kabīr 
[aqā], with an understanding of Islamic mys-
ticism [tawāsiṭ] in the tradition of Ibn al-
Arabī [q.v.]. Yūnūs Emre's religious philosophy aims at "the 
unity of existence" (wahdāt al-wujūd). This pantheistic 
view is complemented by the doctrine of "the per-
fert human being" (al-insān al-kamil [q.v.]).

It is generally accepted that Yūnūs Emre died in 
720/1320-1, as documented by the entry on fol. 38b 
of the ms. Moçuwa no. 7912 at the Beyazid Umumi 
Kütüphanesi, İstanbul. The site of Yūnūs Emre's grave 
is not certain. The fact that about a dozen graves 
(or makāmāt) situated all over Anatolia are attributed 
to him attests to his immense popularity. Of these, 
the grave in Bursa is almost certainly that of 'Āqīq 
Yūnūs (d. 845/1440-1), a mystic who wrote poems 
in the manner of Yūnūs Emre. For the rest, the grave 
that has found most credibility is that in the village 
of Sanköy in the vicinity of Sivitàihar (Eskişehir), and 
in 1970 the mortal remains in this grave were trans-
ferred to the memorial grave built for the poet in Sanköy. 
Yūnūs Emre is known to be the author of two works: a 
Dīvān and the melkān called Rīsālāt el-melkīye.

1. The Dīvān. There are a great number of 
ms. of this work. Most mālūmāt (collections of literary works) 
also contain many poems by Yūnūs Emre. The mss. 
show great discrepancies with regard to the number of 
poems, number and sequence of verses, etc. Yūnūs 
Emre used the pen-name makhālas [see Tāḥallās] 
Yūnūs, occasionally in the form Yūnūs 'Emre'm or with 
attributes such as Miṣrīn, Bī zar, 'Āqīq, and once each as 
Tapādūq Yūnūs, Tapādūlu Yūnūs. A considerable num-
ber of poems by poets using the pen-name Yūnūs, or 
even an altogether different pen-name, have erro-
neously been attributed to him and included in mss. of 
his Dīvān. In fact, one of the most popular ḩalātīs 
[q.v.] today, namely that starting Shol al-jenvari 'īnkhārī 
* Akar Allah deyyā déyyā, "Those streams of Paradise * 
Flow, calling Allah Allah", is generally attributed to 
Yūnūs Emre, although it is actually by the poet 'Āqīq 
Yūnūs mentioned above.

The latest critical edition of the Dīvān (by M. Taṣṣī) 
contains 417 poems. Yūnūs Emre composed a consid-
erable number of poems according to the rules of the 
Arabo-Persian metrical system (arād [q.v.]), albeit 
with frequent faults. Nevertheless, the greater part of his 
Dīvān is composed according to the original Turki 
method of versification, wherein the verses are not 
based on quantity as in arād but on the number of 
the syllables and the stress positions (pārmak hisābī or 
*huzva). A third group of poems shows only traces 
of composition in conformance with arād, so that these 
poems must be regarded (at least until further mss. 
supply metrically more correct versions) as composed 
according to pārmak hisābī. Yūnūs Emre's application 
of pārmak hisābī is very successful. On the other hand, 
the frequent arād mistakes are understandable as Yūnūs 
Emre lived at a time when the application of the 
Arabo-Persian metres to the Turkish language was in
its initial phase. Furthermore, oral transmission of the poems through the centuries is certain to be responsible for a considerable number of the 'āraḍ faults found in the texts.

The 'āraḍ metre Yūnus Emre used by far most frequently is aṣūl rājeq (muṭṣāf truṣ‘-muṭṣāf tālum-μuṭṣāf tālum-μuṭṣāf tālum). Of the syllabic lengths of parmak hisābī, he used almost all, including such rare lengths as 10 and 12 syllables. He used aural rhyme, without regard for total accord (Turkish ge‘ rhythm with Arabic muḥtaḍ, for example). Apart from one short muntakha of 20 verses, all the poems in the Divān have the rhyme scheme of the ghazal [see Turks 4.4]. The lengths of these poems also corresponds to the usual lengths of the ghazal (only a few poems have more than 15 verses and one has 45). A considerable number of these are totally or partially musammāt, that is, have "inner rhyme" (the rhyme scheme a, a, x, x, etc. thereby becoming xaxa [the first verse is usually without "inner rhyme"], bbb, cca, etc.). The musammāt poems are mostly in the above aṣūl rājeq metre consisting of 16 syllables and are often metrically faulty; such a faulty verse is practically indistinguishable from a quatrains with lines of 8 syllables composed according to parmak hisābī. The genres of poetry found in the Divān are predominately the ḫaṭṭī (respectively the ḫeṭes [q.v.]) and the naṭā (didactic mystical poem). However, there are a few examples of other genres such as the ma‘nūvī (supplication addressed to God), the na‘t (eulogy, especially of Muhammad), the mītāvī-nāmē [see mītāvī], the ḥaṭṭīyē [see ḥaṭṭī], etc.

Yūnus Emre’s poems are in Old Anatolian Turkish. He expresses himself simply and directly, in the idiom of the common people, using similes, metaphors, expressions, sayings, etc. that are familiar to them. His use of Arabic and Persian words is restricted enough not to have hindered the (at least superficial) comprehension of the bulk of his Divān. Frequently, an Arabic or Persian word is used in close proximity to its Turkish synonym. Yūnus Emre contributed to the forming of a Turkish mystical vocabulary based on the classic Sûfi terms. The Divān contains quotations from the Kûr‘ān, the hadīth [q.v.], the sayings of Sûfis and allusions to Indo-Persian and Greek mythology and to folk tales.

2. The recurrent theme in Yūnus Emre’s Divān is mystic love. Yet he is no recluse and the conditions of everyday life are reflected in his poems. His mostly easily understandable religious and moral advice is couched in lyrical language of heartfelt sincerity and often great intensity of feeling. His poetry was of central importance in the dissemination of Sûfi teachings in Anatolia, influenced the tekb poetry of the following centuries, and played an initiative role in the application of the 'āraḍ metric system to Turkish.

The intense religious and humane feeling in his poetry has not lost its appeal today. It is not therefore surprising that his ḥaṭṭīs continue to be sung at events of a religious nature or that in 1946 Adnan Saygun composed his Yunus Emre onrtasyos using some of Yūnus Emre’s poems as its libretto.

2. The Rüstüt el-muḫṭārī, a Turkish metnāvī of 600 verses, with a moralizing didactic message, was composed in 707/1307-8. After an introductory section of thirteen verses in the metre ramal (fâ‘lum-ramal-μuṭṣāf truṣ‘-μuṭṣāf tālum-μuṭṣāf tālum), there is a short section in prose followed by the main text composed in the metre hazâd (muṭṣāf tālum-μuṭṣāf tālum-μuṭṣāf tālum). This metnāvī shows a mastery of the rhetoric device of tahrāb (anthropomorphism), but it does not possess the lyrical quality of the poems in the Divān.
YUNUS AL-KATIB AL-MUGHANNI — AL-YUSI

Yunus, a singer, seems to have been one of the masturadji singers who used to accompany themselves by beating the musical metre (ikd) with a wand (katb). Yunus left several books on music and musicians. Among them was a record of the tonal system of the Medinan music school, called K. al-Naghah. From this book, a quotation on the division of the octave seems to have survived. He also composed a book on the renowned female singers (K. al-Khâni), a collection of his own song texts (K. Musâfârân Yunus), and an extensive systematic collection (tadfee) of song texts (K. fi 'l-'Aghâni), also called Dâvân Yunus. The latter contained, in the redaction known to Ibn Khurradadhbih (q.v.), 825 song texts by 35 male and female singers of the first two “classes” (tabakhût) in Islam. In a redaction described by Ibn al-Tâhînân (d. after 449/1057 in Cairo), the number of song texts is said to have increased to 6,300. They were in alphabetical order, followed by complete musical indications, and by the names of the poet and the composer. Abu 'l-Faradj al-Isfahânî (q.v.) quoted the book frequently in his K. al-Aghâni al-kabîr. He made use of this “fundamental source” (asl) in a redaction by al-Îshâhî (3rd/9th century) who had supplied the musical indications (aghnîs, târîdh) omitted by Yunus. The advanced and extensive literary production of Yûnus al-Kâtîb proves itself in that he cannot have been the “first” to write on music in Islam. It is only stated that Yunus al-Kâtîb wrote on music in Islam.
Fazāz [q.v.] in the upper Malwiya region of Morocco. His travels first led him southwards to Fas, where he gave courses that enjoyed much popularity at the Karawiyīn [q.v.]. But rivalries and frictions with colleagues, as well as a nomadic temperament, prevented him from adapting life in a large city. He continued his teaching and finally left Fas in 1084/1673 for further travels. He visited various shrines before spending a good while in Marrakesh, where he taught in the mosque of the Shorfa. Towards the end of his life he made the Pilgrimage, and died in Fas soon after his return. He is buried near the town of Sefrou, his mausoleum being the centre of a cult [see supra].

Al-Yūsī's oeuvre covers several areas of scholarship. His Kānān fi sibādī al-ṣālim is an attempt to define and classify the different sciences. The breadth of his interests can also be seen in his epistles (Rasā'il Aḥī 'Alī al-Haṣan b. Maṣ'ūd al-Yūsī, ed. Fāṭima Khalīl al-Kabīlī, 2 vols. Casablanca 1981), which touch on points of theology, law and mysticism. The most famous are those reproaching the ruler, as in the case of the epistle called barqafat al-Tusi in which, not without boldness, he reproaches Mawlay Isma'il for having disarmed the whole group of Moroccan tribes. In another one, known as the ḥawāthī al-kisāb and composed in reply to a letter (now lost) from the same sultan, al-Yūsī dilates at length on the topic of scholars' relations with the sovereign power.

His Dīwān includes a dāhīya in honour of his master Ibn Nasir and a dāhīya in which he evokes memories of the gūna of al-Dīlāʾ. His verses have a mystical tone, and the most remarkable ones have a nostalgic feeling for his native land. He also compiled a collection of proverbs, Zahr al-akām fī l-ṭarīqat wa l-bākam (ed. M. Hadhdjidī and M. al-Akhḍar, 3 vols. Casablanca 1981). His Majmūʿat, written in 1095/1684 (ed. Ḥadhdjidī and Aḥmad Sharḵwī, 2 vols. Beirut 1982) are conversations, of the adāb genre: anecdotes, poetic quotations (including some in mālithī [q.v.]), autobiographical confidences, travel narratives, and reflections upon such varied topics as sainthood, Mahdīsm, food customs in the gūna, casuistic and the story-tellers of the Djamāʿ al-Faʿ. Despite the discrete nature of its subjects, this work remains an irreplaceable document on the ruling classes, scholars, saints and the common people of the time.


(ABDEL FATTAH KILLITO)

YŪSUF b. Yaʿqūb, in the Kurʿān and later Islamic literature paralleled, the Joseph of the Hebrew Bible and Jewish and Christian tradition. The character of Yusuf is popular in Islamic pietistic and devotional literature, in prose and in poetry from the earliest commentaries until the present day.

1. In the Kurʿān.

Outside of sura XII, Yusuf is mentioned only twice. In VI, 84, he is merely listed among other biblical prophets, and in the following order: Ibrahim (VI, 83), Išāq and Yaʿqūb, Nūh (whom) We guided previously, and from his progeny, Dāwūd, Sūlyāmān, Ayyūb, Yusuf, Mūsā and Hārūn. XL, 34 is included in a longer section treating the story of Moses, where it is stated that Yusuf came before Moses with clear divine messages that were nevertheless doubted by his people, and that these same people thought that God would not send another prophet after him.

All other Kurʿānic references to Yusuf occur in sura XII, a complete telling of the Joseph story, the longest Kurʿānic narrative and the only lengthy chapter of the Kurʿān representing a single and complete literary unit. The Kurʿānic Joseph story not only exhibits a close intertextual relationship with the versions represented in the Hebrew Bible and post-biblical Jewish and Christian narrative exegesis, but also finds important parallels with the tale of Bellerophon of the Iliad and the pre-biblical Egyptian "Tale of two brothers". One of the central themes of sura XII, that of al-ʿAzīz's wife making vain overtures of Yusuf and then accusing him of attempting to force her, represents a common motif of folk literatures throughout the world (motif K 2111 in S. Thompson's Motif index of folk literature, v). Questions of "influence" and "borrowing" become extremely complex in light of such a complicated intertextuality. However, it is clear from a diachronic perspective that "biblicist" material—that is, deriving from the Bible and its exegesis—impacted the emergence of sura XII, while Kurʿānic and post-Kurʿānic Islamic material in turn impacted later renderings of the tale in Jewish and Christian circles.

The Kurʿānic Yusuf embodies the chief qualities of a prophet: knowledge, trust and uprightness. In contrast to the biblical rendering and biblical narrative in general, the Kurʿān depicts Yusuf as protected from error through its portrayal of the positive moral attributes of patience, trust, veracity, judgment and absolute faith epitomised not only by the prophet Yusuf but also by his father, the prophet Yaʿqūb. This, among many other differences between the biblical and the Kurʿānic renderings of the tale, reflects the different eras, cultures and contextual world views that the two versions reflect. Whereas the biblical version typifies the "heroic tale" portraying a sacred history of progenitors and patriarchs, the Kurʿānic version serves far more as a didactic tale in which positive and negative behaviours are clearly depicted and assessed through the conduct of the tale's actors. The Kurʿānic rendering thus reflects the realm of piemait which, in turn, parallels post-biblical Jewish and Christian exegetical reflections of the tale that serve largely as teaching parables about chastity, temptation, faith and uprightness in the face of adversity.

Recently, synchronic approaches to the narrative have been taken by Johns, Stern and Mir. Johns stresses the unique oral nature of the Kurʿānic telling and the use of repetition and "replays", while Stern has shown how the story may be seen as an allegorical rendering of the traditional biography of Muhammad. Both Yusuf and Muhammad were accused by their detractors (brothers or tribal kin) of seeking superiority over others for their own personal ends, but their very critics could not understand until the end that the two prophets were asserting themselves only because God had thrust a special role on them for the purpose of bringing about their people's own salvation. Mir has demonstrated the chiasitic structure of the narrative...
by showing not only how the tensions built up in the first half of the story (1-44) are resolved in reverse order in the second half (45-100) but also how certain motifs recur antithetically and heighten the story’s drama. 

The didactic and moralistic nature of the Kur’ânic rendering leaves the main protagonists’ characters largely flat and undeveloped, and fails even to provide names for those actors in the drama that do not personally right behaviour. This, along with the exceptional length and narrativity of the sûra, encouraged a great deal of thinking and discussion which resulted in voluminous exegesis on Surat Yusuf.

The most frequent reference to Yusuf’s attributes in post-Kur’ânic literature is to his extraordinary beauty. His beauty was so exceptional that the behaviour of the wife of al-‘Azîz is forgiven, or at least mitigated, because of the unavoidably uncontrollable love and passion that his countenance would rouse in her. Such portrayals are found in many genres of Islamic literatures, but are most famous in Nûr al-Dîn ’Abd al-Rahmân Djamî’s [q.v.] Yusuf va Zulaykhî, which incorporates many of the motifs and attributes associated with his beauty in earlier works.

Certainly by the 7th/13th century, and up to the 10th/16th in Persian areas at the very least, Yusuf was looked to by artists and rulers alike as a patron of the arts. The Sûfî Nadîm al-Dîn Ra’î Dâyâ (d. 1256) dedicates his Mîrâd al-islâm to the Sâdîqî sultan of Rûm Kaykubâd likening him to Yusuf in hopes of receiving his patronage, and a famous Sâfawî illustrated manuscript of Djamî’s Yusuf va Zulaykhî has the name of the Timûrîd sultan and patron, Ibrâhîm Mîrzâ (d. 1476) inscribed over a portrait of Yusuf on the eve of his wedding to Zulaykhâ. On the other hand, Yusuf’s role as temporal ruler rendered him suspect among some pietists, for the pollution of worldly kingship rendered even Yusuf a delay in being accepted into the Garden.

Like the other earlier prophets, Yusuf possesses special insights, often mystical and certainly exceptional, that may be emulated by spiritual adepts and other religious seekers. But the exceptional motifs and symbols found in Surât Yusuf give his persona an even higher status than most in Islamic religious literature and civilisation. Renard has aptly noted the broad impact of Yusuf as his story on this culture. “The well and prison into which Joseph is thrown refer to all forms of adversity through which one must live in patience and trust. Allusions to Joseph’s shirt have come to mean any experience that restores the blinded seeker’s sight. The expression ‘to cut one’s hand’, an allusion to the guests at Zulayka’s dinner party, has become a coded reference to the seeker’s experience of stark bewilderment in the presence of the Beloved. And Joseph’s necessary separation from, and eventual reunion with, his father offers a perfect pattern to console the lover of God who seems to experience God’s absence. Most of all, Joseph’s beauty keeps the poems enthralled as the most apt image for the deepest of all experiences, the ever-present yearning for the source of all life and being. As Rumi writes of his own experience of longing for the Beloved, ‘Like Jacob I am crying alas; alas; the fair visage of Joseph of Canaan is my desire.’”

The very fact that the tale of Yusuf represents one complete literary narrative structured as such in the Kur’ân rendered it special significance in Islamic literary and cultural tradition. Wâbû b. Munabbîh [q.v.] is quoted in al-Kisâ’î’s Kiyâs al-anbiyâ’î as saying, “God would never send any prophet without telling him the story of Yusuf, just as He told it to our prophet Muhammad”.

Yûsuf is largely absent from the Hadîth. Direct and indirect exegesis of Sûrat Yusuf may be found in the Tajûsr literature, the universal histories of al-Tabârî, Ibn Kaṭîb [et al., hagiographic literature (kisas al-anbiyâ’î)] [q.v.], and in the poetry and pietistic literatures of virtually all religious, ethnic and linguistic sub-groups in the vast Islamic world from Spain to China and from Russia to South Africa. These literatures fill in the obvious lacunae of the Kur’ânic telling, resolve and respond to conflicts and parallels with biblical literatures, and capitalise on the nature and authority of the scriptural tale in order to promote various independent or creative ideas or perspectives on the religious, moral, spiritual or creative life. At the most basic level, names and namesakes are provided for secondary characters in the Kur’ânic telling, including certain of Yusuf’s brothers, the trader(s) who purchase Yusuf from his brothers, the Egyptians to whom he is sold, his wife, the king of Egypt, his servants who know Yusuf in jail, etc. The Egyptian is known variously as Kifîr, Ifîr, Kifîlî, Kifîîn, etc., all deriving from the biblical name Potiphar. His wife is named Râ’ilî, a development from the common Arabising pattern of Hebrew names (Nâ’ilî and Nâ’ilînh, Sânhîlî, Râ’ilî, etc.), and, later, Zulaykhî (Zálikâ, Zulayka). Some bibliclist material not found in the Kur’ânic rendering sometimes appears in the exegetical narrative. In a Malay telling, for example, al-‘Azîz is referred to as Potiphar, and his wife is called Aṣnâfî rather than Râ’ilî or Zulaykhî. So also do local vâhîb appear in re-tellings of the tale, such as the brothers telling Yakûb in the Malay version that Yusuf has been killed by a tiger rather than a wolf.

Reasons are provided in the secondary literature for difficult aspects of the Kur’ânic story. Ya’kûb’s intense suffering over the purported loss of his son is a result of his slaughtering a calf before the eyes of his mother, because he did not share his meal with the hungry, or because he separated a young slave-girl from her parents. Yusuf suffers initially because of his vanity or because he relies on human help before trusting totally in God.

Because Yusuf’s story of suffering has resonated with the Shi‘ît tradition of redemptive suffering and endurance, his and his father’s tribulations find a place in the Shi‘ît tâ’zîya [q.v.] plays commemorating the suffering and martyrdom of al-Husayn. These expand and heighten the terrors and suffering depicted in the Kur’ânic rendering and associate them with the future suffering of al-Husayn and his family. Yusuf and Ya’kûb represent the best of human suffering until the rise of Islam and the extraordinary suffering of al-Husayn, which exceeds that of the early prophets and therefore receives greater redemptive merit for his Shi‘ît followers.

Yusuf serves as a model of virtue and wisdom in pietistic literature. He is extolled in Sûfî manuals such as that of Abû Naṣr al-Sârâqâ’î’s K. al-Lum’d as a para-

gon of forgiveness, based on XII, 92. He also epitomises the chastity that is based on complete trust in God, for it was his absolute piety that prompted God to personally intervene in the progression of succumbing to sexual temptation (XII, 24). So, too, does he exemplify deep wisdom by, for example, knowing to instruct his brothers to throw his shirt over Jacob’s face rather than simply giving it to him, because Ya’kûb’s joy in learning of his son’s survival would make him forget to rub the shirt over his eyes and restore his eyesight (see XII, 95, 96).
YUSUF — YUSUF B. ‘ABD AL-RAHMAN


(Y. FIRESTONE)

YUSUF n. ‘ABD AL-HĀDI, in fuller form Djamal al-Dīn Abu l-Maḥāsin Yusuf b. Hasan b. Ahmad... b. ‘Abd al-Hādi, also known as Ibn al-Mibrad, Hanballi scholar and author, advocate of a revival of the hadith studies which had once flourished at Damascus, but ended on February 14 or 17 before the accession to power of the Abū al-Raḥmān I. Great grandson of the conqueror of the Maghrib,
'Ukba b. Nafi' [q.v.], he also belonged to one of the most prestigious Arab families to have settled in the Muslim West, renowned on account of its aristocratic Kuräshī lineage and the participation of several of its members in the conquest of both shores of the Strait. Two brothers, Habit and 'Abd al-Rahmān, sons of ‘Abū ‘Ubayda 'Ukba b. Nafi', accompanied the troops of Mūsā b. Nusayr [q.v.] at the time of the first crossing in the direction of al-Andalus. The former of the two remained in the Iberian Peninsula as lieutenant of 'Abd al-'Azīz, son and successor of Mūsā, who was later assassinated. Subsequently, both brothers returned to Ifriqiya.

Yūsuf, born in Kayrawān, remained in Ifriqiya; after the return of his father, quarrels between the two of them induced him to leave for al-Andalus, governed at the time by Būhr b. Ṣafwān (103/972-7). He became governor of al-Andalus in 129/746 and was able to rely, initially at least, on the general support of the various factions dividing the Arabs of the Iberian Peninsula. But this unaniμity was short-lived and the governor of al-Andalus, portrayed by the sources as a man totally manipulated by his lieutenant al-Ṣumayl b. Ḥātim [q.v.], was obliged throughout the term of his mandate to confront rebellions and revolts. With more or less ease he succeeded in suppressing the unrest; he even dared to rid himself of the tute-lager of al-Ṣumayl, servant of ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Umar b. al-Muhājr b. Marwān, suffering a bloody defeat at his hands. One more, and for the last time, Yūsuf was forced to take flight. He was assassinated near Toledo in 142/759. According to some sources, his murderers were two of his slaves; according to others the perpetrators were the inhabitants of a hamlet which he was passing through, people who wanted to put an end to the war and knew that this would only be achieved through the death of one of the two adversaries, the loser.

Bibliography. 1. Sources. In addition to all the chronicles concerning this period, prominent among which are the sūfis Makhlūf al-Maghribī and Makhlūf, Hadramawt's leading sūfis, was expected to attract long the advice of those who incited him to attempt the recovery of his power; he escaped from the city and made his way to Merida, recruiting a significant contingent of troops before advancing on Cordova. But before reaching this city, he took the field against the governor of Seville, ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Umar b. Marwān, suffering a bloody defeat at his hands. Once more, and for the last time, Yūsuf was forced to take flight. He was assassinated near Toledo in 142/759. According to some sources, his murderers were two of his slaves; according to others the perpetrators were the inhabitants of a hamlet which he was passing through, people who wanted to put an end to the war and knew that this would only be achieved through the death of one of the two adversaries, the loser.

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YUSUF B. TĀSHUFĪN — YUSUF AKCURA

[see AL-MURABĪTUN] in North Africa (r. 453-500/1061-1106). According to tradition, he was born in 400/1010-11; but nothing at all is known of him until 453/1061 when his cousin Abū Bakr b. Umar made him his lieutenant before himself returning to the Sahara to suppress a revolt. Yusuf was a Berber from the Banū Turgut (Turguit) of the Ṣanhāǧa [q.v.]. He married the beautiful and redoubtable Zaynab al-Nafzawiyā, and on her advice, cleverly got rid of his cousin and completed the conquest of Morocco before passing across the Straits of Gibraltar into Spain to achieve his victory at Zallaka [q.v.].

Yusuf’s history is bound up with that of the Almoravids, and, enjoying the favour of the chron-iclers, he is often placed in parallel with the Reys de Taifas [see MULK AL-TAWĀʾIR] whom he sent into exile, and the story of his relations with the poet-prince al-Mu’tamid Ibn ‘Abbād [q.v.], exiled under surveillance to Aṣmāt [q.v.], continues to inspire authors. Yusuf laid down the foundations for a king-dom spanning North Africa and Spain, and introduced an innovation by adopting the title Amīr al-Muṣlimīn preceded by that of the fictitious caliph ʿAbd Allāh (see E. Levi-Provengal, Le titre souverain des Almoravides, in Arabicia, ii [1955], 266-8). He appeared as a model Islamic prince, virtuous, even-tempered and sober. The historians’ near-unanimity in his favour is explicable both by his personal qualities and also by a documentary aspect: virtually all information on him stems from the lost work by the official historiographer of the Almoravid dynasty, Abū Bakr Yahyā b. Muhammad, Ibn al-Ṣaṣrāyī, his al-Amūnī al-naṭāṣa fi al-khābār al-maḥālīyya.

Yusuf is said to have had a dark brown complexion (iṣamar can also mean a distinctly black colouring), and he may have been incapable of expressing himself in Arabic. With his ascetic and frugal habits, he remained faithful to his way of life and his desert costume; living off barley meal, milk products and camel meat, he seems to be the antithesis of the indolent and ostentatious princes of al-Andalus. He was pious, level-headed and generous towards the fukāḥd lent and ostentatious princes of al-Andalus. He was and he may have been incapable of expressing him-

He died in Muharram 500/September 1106 and was buried in Marrakesh; he was succeeded by his equally long-reigning son ʿAīb.


[HALIMA FERHAT]

YUSUF B. UMAR AL-THAKAFĪ [see AL-THAKAFĪ].

YUSUF AKCURA (Aкчұра, Акчұрағула) (1876-1935), Tatar nationalist and Pan-Turkist intellec-tual.

Born at Simbirsk, on the Volga, he began his education at military schools in Istanbul, continuing it in Paris (1900-3), at the Ecole des Sciences Poli-tiques. Active within Young Turk circles in the Ottoman Empire and Western Europe, his intellectual make-up shows influences from the reform-minded Tatar revival in Kazan and the increasing interest in past Turkish culture in Istanbul. Thus equipped, he returned to Russia in 1904, teaching, writing in the Tatar press and contributing to what soon became a first-class intellectual journal. In the Republic of Turkey, he participated in the Kemalist resistance, joined the People’s Party, and was elected to the Grand National Assembly. In addition, he taught, lectured and published historical studies, which led to his election as first president of the Türk Tarih Kurumu [see MAĞMA 'ILM, iii].

In Ü terā'ī sipaşi (“Three systems of politics”), he analysed the main lines of government policies in recent Turkish history: (a) Ottomanism, intended to unite all nationalities into one Ottoman nation; (b) Pan-Islamism [q.v.], aiming at basing Ottoman power on Islamic solidarity; and (c) Pan-Turkism [q.v.], whose goal was to establish “a political Turkish nationality based on race”. A realist in his approach, Akcura examined each of the three for usefulness and feasibil-ity, favouring Pan-Turkism, the main obstacle to whose achievement being internal, hence manageable. A stu-
dent of politics, he held that Pan-Turkism was the best panacea for the empire, by providing it with the cohesion of ethnic solidarity, internal and external, needed to save it from dismemberment and to rebuild it after a possible loss of territory. In the Kemalist Republic, whose founder had clearly rejected Pan-Turkism, Akcura still managed to defend the concept when writing its history in 1928 in *Türk yah*. However, then and later he advocated Turkism (i.e. Turkish national solidarity), rather than Pan-Turkism, on the cultural level, with due respect to social and economic factors.


YÜSUF AKCURA — YUSUF, ‘ALI

(1863-1913), successful Egyptian journalist and editor of the influential newspaper *daily al-Mu‘ayyar*, which dominated the Muslim press from 1889-1913.

Shaykh ‘Ali Yusuf was born in the remote village of Baghli in Upper Egypt, to poor parents. His father died a year after his birth, forcing his mother to move with him back to her own village of Banî ‘Adî, where he was given a traditional religious education, memorising the Qur’ân by the age of 12. In 1881, at the age of 18, he left for Cairo, where he enrolled in al-Azhar. It seems that he quit his studies prematurely; the Khedive ‘Abd al-Khalîk II ([q.v.])—formed by ‘Ali Yusuf and his newspaper were a catalyst for some major reforms in the Egyptian state, in particular in the field of educational reform. One of two scandals that rocked Egyptian society, with ‘Ali Yusuf in the middle, revolved around his refusing in 1886 to divulge the source of information he had published in defiance of British censorship; the case, which became known as “the telegraph incident”, stands as a fine case of two press principles unrecognised at the time: freedom of expression and the confidentiality of sources. ‘Ali Yusuf was acquitted, and he became a hero to the populace who applauded his standing up to their oppressors. The second scandal, in 1904 when he eloped with a daughter of one of the country’s most venerated families against her father’s wishes, introduced him to the seamy side of celebrity. His humble beginnings and unworthy trade—the press was not considered a particularly noble institution, despite his earlier successes—were not deemed suitable to a woman of his bride’s background, and the marriage was annulled by court ruling, with a large part of the same populace now decrying his audacity. The Khedive and other powerful friends of ‘Ali Yusuf intervened, however, and the father Shaykh ‘Abd al-Khalîk al-Sâdî later did allow his daughter’s marriage.
In 1912 'Ali Yusuf resigned from al-Mu'ayyad to succeed his brother-in-law 'Abd al-Hamid al-Bakri as head of the Şüff order al-Walîyya (de Jong, 187 n.), only to die a year later, on 25 October 1913, of heart failure.


**Yûsuf al-Barm, sc. Yûsuf b. Ibrahim, a mawût of Thakif, rebel against 'Abbâsid rule in eastern Khurâsân during the caliphate of al-Mahdî, d. 160/777 or shortly afterwards.**

Yûsuf’s rising was only one of a series of revolts by both Arabs and local Iranians in Transoxania and eastern Khurâsân during the early ‘Abbâsid period. While the sources impute certain religious motives to Yûsuf, including use of the traditional slogan sum-moning to al-amr wa ‘l-nahy wa ‘l-makrûr wa ‘l-nahy ‘an al-munkar, it seems that the revolt was basically political and directed against the arbitrary power of the caliph and his governors. From Gardzî’s account, it appears that its epicentre was northern Afghanistan, the regions of Bâdghîsh, Marw al-Rudh, Guzgan and Talakan [q.v.]. It was suppressed, largely by al-Mahdî’s general the Yazîd b. Mazyd, with Yûsuf being captured and then crucified at Bâdghî. A further revolt in Khurâsân, by a grandson of Yûsuf’s, is mentioned during al-Ma‘mûn’s caliphate.

**Bibliography:** The main sources are Ya’kbî, Ta‘rîkh, ii, 478-9; ‘Âfarî, iii, 470-1; and Gardzî, Qarn al-qârîlî, ed. A.H. Halîfî, Tehran 1347/1968, 126-7. Of studies, see Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 198, 201, 208; E.L. Daniel, The political and social history of Khurâsân under ‘Abbâsid rule 747-820, Minneapolis and Chicago 1979, 166-7.

**Yûsuf Kândhalawi Dihlawî, Mawûtân Muhammad, the son of Mawûtân Ilyâs (1885-1944), the founder of the Tablighî Jama‘at [q.v.], whom he succeeded in the leadership of this movement (d. 1965).**

He was born in his ancestral village of Kândhala in 1817. He studied exoteric religion with his father at Nizamuddîn (Dîlî), and then later at the seminary of Sahâranpûr, which is associated with Deoband [q.v.], where his maternal uncle, Muhammad Zakariyâ Kândhalawî (d. 1982), also taught. The latter was his teacher of hadîth, whose two daughters he married. He devoted himself firstly to studying hadîth and wrote the Imâm al-‘Arîb, an unfinished commentary on the Sharh mu‘âtir al-albânî commentary on the hadîth of Imam al-Tâhâwî.

He was initiated into the Sâbîriyya Ghashiyya brotherhood by his father, who from 1938 onwards forced him, despite his reticence, to take part in the missionary journeys of the Tablighî Jama‘at [q.v., where further details are given]. He systematically, applied ideas which his father had tried to put into practice at the time of the pilgrimage in 1938. He firstly consolidated the enterprise of the movement in the subcontinent by creating secondary centres in Western Pakistan and then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). He then established it worldwide by sending missions to the Arab countries from 1946 onwards, to Western countries from 1950 onwards, and to Afro-Asian countries from 1956 onwards. The essential structure of its worldwide network was in place at the time of his death in 1965, however little this was recognised in that period.


**Yûsuf Kâram (1823-89), Maronite Shaykh and notable from the village of Ihdin (northern Lebanon), who during the socio-religious hostilities in 1860 emerged as one of the most prominent leaders of the Christians—the other, very different one being Tanyûs Shâhîn [q.v.], without however, providing effective military support to his coreligionists fighting against the Druzes in central and southern Mount Lebanon.**

Impelled by far-reaching political aims, Kâram initially managed to be (alternately) on good terms with French, British, and Ottoman representatives in Lebanon. These relations rapidly deteriorated, when in 1861, and after the establishment of a new administrative order which was to be permanently headed by a governor (mutasarrîf) of non-Lebanese origin, Kâram’s own hopes of appointment as governor over all Mount Lebanon came to nothing. Though the first mutasarrîf, Dâwûd Pasha [q.v.], tried hard to win Kâram’s cooperation, the latter finally refused and started a rebellion from his northern home, thereby expressing a wide-spread discontent among the Maronite Christians who had hoped for greater political influence in the new system. After three years in exile, Kâram returned, only to start a new revolt against the Ottomans who, on their part, avoided open fighting as much as possible. When, therefore, Kâram’s actions gradually petered out, the Ottomans declared
an amnesty and in 1867 sent Karam into a second exile, this time permanently, in Lebanon. Karam was held up by them, as well as by certain circles in France, as the supreme example of the Lebanese Christian nationalism. On the other hand, one must consider Karam’s contacts with the Algerian amir ‘Abd al-Kādir regarding an Arab confederation (i.e. a certain autonomy for Arabs within the Ottoman Empire), first still under Muslim leadership, but in the long run, on a non-confessional, secular and national basis. In this vein, the role and the success of freemasonry [see FARMĀSNĪYYA], in general rather influential among intellectuals and politicians in these times, was obviously very crucial: an issue which, however, still needs further research.


(A. HAVEMANN)

**YUSUF KHAN RIDWĪ,** Mirzā, Mughal commander and governor, d. 1010/1601-2. The son of Mirzā Ahmad Ridwī, he was appointed by the Emperor Akbar ḥāwara of governor of Kašghar in 995/1586-7. He imposed Mughal authority over Kashghar and the surrounding lands, including the Kashmir valley and secured the submission of the Čak [q.v.] chiefs. Yusuf Khan himself rebelled against the Mughals in 1001/1592-3, but came back into favour and in 1003/1594-5 was dā‘uṭa or privy councillor of the Top-khana or arsenal.


See also KASHMIR. I. (Ed.)

**YUSUF KHASS ḤĀḌJĪB,** Turkish poet of the 5th/11th century whose work, the *Kutadhgu bilig* [q.v.] ("Wisdom of Royal Glory"), completed in 462/1069-70, is the oldest monument of Islamic Turkish literature. He is not mentioned in any other source, so we must deduce what we know about him from the three surviving mss. of his work. (For the interrelation of the mss., see R. Dankoff, *Textual problems in Kutadgu Bilig*, in *Jnl. of Turkish Studies*, iii [1979], 89-99.) Two of these contain a verbose prologue, written perhaps a century after the work was completed, and all three contain a shorter prologue which appears to be a summary of the verbose prologue. These prologues provide the information that the author was originally from Balāsāghun [q.v.]; that he completed the work in Kašghar, where he presented it to the king. Toghda Bughra Khan, and that he was awarded the office of ḥāḍjāb or privy chamberlain. His patron has been identified as the Khan Ḥasan b. Sulaymān, ruler of the eastern branch of the Karakhanīd dynasty (c. 934-1025). Yusuf himself names him near the beginning of the work, in a section entitled “Ode to spring and praise of Ulugh Bughra Khan”.

The prologues also, trying to assimilate the work to known genres, somewhat contradictorily label it both as a “Mirror for Princes” (Adab al-mulūk, etc.) and a “Book of Kings” (شاهان). The only similarity it has to the *Shahān-nāma* of Firdawṣī [q.v.] is the use of the motaḥārāb metre. To be sure, Yusuf does, in an introductory passage (l. 276-80), identify the legendary hero of the Turks, Tonga Alp Er, with Afāsīyāb, the ruler of Tūrān in the Persian epic, thus following a tradition also found in the work of his contemporary, Mahmūd al-Kāshgārī [q.v.]. But in the body of the work, Tonga Alp Er appears only once (l. 5861) as the authority for one of the sententious sayings of political wisdom (bilīg) attributed elsewhere to various anonymous Khāns and Begs. One can say that Yusuf, in attempting to assimilate the Inner Asian traditions of royalty and wisdom to the Indo-Islamic idiom of a nation of statecraft in a Turkish dress, was following the model of Firdawṣī, who had consolidated the Iranian traditions of kingship within the framework of Islamic culture in a Persian dress (see Dankoff, *Qarakhānīd literature and the beginnings of Turco-Islamic culture*, in *Central Asian monuments*, ed. Hasan B. Paksy, Istanbul, 1992, 73-80; H. Inalcık, *Turkish and Persian political theories and traditions in Kutadgu Bilig*, in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, Bloomington 1993, 1-18). “Mirror for Princes” is a more accurate generic label. The *kašī (“glory, fortune”) referred to in the title is the Turkish equivalent of Persian farr, designating the ruler’s charisma, and *Kutadhgu bilig* literally means “The wisdom that conduces to royal glory or fortune”.

The first half of the work is largely concerned with traditional matters of statecraft: the virtues of the king and his obligations to the body of the work, Tonga Alp Er appears only once (l. 5861) as the authority for one of the sententious sayings of political wisdom (bilīg) attributed elsewhere to various anonymous Khāns and Begs. One can say that Yusuf, in attempting to assimilate the Inner Asian traditions of kingship within the framework of Islamic culture in a Persian dress (see Dankoff, *Qarakhānīd literature and the beginnings of Turco-Islamic culture*, in *Central Asian monuments*, ed. Hasan B. Paksy, Istanbul, 1992, 73-80; H. Inalcık, *Turkish and Persian political theories and traditions in Kutadgu Bilig*, in *The Middle East and the Balkans under the Ottoman Empire*, Bloomington 1993, 1-18). “Mirror for Princes” is a more accurate generic label. The *kašī (“glory, fortune”) referred to in the title is the Turkish equivalent of Persian fārīd-designating the ruler’s charisma, and *Kutadhgu bilig* literally means “The wisdom that conduces to royal glory or fortune.”

The second half, however, introduces a new theme: the conflict between the political goals of the state and the religious conscience of the individual. Here Yusuf incorporates Sufī asceticism as an opposing, and ultimately complementary, ideal to the prevailing community and statecraft ethics; in this regard he may be considered a precursor of al-Ghazālī [q.v.].

Another original contribution of Yusuf to the Mirror for Princes genre is to dramatize the issues in the form of dialogues, within a frame story, among characters with significant allegorical names. The king, Kūn Toghda (“the sun has risen”), who represents justice, longs for a good vizier, and his trusty chamberlain presents to him Ay Toldī (“the moon is full”), who represents fortune. Ay Toldī suffers a fatal illness, but before he dies he commends his son Ogdūlmīsh (“praised”), who represents intellect, to the king’s care. The king discovers the young man’s virtues and appoints him as chief counselor. Ogdūlmīsh advises the king well on worldly matters, and then informs him of a kinsman named Ogdūlmīshīr (“awakened”), who represents otherworldly concerns. The king summons Ogdūlmīshīr to court, and the latter, after refusing several times to abandon his life of ascetic withdrawal and religious contemplation, eventually visits the king.
and gives him counsel of a moral and spiritual nature, before he too dies. The allegory, then, can be interpreted as follows: Justice, to be exercised properly, requires Fortune, Intellect, and Religion; but Fortune cannot be depended on, and worldly and otherworldly concerns are not easily reconcilable; thus Justice and Intellect are left to administer the realm.

Appended to the text in one of the mss. are two odes in which the author complains of old age and expresses disillusion with the world and the times. As far as their contents are concerned, they do not differ much from the collections of edifying tales which also include both general and specialised writings (listed in Storey, i, 168-72; supplemented in Storey-Bregel', i, 529-56, iii, 1409-13).

To the Sufis, the Yusuf story became a rich source of motifs to be used as examples for key concepts of their discourse. 'Ayn al-Kurdat al-Hamadhani (q.v.), saw the Sūra from the beginning to end as a para-bole of "God's way" (tabi'i Khudā), which the mystic should travel (Nūmāk, ed. 'Alī-Nakī Munzawi and 'Affī 'Usayrān, Tehran 1348-50 d./1969-71, i, 366-8, more specifically of "the way of love": to understand the meaning of this story one should have the nature of a Zulaykha and the nickname of a Madjnun (q.v.) (ibid., ii, 130). According to Kāzībīhān Bakī (q.v.), it contains emblems of two different kinds of love: the passion of a lover as well as the devotion of a father to his lost son (Abhar al-'Āshkīn, ed. H. Corbin and M. Mu'tin, Tehran-Paris 1958, 9; see also al-Huḏwīrī (q.v.), Kāshf al-mahfīzh, tr. R.A. Nicholson, London 1911, 310). In his allegory of mystical love, Shīhāb al-Dīn Yāḥyā al-Suhrawardī (q.v.) introduced Yusuf as the personification of eternal beauty as it is manifested in the created world (Mūnīs al-Ưhrār, in al-Suhrawardi, Oeuvres philosophiques et mystiques, ii, ed. S.H. Naşr and H. Corbin, Tehran-Paris 1970, 267-91).

As far as we at present know, the story was first treated in narrative poetry by Abu 'l-Mu'ayyad Bakī (fl. 4th/10th century) and Bakhtiyārī, a poet who cannot now be identified. Their works have perished, but they are both mentioned as predecessors by the still unidentified writer of a manuscript entitled Yusuf u Zulaykha, probably dating from the 5th/11th century. It is extant now in at least two different redactions, the number of its distichs varying between 6,500 and 9,000 (cf. Rieu, ii, 545-6). The manuscripts show considerable discrepancies in the introductory parts of the poem, and these seriously aggravate the problem of the true authorship of this poem. It was composed in the mātārkār metre, also used in the Shīh-nama.

For long it has indeed been regarded as a work by Firdawṣī (q.v.), an attribution which can be found already in the prose introduction to the redaction of the Shīh-nama made in 829/1425-6 for the Timūrid prince Bāysungur (q.v.). According to some copies, the poet is said to have turned away from the writing of poems about ancient Iranian heroes to devote himself to a more pious subject. There are also passages indicating an origin in western Persia, but they do not match other facts known about Firdawṣī's life. His authorship was accepted, among others, by the translator O. Schlechta-Wesser and the editors H. Ethe and H.M. Siddīq, but has been challenged in recent scholarship. As an alternative, Sā'īd Naflī proposed the name of Amānī, an otherwise unknown poet who seemed to mention himself in a line of the poem which can, however, also be read differently. The most reli-
able clue for the dating is a dedication, found in one manuscript, to Shams al-Dawla Tughanshah, the son at his court in Harat [see salgahna, VII. 1. Literature]. The poem still awaits a critical edition and a systematic investigation of its textual history (for a recent status questionis, see F. de Blois, in Storey-de Blois, v/2, 576-84).

In the “Firdawsī” version, the story is framed by the life of Yusuf’s father, the prophet Yaḥyā, and is told on the lines of traditional prophetic legend. Yaḥyā b. Munabbih and his “son” Ka‘b al-Abbār, famous transmitters of the Ḥarshāyah [q.v.], are mentioned as spokesmen. The religious significance of the subject is emphasised, but no mystical meanings are implied. There are several miraculous traits and emotional episodes are elaborated in particular. The poem is an interesting specimen of the romantic maḥnawī before the time of Niẓāmī [q.v.].

In spite of its relative obscurity in the history of Persian literature, the impact of this poem is noticeable in later works, the oldest among which is the Judaeo-Persian version by Shāhīn-i Shīrāzī [q.v.]. It is as a part of his maḥnawī on the Book of Genesis, now known as the Bareği-nāma, written ca. 1358 in the metre ḥaṣāği-i masudda-i muḥallīf. Although Shāhīn was familiar with Hebrew sources, he based his work mainly on the Persian Muslim tradition, in particular the “Firdawsī” version (cf. Bacher, 117-24). The most celebrated version in Persian was undoubtedly written by Mullā ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Džamī [q.v.] in 888/1483 as one of the parts of his Ḵāṃsa [q.v.]. The subject takes the place of Niẓāmī’s Qa’naw iwa ʿIršād, with which this poem shares some features, including the metre, which happens to be the same as that used by Shāhīn. Džamī turned the story into a mystical allegory explaining in numerous verses the spiritual teachings implied. The love story is placed in the foreground so that Zulaykḥā’s role becomes equal to that of Yusuf. As a pair they personify the epiphany of eternal beauty and the responses to it on the part of the loving human soul.

Džamī had many imitators, most of whom met with little success (see Munzawī, iv, 3331-46). The only exception is the Yusuf iwa Zulaykha by Mullā Farrukh Ḫusayn Nāẓīm [q.v.], a poet of the 11th/17th century at the court of the Beglerbeg ʿAbbas Kūf Khan at Harāt. Although he mainly followed Džamī’s poem, he also refers to Firdawsī as a predecessor. Nāẓīm’s poem gained some popularity, especially in Central Asia. It was printed at Lucknow 1286/1869-70, and Taškent 1322/1904-5; fragments were quoted by Hermann Ebre in the notes to his edition of the “Firdawsī” version.

The story of Yusuf offered a very rich store of motifs to poets of lyrical ghazals which were not exclusively used in a religious context. In love poetry, Yusuf appears as the supreme example of male beauty. To call a beloved person “another Yusuf” or “the Yusuf of the age” constituted a strong hyperbole. In nature scenes, the rose is a said to be a Yusuf, reigning over the Egypt of the meadow. The story of his career provided the contrast between suffering and glory. This is often succinctly expressed by a pun on the words ʾāh (the “pit”) and ʾādāh ("honour"). The dimple in the beloved’s chin is compared to the pit. Other elements of the story frequently used by ghazal poets are Yaḵūb’s weeping over the separation from his son, his retirement to the “house of sorrows” (bāyt al-ʿalq), his blindness and the recognition of Yusuf’s shift by the smell, Zulaykha being drawn from behind her chaste veil by her passion, and the Egyptian ladies who cut their hands instead of the oranges (for examples in ghazals, see Daniel Meneghini Correlato and Ricardo Zopoli, “Unotta etymologia in favore di Wussehrd” 1998). In the didactical maḥnawī of Şanāt, ‘Aṭār, Džalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, Sa’dī [q.v.] and others, the story is represented both through anecdotes and incidental references.

The aspect of suffering inherent in Yusuf as a narrative character provided an obvious parallel to the martyrdom of al-Ḥusayn b. ‘Alī [q.v.]. In the maḥnawī described to Firdawsī, the story of the Prophet’s son serves for the Muslim world for the future suffering of his grandson is said to have been the reason for the revelation of Sūra XII. In Yūsufiya, an outspokenly Shi‘ī work written by Muhammad Ḥādī Nāfīnī between 1243-50/1827-34, the stories of Yūsuf and al-Ḥusayn are brought together (Storey, i, 172; Storey-Bregel’, i, 527). The cruel handling of Yusuf by his brothers was also adopted in the repertoire of passion plays (see ʿaṭīva). Popular prints of Yusuf’s story are still being sold in Iran (cf. U. Marzolph, Dīstān-e Senīr, Stuttgart 1994, 69-70).

**Bibliography:** 1. Editions and translations.

(a) The “Firdawsī” version. Ed. H. Ebre, i, Oxford 1908 (not continued); ed. Husayn Muhammadzāda Šeīdī, Tehran 1368 š./1990 (reproduces the ms. no. 5063/1 of the Kitābkhāna-yi Marzānī, Tehran; a critical edition is announced); tr. O. Schlecht-Woschec, Yūsuf und Sulaymān, Romanisches Heidentodgedicht von Firdawsī, Vienna 1889 (parts of this translation were also publ. in ZDMG, xli [1887], 577-99, and in Verhandlungen des VII. Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses . . Semitische Section, Vienna 1888, 47-72).


(J.T.P. de Bruyne)
2. In Turkish literature.

The revealed story of the prophet Yusuf, amplified by authenticated commentaries, occupies a central place in ra'is [q.v.], whose stories of the Prophets in Kh"awżāni Turkish, with interspersed poetry, completed in 710/1310. The author gives the arguments for its being the best of stories. Yusuf, the dreamer of dreams, favourite of his father, cast into a well by his brothers, rescued and sold to the master of a caravan, led into Egypt, encounters the female protagonist, Zulaykha, the wife of the mighty one of Egypt, 'Azīz Muṣr [q.v.] named Kīṯīr [q.v.]. Her beauty is second only to that of Yusuf. She wishes to commit adultery with him; Yusuf is acquitted but goes to prison, where he interprets dreams. Zulaykha's love is eventually rewarded when as an aged, blind and poor widow, she is brought before Yusuf. She recovers her youth, her beauty, and her sight, and Dīḏbrīl performs their marriage (cf. that of Fāṭīma [q.v.]). Zulaykha is a virgin, Kīṯīr having been an eunuch. They live together for eighteen years and have seven children.

The story provided enough realistic detail and drama to make it part of the "romantic" mathnawi [q.v.] tradition. The divinely-attested inclination of Yusuf toward Zulaykha (Kurān, XII, 24) could be invoked subliminally in every rendition of Zulaykha's hopeless situation. The divinely-attested inclination of Yusuf toward Zulaykha (Kurān, XII, 24) could be invoked subliminally in every rendition of Zulaykha's hopeless situation. The divinely-attested inclination of Yusuf toward Zulaykha (Kurān, XII, 24) could be invoked subliminally in every rendition of Zulaykha's hopeless situation. The divinely-attested inclination of Yusuf toward Zulaykha (Kurān, XII, 24) could be invoked subliminally in every rendition of Zulaykha's hopeless situation. The divinely-attested inclination of Yusuf toward Zulaykha (Kurān, XII, 24) could be invoked subliminally in every rendition of Zulaykha's hopeless situation.

Hamīdī [q.v.] completed his Ottoman Turkish version soon after Dāmī [q.v.] in 897/1492. His mathnawi, written in the ḥadīth metre interspersed with ghazals, is considered the best Turkish poem on the theme. Putting some emphasis on Yusuf and his envious brothers, Hamīdī devotes much space to Zulaykha, the daughter of King Taymīs, who marries Kīṯīr by mistake, having fallen in love with Yusuf in a dream; her attempts to obtain her desire by entreaty and by craft, and Yusuf's almost faltering resolution, flight, and imprisonment; his appointment as 'azīz of Egypt, followed by the death of Zulaykha's husband, are described.

She ages through grief and is reduced to poverty and blindness, but turns in penitence to God and finds favour in His eyes. Yusuf's three sons, see MATHNAWI. Fudull's[q.v.], sayyids (sdddt), shaykhs, judges, poets and astronomers. Then come what one might call private letters: to relations and friends on various occasions, e.g. if a reply has not been received, when on a journey, on grief at separation, longing for home, on returning soon, faithlessness, reconciliation, excuses, congratulations, condolences etc. A khāṭima gives examples of addresses (unwān).

Bibliography: For the manuscript catalogues, see EI[.]. See now C.L. Elgood, A medical history of Persia and the Eastern Caliphate, Cambridge 1951; Storey-de Blois, i, 235-40, iii, 270; Rypka et alii, History of Iranian literature, 434, 476.

(E. Berthels-C.E. Bosworth)

YŪSUFI, the name of a Persian medical writer (Dīḏbrīl al-nabd, al-Salāḥī, al-Dārī, al-A ḥṣāf, al-Dīd, al-Dīḏ). He was the author of an extensive medical work on medicine and surgery, written in the Persian language. A prolific writer on medical topics, he wrote a series of works on medical topics, which are divided into sections, such as sultans to viziers, viziers, officials of the state which endured from 1917 to 1969. In Dīr [q.v.], uniquely, the name of a Pakhtū-speaking tribal confederation inhabiting the North West Frontier Province of Pākistān and divided into two broad groups: the Māndāns (Māndārāns) who (together with the Bādzāy Yūsufzāys) inhabit the so-called Yūsufzāy plain (mainly falling into Mārdān district and divided into the taktās of Sawambil and Mārdān); and (confusingly) the Yūsufzāys of the valleys of Swāt, Pāndjakā, Dīr and Būnrī and of the region to the east of the river Indus lying on the western slopes of the Black Mountain. These two main groups are in turn subdivided into many smaller divisions. In terms of political organisation, the Yūsufzāys may be described as an acephalous segmentary society in which considerable power was exercised by khāms and malāks and at various times by the numerous class of people with claims to religious sanctity (sayyids, pīrs, fakhrīn, malāhs, etc.). In Swāt [q.v.], the descendants of one religious leader, the Aḥkūd of Swāt, created a state which endured from 1917 to 1969. In Dīr [q.v.], uniquely, they ruled continuously for over two hundred years.
The Yusufzays moved into the region which they now occupy in the late 15th and early 16th centuries, expelled the Dardic-speaking Dilazak population and took up agricultural life, apportioning the conquered land between the various lineage groups. A peculiar feature of the land settlement was the institution of *wādik*, or periodic redistribution of the holdings, a practice which continued well into the 20th century. Under Mughal rule, the Yusufzays alternately resisted and submitted, but from the end of the 17th century were more or less wholly independent, a status which they strove to maintain under Sikh rule. However, after 1849 the Mandalas of the Yusufzay plain were gradually brought under British administrative control (although there were frequent expeditions, chiefly against the Bāżzays) and their country developed through irrigation, becoming a centre for the production of sugar cane and tobacco. The Mandans enlisted in the British Indian army in considerable numbers.

The Yusufzays beyond the mountains, however, long retained their independence. During the 19th century, there was constant fighting among the *kḥāns* of Swat, Pāndjkūr, Dīr and Bunēr, and Yusufzays from these regions clashed with British forces at Ambèla in 1863 and during the 1897 tribal uprising. Despite frequent raids from Swat into British-administered territory, no British troops entered the Swat valley until the Čītal Relief Expedition of 1895 [see Čītal]. British authority also came into conflict with the Yusufzays of the Black Mountain and several expeditions were launched against them, notably in 1888, 1891 and 1892. Dīr and Swat were included in the Mālākand Political Agency in 1895; Bunēr and the Black Mountain Yusufzays were dealt with separately. Under Pakistan, this system was at first continued but against the Bafzays) and their country developed through irrigation, becoming a centre for the production of sugar cane and tobacco. The Mandans enlisted in the British Indian army in considerable numbers.


**YÜZELLİLİKLİR, t., literally, “the 150 [undesirables]”.**

During the peace negotiations between the Allies and Turkey at Lausanne in 1923, Great Britain demanded that a general amnesty in Turkey should form part of the final settlement. The British were concerned that, otherwise, those inhabitants of Turkey who had been opposed to Muṣṭafā Kemâl and his nationalist movement in Anatolia would be persecuted. The Turkish delegation would not agree to an amnesty without exceptions, but it did not have at its disposal a list of persons whom it wanted excepted. Hence in the end, the Turkish representatives on the subcommission on minorities, led by Dr. Riḍa Nûr [q.v.], accepted a general amnesty but reserved the Turkish government’s right to ban up to 150 (unnamed) Muslims from the country.

Drawing up the list of these 150 undesirables proved difficult. The Lausanne treaty was ratified without it and when the law on the general amnesty was passed on 16 April 1924, it was still not ready. Finally, on 23 April, a list was produced with only 149 names on it. After some discussion, one more person was added and on 1 June 1924 the list was accepted by Parliament. Those banned were all people who had opposed the nationalists in 1919-22. They fell into the following categories: persons from Sultan Meḥmēned VI’s personal and political entourage; from his counter-insurgency forces (the Khawārī-greyhari); members of the bureaucracy, the armed forces and the police; the renegade nationalist commander Cerkes Edhem’s [q.v.] family and supporters; and journalists.

**Bibliography:** Cemal Kutay, Yüzellilikler faciası, Istanbul n.d.; İhlimr Soysal, Yüzellilikler, İstanbul 1983. (E.J. Zürcher)
pronunciations were secondarily used to distinguish between "ga" and "dad", and this became the pronunciation in urban Standard Arabic which was also received into Western transliteration. In what follows the original /d/ will be used instead of /z/.

The phoneme /d/ forms the "emphatic" unit of the interdental triad. For the articulation of the interdentals, see /t/. Minimal pairs would be: "gatta "he remained" vs. "gatta "he tore down", "dhalla "he became humble", and also "dalla "he went astray" (the /d/ being, according to Sibawayh's description, a voiced "emphatic" lateral [see 364]).

The /d/ appears in Arabic cognates as /t/ in Aramaic, /s/ in Akkadian, Hebrew and Ethiopic. The fact that this phoneme is represented mainly by voiceless realisations has prompted its Proto-Semitic reconstruction as */t/. The voiced representative in Arabic may have something to do with the shift of "emphasis" from glottalisation to pharyngealisation. But apart from that, it is phonemically immaterial whether the "emphatic" unit in a triad is voiced or voiceless; it is simply marked by "emphaticness". As a matter of fact, a voiceless /t/ is attested in some Northern Yemeni dialects of Arabic (see Behnstedt, 5-6, 183-4), and a voiceless /t/ occurs in North African sedentary dialects (see Cantineau, 45).

For assimilations, especially in sandhi, see Cantineau, 42-3, and Fleisch, 86-7. In the conjugation of verbs, the following assimilations are noteworthy: hafidtu > hafidtu "I preserved", some grammarians even note hafittu (see Fleisch, 92). For the VIIth form the most common assimilation of the infixed /t/ in *idtalama is iṣdala "he was wronged", but iṯṭala and iṯṭama are also mentioned (Fleisch, 95-6).

As already mentioned, most Bedouin dialects preserve the interdentals and thus /t/. The same is true for a fair number of rural sedentary dialects. Otherwise, the sedentary dialects (urban as well as some rural dialects) shift the interdentals to dentals, thus /d/ > /d/. Unusual shifts of interdentals to sibilants (Kozluk-Sason group and some other dialects of Anatolian Arabic, Uzbekistan-Arabic) with /d/ > /z/, and to labiodentals (Sırrt group and some other dialects of Anatolian Arabic) with /d/ > /d/ have also been noted (Jastrow, 34-9).

The grapheme <q> is identical with that of <t>, but date cultivation goes back over two millennia. With 22,000 workers engaged in agriculture, the Zībān are the leading agricultural region of the Algerian Sahara, ahead of the Wād Ghīr. This prosperity has been encouraged by legislation (1983) on land ownership, by a good network of local roads and by the founding of a certain number of agrarian centres. The total population is ca. 500,000, with its urban centre, Biskra, having over 150,000. This last has a central position within the region and a great commercial centre for dates (with 100,000 palm trees there), as well as being the administrative centre of a wilaya and a gateway to the Sahara, commanding the Skikda-Tuggurt communications axis (a route nationale and railway). It now has a university, an airport and an industrial zone. It has no medina, but a centre laid out by the Europeans; thanks to its rapid expansion, the town has spread across the Wād Biskra (ca. 500 m/1,630 feet wide) to the left bank, so that three main bridges now link the two halves. See further, BISKRA.

2. History.

Little is known of the early history of the Zībān, but date cultivation goes back over two millennia. The name Zāb may be connected with Zābi, a Roman town in the vicinity of Hodna [see Hodna]. The Romans established some control over the region by constructing fortified places (Gemellae, Tolga, Vescera, Thouda and Badia), and the research of J. Baradez (in his Fossatum Africæ, recherches aériennes sur l'organisation des confins sahariens à l'époque romaine, Paris 1949) has thrown light on the times in this part of the Maghrib. The Sīkiyāt Bint al-Rās, a long trough running for 60 km/37 miles to the south of the Wād Dājjī, marked along its length by mounds some 12 m/
40 feet in diameter, constituted an advance barrier of this limes against the nomads. From the 5th to the 7th centuries, Biskra was an episcopal see, and one bishop, Opta, was canonised as a saint.

In the region that in 63/683 the Arab commander 'Ukba b. Nafi' (?v.s.) was killed, near an oasis with a village that subsequently bore his name, Siddi 'Ukba. Under the Aghlabids, the Zbān enjoyed a period of prosperity. Biskra was surrounded by a rampart and ditch, suburbs grew up extra muros, and forts built for the Arab qurud. In the 17th century, the Turks placed a garrison in Biskra. After an outbreak of plague there in 1740, the town, then on an elevation in the heart of the palm groves, spread into seven village centres scattered through the groves, which remain to the present day. During the entire Turkish period, and then the early French one, the Zbān were dominated by two great families, the Bu 'Azzāz and the Ben Gana, who each struggled for sole control (for details, see BISKRA).

The amir 'Abd al-Kadîr (?v.s.) intervened there, contributing to the local anarchy, until in 1844 the Duc d'Aumale occupied Biskra; but after the massacre of the French garrison later that year, a new fort and a new town were constructed outside the palm groves, 2 km north of the old town. In 1849, the region of Za'a'ta in the western Zbān broke out in revolt under Bu Ziyān, involving also the Aurès and members of the Rahmaniyya Sufi brotherhood, but Bu Ziyān was unable to rally the rest of the country. Besieged in Za'a'ta by the French army for 52 days, Bu Ziyān's followers preferred to kill themselves rather than surrender; 10,000 palms were cut down, and the region substantially pacified.


AL-ZAB, the name of two left-bank tributaries of the Tigris [see DAGGA] in northern Iraq, both of them rising in the Zagros mountain chain in Kurdistan.

1. The Great or Upper Zab (al-Zab al-akbar or al-dālī) was already known to the Assyrians, as Zabu ili the “upper Zab”, and appears in classical Greek as Αὔκος (cf. PW, xiii, cols. 2391-2), Byzantine Greek as άυλαρι ταυοκόρ, in Syriac as Ẓabā, and in later Armenian as Զաբ. In Kurdish it is known today as ژەبیژن. In Turkish as Zab. J. Markwart discussed possible etymologies and suggested a link with older Aramaic ẓālā, also in Syriac, “wolf”, older Armenian gai (gai”, a basic meaning which would account for the Classical Greek calque Αὔκος (see his Südermimien und die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und armenischen Geographien, Vienna 1930, 424-30).

It rises in the modern Turkish il of Van near the frontier with Persian Ardharbâyân, flows southwards through Hakkâri into the Kurdish region of north-eastern ‘Irāk, where its waters are utilised by the Bakhtma dam, and then flows south-westwards to its confluence with the Tigris 47 km/30 miles south of Mahwîl, having received as a right-bank affluent the Khaţir [v.s.].

2. The Lesser or Lower Zab (al-Zab al-asghar or al-asfâl) was called Zabû  sûpâli “the lower Zab” by the Assyrians, in Classical Greek Καπρος (see PW, x, col. 1921) and in Byzantine Greek άυλαρι ταυοκόρ, or άυλαρι ταυοκόρ. In Kurdish it is known today as ژەپک. It is formed from the confluence of several streams, but the main stream rises just over the border from ‘Irāk in Mukrit Kurdistan. Within ‘Irāk, it flows southwards after the Dukan dam past the town of Altun Kôprü [see ALTUN KOPRÜ] and meets the Tigris 80 km/50 miles above Takrit [v.s.].

In the period before Islam, the region between the two Zabs formed the Eastern Christian Church’s ancient diocese of Adiabene, with its centre at Erbil, the later Erbil (see J.M. Fiey, Assyrie chrétienne. Contribution à l’étude de l’histoire et de la géographie ecclésiastiques et monastiques du nord de l’Iraq, Beirut 1965-8, i, 37 ff.), whilst the region to the north of the Upper Zab formed the diocese of Marga (see ibid., i, 225 ff.). In early Islamic times, these regions continued to be strongly Christian, with many monasteries spread through them.

The mediaeval Islamic geographers describe the two rivers (in Hūlid al-šalam, tr. Minorsky, 76, *al-Zabān*) and the very fertile plains (the granary of ancient Assyria) along their lower reaches, and called them both al-Majdūn “the demoniacally-possessed” from their impetuous courses as torrents coming down from the mountains. The Arab geographers state that the Great Zab flowed from a district known as *Mubāngar* and Bābbīghā (Syriac, Bêt Barghash) and joined the Tigris at the monastery of ‘ Ümr Bārkānā near the “new town” of al-Hadîţā (?v.s.)/Hadîţat al-Mawṣil. The Lesser Zab joined the Tigris near the town of al-Sim “the Tooth”, known more specifically as al-Sim of Bārmīnā (see Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 80-1; Schwarzer, Iran im Mittelalter, 695).

The Great Zab has played a considerable role in history, being several times mentioned in the campaigns of the Emperors Maurice and Heraclius against the Persians, e.g. in Heraclius’s Assyrian campaign of later 617 when he led his army down the eastern bank of the Tigris, across the two Zabs, against the Sāṣīmīd palace at Dastgird to the north of Ctesiphon (see J.B. Bury, A history of the later Roman Empire from Arcadius to Irene (395 A.D. to 900 A.D.), London 1889, ii, 242). According to Theophylactus Simocatta, the lower course of the Great Zab was navigable (vovnînouç), and it may be that inflated rafts or kelegs [v.s.] were used for travelling downstream as they have been used up to modern times. A fierce battle was fought on its tributary the Khāţir between the Umayyad governor of ‘Irāk ‘Ubayd Allah b. Ziyād and the rebel Ibrâhim al-Asghar (67/686) [see AL-SUKUR]; above all, it was on the banks of the Great Zab that the last Umayyad caliph Marwān II b. Muhammad [v.s.] was decisively defeated by the advancing revolutionary forces of the ᾧbabīs led by ‘Abd Allah b. ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allah b. al-Abbas in 132/750 (cf. M. Sharon, Black banners from the East. The establishment of the ᾧbabī state—incubation of a revolt, Jerusalem 1983, 13-14).

In modern ‘Irāk, attempts have been made to control the great volume of water and silt brought down each spring by snows melting in the Zagros Mountains, and to store water for irrigation purposes during the hot and dry summer, by the construction of dams at Dukan on the Little Zab and Bakhtma on the Great Zab.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, Iraq and the Persian Gulf, London 1944, 102 ff. (C.E. Bosworth)
ZABADĀNI, the name currently given to a town of Syria, and also to an administrative region (muntaka 'alānormal), to a smaller administrative unit (nahiyya) composed of eight villages and six farms (mazara‘ū), and to a river which flows from north through the town. Various fanciful etymologies have been suggested from zabad, some of them alluding to its fertility. Whatever the case, Zabadānī was and still is known for the abundance of its apple trees.

Under the Byzantines, the town of Zabadānī was attached to the bishopric of the town of 'Abbāl in Sūh Wādī Barādā, but after the Arab-Islamic conquest of Syria, the bishopric was moved to Zabadānī.

A pottery oil-holder (matra‘), used by Christian pilgrims to hold sacred oil and dating back to the 6th century, has a Greek inscription saluting Mary. (matra‘)

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the southern tip of the Malay peninsula, since they fall on the route to China between the ports of Kalâh and Kimâr. But there is a complication in that in both places where the Akhâbre al-Xin sea ('Hind) mentions Zâbadj, Ibn Khurrazaâddbih, 17, mentions Djâba; thus the former states that Kalâh is a kingdom of Zâbadj and the latter that it belongs to the kingdom of Djâba al-Hind. Also, Ibn Khurrazaâddbih mentions Buddhism as the religion of Djâba, but the expression Djâba al-Hindi could be expected to refer to a Hindu king there; possibly there were two Djâbas, one Buddhist and one Hindu in faith. In fact, the name Djâba occurs in no other original text except in Ibn Khurrazaâddbih al-Idrîsî, and if Djâba was in Sumatra, as the evidence suggests, it cannot be the same as Zâbadj if this last, at this early stage, was located solely in Java. In any case, no more is subsequently heard of the name Djâba, unless its name is echoed in the later name of Djawa. This is complicated by the fact that Java and Sumatra were frequently confused with one another and sometimes thought of as one island.

The next two relevant Arabic texts, those of Abû Zayd and al-Masûdî, stem from the mid-10th century, i.e. the time when the Sailendras ruled from Shrîvijaya (in Arabic, Sirbuza) only, but seem to show a mixture of earlier and later material. Thus mention of Sirbuza as an island in the empire of the Maharâjdâ could stem from the period when the seat of the Maharâjdâ was still in Java but the kingdom of Shrîvijaya was under his sway. Abû Zayd's account of the attack on Cambodia obviously comes from the Java period. Cambodia was subject to attacks like this from Java in the later 8th century (767-87), but after 802, the accession date of Jayavarman, threw off all relics of allegiance to Java. Also, Abû Zayd's account does not stress the importance of maritime trade, as one would expect with Shrîvijaya, but rather, of agricultural prosperity, which one would connect with Java. Al-Masûdî's information sounds more up-to-date than that of the Maharâjdâ the seat of the island, but has no mention here of Sirbuza. Thus the texts seem to suggest that Zâbadj was formerly a toponym attached to the island of Java, and then the Arabic sources attached it to the Sailendra Maharâjdâs as a kind of title, i.e. the king of Zâbadj, and then to the empire which he controlled. After the fall of the Sailendras in Java a. 907, the main court of the dynasty was transferred to Shrîvijaya but Zâbadj still remained as a loose term for the Sailendra empire in general. Almost contemporary with this transfer of the name to the Sumatran empire, the Arabic sources begin to mention Shrîvijaya in the geographical and travel accounts as Sirbuza.

Thus the description of Zâbadj and the latter that it belongs to the kingdom of Zâbadj or Sirbuza, both places where the Chinese annals mention no embassies to China from San-fo-ch'i between 1178 and 1370, although the Ming annals say that this place continued to send embassies until the end of the Sung dynasty, and it is possible that, during the 13th century, Shrîvijaya lost its importance in Southeast Asian trade, the state of Malayu on the Jambi river possibly taking its place, especially as other sources than the Arab ones do not mention Shrîvijaya at this time. The popular Filipino belief that Zâbadj and "Sanfouî" (San-fo-ch'i) are in fact to be located in the Philippines is based on uncritical readings of the terms in the sources (e.g. the 13th-century Chu san-chi, 75 ff.) and would appear rather to be the product of nationalist zeal.

AL-ZABBA (a), the more common of the two Arabic names given in the Islamic sources to the famous Queen of Tadmur/Palmyra, the other being Nāʿila, undoubtedly identifiable with the Greek and Aramaic forms of her name, Zenobia and Bath-Zabbay, both attested epigraphically. Al-Zabba ‘the hairy (?)’ was possibly her surname while Na’ila was her given name.

In spite of embroideries and accretions that have accumulated around her in the Islamic sources, these are valuable as they document the Arab profile of the history of al-Zabba, on which the Classical sources are silent, just as the Arabo-Islamic sources are silent on the Roman profile. The two sets of sources thus complement each other and the task of scholarship is to disentangle fact from fiction in the Islamic sources, and so reach the kernel of historical truth which they unerringly pertain.

Al-Zabba appears in these sources as the daughter of one ‘Amr b. al-Zarib, the ruler of Dājrīya (Mesopotamia) and part of al-Shām. A military encounter between him and the Tanukh king of al-Hira, Dājdīma [q.v.], left him dead, and al-Zabba’s subsequent history became a story of revenge. She offered Dājdīma her hand in marriage, pretending that this would unite and strengthen their respective realms, and invited him to come to her in Palmyra. His counsellor, Kašr, warned him of the ruse, but Dājdīma did not listen and proceeded from his castle on the Euphrates, Bakkā, to Palmyra, where he was trapped and where he died a dolorous death after al-Zabba asked her maid to open the veins in his arm. As a result, she became herself the object of revenge. Kašr returned to al-Hira, where he asked ‘Amr b. ‘Adī, Dājdīma’s nephew and adopted son (who became the first Lakhmid king), to avenge the death of his uncle. This ‘Amr finally did by a ruse reminiscent of that of the Trojan Horse, which enabled him to enter Palmyra and overpower its garrison. Al-Zabba, however, fled and died by her own hand after she sucked her poisoned seal-ring, thus avoiding being killed by ‘Amr.

The sources also speak of her construction of two castles on both banks of the Euphrates, one for herself and another for her sister Zabiba, and of her campaign in north Arabia against Dūma and Tayma’ and their two fortresses Marid and al-Ablak. This campaign and the episode involving Dājdīma and ‘Amr gave rise to many attractive Arabic proverbs.

The kernels of truth in these Islamic accounts may be presented as follows: (i) On chronological and other grounds, the encounter with Dājdīma is perfectly credible and it is just possible that Dājdīma did indeed meet his death at al-Zabba’s hands. As for her own death, its Arabic source has to be wholeheartedly rejected since the incontestable Greek and Latin sources testify to her defeat by the Roman emperor Aurelian in A.D. 272, whose triumph in Rome she later graced. But Lakhmid participation in Aurelian’s campaign against her is probably historical.

(ii) Her campaign against Dūma and Tayma’ is also possible to accept, as is her construction of a castle on the Euphrates. Palmyra was a great caravan city, and it was natural that al-Zabba should have wanted to annex these important trade stations controlling the routes to Arabia and Mesopotamia. Her foundation on the Euphrates is attested in the Greek sources and is known as Zenobia, present-day Halabiyya.

The extraordinary career of al-Zabba impressed the pre-Islamic poets of 7th-century Arabia, fragments of whose poetry on her have survived. The most complete of these is the one by the Hiran poet ‘Adī b. Zayd [q.v.].

Bibliography: Given in the article.

AL-ZABANIYYA (A.), a word found in Kur’dn, XCVI, 18, usually interpreted by the commentators as the guardians of Hell or else the angels of the souls for judgment was likely; but W. Eilers, Iranisches Lexikon im arabischen, v (1962), 220, rejected since the incontestable Greek and Latin sources state that the guardian of Hell is the angel Michael.

The foreign vocabulary of the Qur’dn, especially sugar (ma’djūr), is balanced by the acidity of vinegar. In the mediaeval Islamic culinary tradition, raisins were deemed indispensable for meat dishes of chicken or mutton with a sweet-sour character, such as those of Persian origin called zabīb or zabīb [q.v.], in which the sweetness of the dried grapes (sometimes combined with another dry fruit like apricot or additional sugar) is balanced by the acidity of vinegar. In another kind of preparation, the meat is initially cooked in a vinegar and raisin stock. A dish called zabīhīyā, probably of Egyptian provenance, was prepared from fresh fish with a sweet and sour spiced sauce poured over it. In the recipes for substantial main dishes, two kinds of raisin, zabīb abnmar and zabīb assed, are mentioned. The best kind of raisin was large with a lot of flesh and small seeds.

Raisins occurred also in a variety of other domestic preparations. For example, a kind of ‘mustard sauce’ to accompany fowl was made from raisin extract (ma’d zabīb) and pomegranate seeds (presumably the acidic variety) in which dried spices, crushed almonds and salt were ‘dissolved’. Raisins were also used in the preparation of a beverage called fakkā, a sparkling, fermented beer-like liquor. Certain home-made remedies, like the elctuary (ma’djūn), call for a large quantity of raisins, the seeds of which had to be removed before cooking; the preparation was used to avoid stomach disorders after eating greasy, fatty foods. In the mediaeval medical literature devoted to dietetics, raisins are described as moderately hot and moist in character and as having a fattening quality. Abū
Marwan ‘Abd al-Malik b. Zuhir (d. 557/1162) was of the opinion that wine made from raisins was weaker than that produced from grape juice.

In the Prophetic medicine (al-tibb al-nabawi) tradition, raisins are also very positively judged for their many benefits. Ibn Kayyim al-Jawziyya (d. 751/1350 [g.e.]) provides two traditions, albeit unsound ones, in which raisins are described by the Prophet as excellent food which sweeten the breath and remove phlegm and fatigue; they were also said to strengthen the nerves, calm anger and contribute to a clear complexion. In a similar work attributed to al-Suyutî (d. 911/1505), Tamim al-Dikrî (g.e.) is reported to have given the Prophet some raisins, which he then shared among his Companions; the Prophet also had zabîb soaked in water which he would drink the following day. To the Prophet’s attitude to raisins there is added Ibn ‘Abba’s caution that, while the flesh contained a healing property, the seeds were harmful and should be spat out. Nonetheless, according to the traditionist al-Zuhîrî, their value in the religious life was that anyone who wished to memorise hadith should eat raisins.


**ZABĪB — ZABĪD**

1. **History.**

Originally known as al-Husayh, a village of the Ashâ’ir tribe, Zabīd took on the name of the wâdi, to which it owed its prosperity, when it was founded in Sha‘bân 204/January 820 by Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah b. Ziyâd [see ZIYADIDS], who was sent by the ‘Abbasid caliph al-Ma˘ṣûm al-Mahdî, [r. 1505], Tamîm al-Darf, [q.v.], to Yemen. Although the Tahirids (858-923/1454-1517 [g.e.]) followed the Rasulids’ habit of using Zabīd as a winter residence, and continued the upkeep of religious buildings, the town began a steady decline in the late 9th/15th century. Reports of floods, fires, earthquakes and other natural disasters, point to its shrinking size. The demise of the Tahirids at the hands of the Mamlûks, and the subsequent control of the Tihâma and Zabīd by their mercenaries, the Lewend [q.e.], between 927/1521 and 943/1536, accelerated this decline. During their first occupation of Yemen (945-1045/1538-1635), the Ottomans’ use of Zabīd as one of their main bases led to repeated devastating Zaydis [see zayvids] attacks. The latter’s victory and the consolidation of their power over the whole of Yemen meant the loss of Zabīd’s role as a focus for Sunni autonomy in the Tihâma. Furthermore, Yemen’s period of economic boom in the 17th and 18th centuries resulting from the coffee trade, completely bypassed Zabīd, which was supplanted by al-Mukhâ and Bayt al-Fakhî [q.e.], as the principal centres of mercantile activities. When Carsten Niebuhr visited Zabīd in the 1760s, he found that its buildings occupied only about one-half of the ancient area of the town. The emergence of al-Hudayda as the administrative centre of the Tihâma during the 19th and 20th centuries, and notably during the second Ottoman occupation (1872-1918) further overshadowed Zabīd, which also suffered from internal social unrest between 1902 and 1917.

2. **Structure of the town.**

According to al-Mukaddasî, Zabīd was known as the Baghdad of Yemen owing to its circular shape, a characteristic that sets it apart from other Yemeni towns, and this seems to have remained unchanged throughout its history. A fortified mud wall with four gates was already in place in the 3rd/9th century, even though the first wall was attributed to al-Husayn b. Salâma by several later historians. A second wall was built by the Nadîjîh Dîwân Manṣûr Allâh al-Fârî, sometime between 520/1126 and 555/1159, a third wall was erected by al-Mahdî b. ‘Ali or his brother ‘Abd al-Nabî between 554-69/1159-73, and a fourth one by Tughtakîn b. ‘Abîyûb in 589/1193. Ibn al-Mudjâwîn’s drawing of the plan of Zabīd shows the walls as concentric rings. Ibn al-Dayba’ noted the Ayyūbid wall as still standing in his day, although it had been restored many times, and its mud bricks foundations which attracted many prestigious scholars, such as al-Furûzâbâdî [q.e.], whose tomb in Zabīd is still known as that of Zâbîb al-Râkûn. The number of quarters, palaces, gardens, markets, and religious monuments was higher in Zabīd during the Rasulids period than at any other town of Yemen, including their official capital Ta‘izz. Al-Khazrajdî reported that a survey of the mosques and mudrasas of Zabīd, ordered by Sultan al-Ashraf Ismâ‘îl in 795/1392, put their number at between 230 and 240 buildings. The Rasulids also constructed several palaces and pavilions in the lush Wâdi Zabīd, amongst the date plantations, which they used as retreats during the hunting season, and for the date-gathering festival, known as zabût al-nakhil. Ibn al-Dayba’ describes how blessed Zabīd was with water, where each house had its own well, while underground channels fed the orchards in the town and its environs: His list of fruits, as well as references to date palms, sugar cane and rice attest to the richness of local agriculture. The cultivation of cotton and indigo also helped to develop an indigenous textile industry. As late as 1936, Zabīd had 150 textile workshops.
had been replaced by baked bricks during the Rasulid period. Most reports mention the existence of four main gates: Bāb al-Shāhānī in the east, Bāb Ghalayyfīka in the west, Bāb Sihām in the north and Bāb Kūthera, al-Fadl, which refers to the restoration of eight gates during the reign of sultan al-Muḍjahid al-‘Alī (r. 721-64/1322-63), which suggests the existence of a double wall. The four gates which still stand in Zābid have kept the same names, with the exception of Bāb Ghalayyfīka, which became known, as early as the 8th/14th century, as Bāb al-Nākhīl. Zābid’s wall was torn down in 1045/1635-6 on the orders of the Imām al-Mu’ayyad bi ‘llah b. al-Mansūr following his victory against the Ottomans. It seems that Zābid remained without a wall until it came under the control of Sharīf Ḥammūd of Ḫābūr ‘Arīsh (r. 1798-1810). The wall was finally dismantled in the 1960s in order to sell its bricks. What remains of the walls is a trench which encircles the town. A few orders built in the mid-1980s on the northern side of the town. The once important crafts of weaving and indigo dyeing have completely disappeared from Zābid as a result of the influx of imported textiles and changes in fashion. Zābid has lost its importance as a centre of Islamic learning, although its eighty-five surviving mosques and madrasas attest to its former glory.

The historical and aesthetic importance of Zābid’s distinctive religious and domestic brick architecture led to its being placed on UNESCO’s list of historic towns in December 1993.


ZĀBŪL, ZĀBULISTAN, the name found in early Islamic times for a region of what is now eastern Afghanistan, roughly covering the modern Afghan provinces of Ghazna and Zābul.

The early geographers describe what was a remote region on the far eastern frontiers of the Dār al-‘Islam and generally uphold the name as a large and extensive province with Ghazna [q.v.] as its centre. It thus emerges that it lay between Kābul and the Kābul river valley on the north and the territories around the confluence of the Helmand river and Arghandāb known as Zāmīndāwār and al-Rukhkhād [q.v.], but the boundaries here were clearly very imprecise. The name appears in the 7th century Armenian geography as Zābulistan [q.v.] (Marquart, Erstunters., 39-40). Only one or two of the Arabic geographers mention it, e.g. al-Mukaddasī, 1006, who has Ḫāvātūnistan, but historians like al-Baladhwīrī and al-Ṭabarī were familiar with the name because of raids into it by the Muslims during the first three centuries or so of Islam. For long, Arab expansion here was checked by a line of powerful rulers with the title of Zunbīl (the resemblance between Zābul and Zunbīl must, however, be fortuitous), who were probably epigoni of the Southern Hepthalites [see ḤAVĀṬĪLA]; the upland regions of Zābulistān seem to have been their summer quarters. Arab commanders had only occasional successes against these Zunbīls, such as when al-Maṣfir’s commander Ma‘n b. Zā’īdī [q.v.] pursued this local ruler into Zābulistān (third quarter of the 8th century), and it was only the Saflar Ya‘kūb b. al-Layyīb [q.v.] who in 256/870 penetrated through Zābulistān to Ghazna and Gardiz as far as Kābul [see C.E. Bosworth, Stām under the Arabs from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saffārids (30-250/651-864), Rome 1968, 82-3, 120, idem, The history of the Saffārids of Sistan and the Mālūkic of Nimruz (247-861 n 949-1532-3), Costa Mesa and New York 1994, 99-103].

Marquart devoted a detailed and complex study to the region, its rulers and its religious cult, approximating its name to the Buddhist pilgrim Huan Tsang’s Tsa’in-kia-ta (see Bīhīl). The region was probably Islamized in the course of the 4th/10th century. Whether there was any connection between the older Zunbīls and the local family, the *Lawīks, who controlled Ghazna in the mid-century just before Alptigin [q.v.] and others of the Saflārs’ Turkish slave commanders took over there (cf. Bosworth, Notes on the pre-Ghaznavid history of eastern Afghanistan, in IQ, ix [1965], 16 ff.), is unknown. Sebūktīnīn’s son Maḥmūd of Ghazna [see MAḤMŪD B. SEBŪKTĪNĪN] married a wife from a family of chiefs in Zābulistān, and is accordingly sometimes referred to as Maḥmūd-i Zawull (see M. ZABIL, ZABULISTAN).
**ZABUR (a.), a term found in pre-Islamic poetry referring to a written text, and in the Kur'ân referring to divine scripture, in some contexts specifically to a scripture of David [see Dâwûd], probably the Psalms.

The Arabic root z-b-r is associated with "stone" (bîghtûra), and verbal forms from it convey such meanings as stoning, lining a well with stones or setting stones in walls according to an overlapping pattern (an unrelated word is zuhra, said to designate a piece of iron). A further range of meanings associated with the root conveys the sense of reciting or writing a text. Here perhaps a dialect variation renders either zaburta, lik-tasb o dhaburta, lik-tasb as kamal'tulu "I recited/read it". Western scholarship has tended to view the first range of meaning as the root's original sense and the second range a result of Biblical traditions. However, with the recent discovery of South Arabian cursive writing on palm ribs and wooden sticks it has become evident that zabara and zabur refer to this particular way of writing; see W.W. Müller, *Literature zabûr du Témén pré-islamique dans la tradition arabe*, in J. Ryckmans, Müller and Yusuf M. Abdallah, *Textes du Témen antique iscrits sur bois*, Louvain-la-Neuve 1994, 35-9. This is reflected in Imnu' al-Kays referring to the remains of an abandoned camp ka-khatt zabur "fi la'biyy" yamânî "like the lines of a text written on Yezidi palm branches", in another context, ka-khatt zabur "fi msâhîf" rubâni "like the lines of a text in the books of monks".

Western scholars have tended to understand zabur as related to Hebrew mizmûr, with support from Aramaic grammarians who say that fîlîr may have a passive meaning, the equivalent of magâlî. The root meaning of Hebrew z-m-r is "to make music", with the noun form mizmûr found in the Hebrew Bible for a poetic hymn or psalm in praise of God, and with cognates in Syriac mazmûna and Ethiopic mazmûr. One may also note the similarity between zabur and Biblical Hebrew zîmûr "song". The exchange of b with m, however, is usually considered problematical. It is also possible that the Hebrew/Aramaic/Syriac dhibbûr, dhibbûr/d'sbirî, meaning "speech" or "utterance" and often referring to recitation, represents the Persian root. It may have influenced the meaning of the Arabic zabura/ dzabara as referring to a written text in pre-Islamic Arabia, thereby conveying the meaning of sacred or revealed text, although this becomes less likely now that we know that z-b-r refers to South Arabia (see above). Pre-Kur'ânic rabbinic Hebrew dhabîr does refer to revelation (Gen. Rab. 44:6, Lev. Rab. 1:4, Song Rabb. 1:22, Yeh. 5b, San. 99b), and even revelation to gentle prophets (Gen. Rab. 74:7). The poetic and linguistic evidence therefore suggest that zabur referred to text and perhaps even sacred text among some pre-Islamic Arabian communities, whether Jewish, Christian, or practitioners of indigenous Arabian religious traditions. By the time of the Kur'ânic revelations, the term was already known to refer to, among other things, a written text of scripture.

The root z-b-r occurs in the Kur'ân thirteen times. In some contexts it occurs as a plural, zabur, in parallel with bâyynâtî ("proofs" III, 184, XVI, 43, XXXV, 25), lik-tasb al-munîr ("enlightening scripture" III, 184, XXXV, 25), dîbhr ("the reminder" XVI, 43), and tanzîl ("revelation" or "bringing down" XXV, 192-6), thereby referring in general to revealed books. The reference to zabur in XXIII, 53 seems to denote different scriptures over which certain groups are divided and which contrast with the undivided community of Islam (umma zâkîhâ) religiously obedient to God. In sura LI, al-Kamar, the plural zuhur refers to heavenly books in which are recorded human deeds (vv. 43, 52-3), probably referring to a divine ledger in which human behaviour is recorded (masâ'ûd) as a basis for final judgment (cf. vv. 48, 54). In contrast, XVIII, 96, refers to pieces of iron (zâbur al-hathâd) by which Dhu l-Karnayn separates a people from the terror of Gog and Magog.

The singular zuhur occurs three times in the Kur'ân. Twice it refers specifically to a certain revelation given to David that is mentioned either within the context of prophethood in general (XVII, 54) or in a context referring to revelations given to Muhammad and other prophets (IV, 163). In both places David is singled out as the recipient of a divinely given zuhur (wa-âsyânâ Dâwûdî zuhur*). In XX, 105, God is referred to as citing from what the context suggests is a recognised work: "We have written in the zuhur after the reminder (min balî al-dîbhrî) that My righteous servants shall inherit the earth (umma l-yârûsîhâha huwwâ al-sâkîhân*)." This verse represents a close and rare linguistic parallel with the Hebrew Bible and, more pointedly, with Ps. xxxvii ascribed specifically to David (see vv. 9, 11, 29 which refer to the meek, the righteous or "those who wait upon the Lord" as they who shall inherit the earth (yârûsîhâ l-ârâ); cf. K. Ahrens, *Christliches im Qur'an*, in *JDMD*, lxxiv (1930), 29). It should be noted also in relation to Kur'ân, IV, 163, and XVI, 105, that the entire Biblical collection of Psalms is ascribed to David according to Jewish and Christian tradition.

Al-Tabari collects the comments of early Kur'ânic exegetes in his *Ta'rif*, including definitions of terms such as zuhur, which vary depending on the verse. On XLI, 105, he records the meaning of zuhur as "all the books of the prophets that God brought down to them" (Sa'd b. Dibây, Ibn Zaydîn, "the books revealed to the prophets after Moses" [Ibn 'Abbas, al-Dahâkî, and "a specific book revealed to David" ('Amîr, al-Shâfi'î)]. Al-Tabari also defines the term in relation to its context. In his commentary on III, 184, it is a generic term for a book based on pre-Islamic poetic evidence. On IV, 163, he writes, "It is the name of the book that was revealed to David, just as He named the book that was revealed to Moses as the Torah and that which was revealed to Jesus as the Gospel and that which was revealed to Muhammad as the Furqân, because that is the name by which what was revealed to David was known. The Arabs say zuhur Dâwûdî, and because of that the rest of the peoples know his book." Apart from the question of the term zuhur, many passages in the Kur'ân that remind us of the Psalms are reminiscent of the Psalms. It is likely that some form or forms of a Psalter circulated in pre-Islamic Arabia immediately prior to the rise of Islam. A fragment of a translation of the Psalms, dated on palaeographical grounds to the 2nd/8th century, the oldest known specimen of Christian-Arabic literature, was identified in Damascus by B. Violet. It contains an Arabic translation of Ps. lxxviii. 20-31, 51-61, in Greek majuscule writing. Al-Kindî, in his *Risâla* (composed ca. 204/819), and Ibn Kadhâba, as cited in Ibn al-Djawâzî's *Wâqî',* quote verses from the Psalms in literal translation. 'Ali b. Rabbân al-Tabarî [g.s.] devotes a chapter of his "Book of Religion and Empire" (ca. 240/854) to the Psalms, and al-Mas'ûdî (Tabâth, 112) mentions Arabic translations of the Bible which include the Psalms. Recensions of the Arabic translation—commentary by Sa'd b. Yûsûf al-Fayyûmî, i.e. Sa'îdâ Gîrân (d. 530/942 [see sa'îdâ ben yûsûf] of the Hebrew Bible, including the Psalms, exists to this day.

[J. Horovitz—R. Firestone]

ZADJAL (A.), the name of a genre of vernacular strophic poetry that acquired literary status around 500/1100 in al-Andalus. It was cultivated by numerous Andalusian poets (the most famous being Ibn Kuzmān [q.v.]), later also spreading to the Maghrib and the Arabic-speaking East. Since the 7th/13th century its strophic structure is also encountered in the poetry of several Romance languages. In present-day Arabic the term zadjal may denote various types of dialect poems, even those with monorhyme. The non-technical meaning of zadjal is "a voice, sound or cry, or the uttering of the voice, etc.; a trilling, or quavering of the voice; or a prolonging of the voice, and modulating it sweetly, also a play, sport" (cf. Lane, s.v.). This etymology makes it probable that zadjal originally referred to sung poetry, songs (cf. also below, The performance of the zadjal).

1. In medieval Islam.

The language.

The language of the Andalusian zadjal is only rarely the pure and regular Andalusian dialect. Since the poems were hardly ever really popular products, but mostly works of educated poets who, to be sure, endeavoured to speak like the people but also tried hard to bestow literary quality on their poems, and since the poets were accustomed to write in the Classical language, and were subject to the strictures of metre, rhyme, and length of line, one finds time and again influences and intrusions from the "higher register" of the Classical language and bastardisations in both directions (cf. F. Corrient, Poétas dialectal, 39). Some scholars go even further and speak of a "hybrid language drawn from both the spoken language and the literary" (T. J. Gorton, in JAL, ix (1978), 34; similarly A. Jones in JSS, xxvii (1982), 129, and Abu Haidar, A study). In the poems of al-Shushtari (d. 668/1269 [q.v.]), consisting of zadjals as well as muwashshahs (sometimes difficult to distinguish), one encounters great linguistic multiformality. The gamut runs from poems entirely composed in Classical Arabic (mostly muwashshahs) via various intermediate stages (dialect poems with Classical "intrusions", e.g. nouns with 'ânab, and, on the other side, high-register poems with dialectal insertions) down to zadjals composed entirely in Andalusian Arabic (cf. F. Corrient, Poët. . . al-Sulârî, 19). In addition, one finds in al-Shushtari also poems in Maghribi or Maghribi-influenced language; even poems in Eastern dialects, or approximations of such, and in mixtures of dialects seem to occur. The language of the older Eastern—Egyptian, Syrian, and 'Trâkī—zadjâlât, such as 'Âlī b. Muktâlî, al-Amhârî, Šâfi al-Dîn al-Hîllî et al. has not been much studied. Apparently these poets, whose models were Ibn Kuzmān and the other Andalusian zadjâlât, tried to imitate the Andalusian dialect in their zadjals, but did not have complete command of it (cf. the examples in al-Hîllî, 'Aṭîl, 99 ff.; Ibn Hâjîqâ, 104 ff.; cf. Corrient, in JAL, xxviii (1997), 134-5).

Strophic structure.

The basic form of the Andalusian zadjal ("zadjal proper") has the following rhyme scheme: ab bb a, cc a, dd a, etc. If we call stanzas that rhyme three lines to stanza separate rhymes, and rhymes that keep re-occurring throughout the poem common rhymes, we may describe the present strophic structure as follows. The poem starts with two common rhyme lines (mâṭâ'). The following first stanza consists of three lines with separate rhyme and one line with common rhyme (acting as "stanza closure"). The remaining stanzas all have the same rhyme scheme, as the first. The rhyme of the last line in each stanza is thus the same throughout the poem and echoes the rhyme of the initial mâtâ'. It is important to note that the rhyme scheme of the stanza closures (common rhyme lines) in the "zadjal proper" constitutes one-half of the rhyme scheme of the introductory lines (mâtâ'). This is true also for the less common variant with the rhyme scheme ab ah cc ab, dd ah, etc.

Zadjals proper without mâṭâ', i.e. with the rhyme scheme bbb a, cc a, etc., are rare in the early period; a few examples can, however, be found in the Dîwân of al-Shushtari (e.g. nos. 40, 42). Ibn Kuzmân uses in the large majority of cases the structure of the zadjal proper (about two-thirds of the extant poems). The remaining poems have a different structure: The stanza closures here consist of at least two lines and always reflect exactly the introductory lines (if any), thus e.g. ab bb a, cc a a, etc.; or ab cc ab, dd ah, etc.; or (without mâṭâ') dedde abch, ffffffff abch, hhhhh abch, etc. Since this structure corresponds exactly to that of the muwashshah [q.v.].—of some of the poems are known to be contrafacts (mu'âradhât) of famous muwashshahs (cf. Stern, 171 ff.)—and since these poems mostly also display the other peculiarity of the muwashshah, i.e. the khârdjâ, they are called "muwashshah-like zadjals".

In length the zadjals vary greatly. While the muwashshah-like type, like the muwashshah itself, mostly consists of five or six (and occasionally up to eleven) stanzas, the zadjal proper may be much longer. The longest poem of Ibn Kuzmân is no. 9; it consists of 42 stanzas.

Terminology.

Šâfî al-Dîn al-Hîllî, the most important theorist of the genre, calls mużarrun those zadjals in which, contrary to rule, the Classical language ('ânab) is preponderant. To denote jocular or obscene zadjal he uses the term bulâyq, those that contain lampoons he terms kârî, and for those containing admonitions and wisdom he uses mucaffî ('Aṭîl, 10). The terminology for the stanza and its parts is not uniform with the theorists. In al-Hîllî, the entire stanza is called bâtî, the introductory lines mâṭâ', and all the lines with common rhyme—not only those in the last stanza (!)—khârdjâ. He applies the terms kâfî and, more rarely, gauw indifferently to single lines, irrespective of whether they have common or separate rhyme (cf. Hoernberch, 'Aṭîl, German part, 20). The terminology of Ibn Sa'id/ Ibn Khâlîdûn is the clearest and most frequently used today; according to it, bâtî = "stanza", kâfî = "line with separate rhyme", and gauw = "line with common rhyme" (cf. muwashshah).

The performance of the zadjal—zadjal as poetry set to music.

We may assume as certain that the zadjal originally was sung; this assumption is suggested already by the etymology (cf. above). This, however, in no way means that a tune was composed right away to each zadjal. The poems of Ibn Kuzmân were in all
likelihood recited as a rule, and not sung. This is not true of the zadjals of al-Shushtarf; they were conceived as songs or at least imitate the structure of songs. In al-Shushtarf's Diwan, one encounters numerous zadjals and muwashshahs in which the refrain line(s) are written out. This allows us to address the question of zadjal "performance". That the refrain line(s) were meant for a chorus can not only be deduced from internal evidence but is also attested in parallels in Hebrew poetry (cf. Stern, 16-17). In al-Shushtarf, there are inter alia poems with genuine refrain (e.g. nos. 14, 68, 84), and poems with so-called internal refrain (e.g. nos. 4-8, 50, 82, 83). The latter are characteristic in their basic form by the following scheme: (aa) AA bbb a AA, ccc a AA, ddd a AA, etc. (where A represents the refrain line in which the rhyme of the ma'tal, i.e. the common rhyme, is taken up again). Thus, while in the first, the entire ma'tal is repeated by the chorus as a refrain after each stanza according to the Hebrew testimonies, the ma'tal, too, sung first by the soloist will be repeated immediately by the chorus, in the second only the second line of the ma'tal will be repeated by the chorus. Exact parallels to this performance technique exist not only in Hebrew-Andalusian poetry but also in the more or less contemporaneous Romance zadjal (thus in numerous Cantigas de Santa Maria). Metric and rhyme The metrics of the Andalusian zadjal, like that of the muwashshah, were controversial for a long time. However, in recent years a consensus has to a large extent been reached among Arabists. Most agree that practically all zadjal (and muwashshah) metres can be scanned quantitatively, which means that the poets must have intended quantitative metres; they agree also that, apart from regular Khalflian metres (nurud, khajj and basit), they also used numerous non-Khalflian quantitative metres and feet (*extended, or expanded, Khalflian system*, according to Gorton, Jones and Latham). The question how occasional irregularities are to be explained is still controversial. While Corriente brings in his hypothesis of an "Andalusian accentual adaptation of *ārid*" (cf. MUNAWARSHAH), according to which e.g. unstressed long syllables may be counted as short, other scholars point to similar metrical licences that occasionally already occur in Classical Arabic poetry, especially in rafiq (cf. Ullmann, Ra‘ajj, 69 ff.), thus shortening (id[ˈɡɛːd]) and lengthening (iɡ[ˈbɛː]) of vowels (Gorton, in ɪʁɪ deactivate, 1975), 24 ff.; Schoeler, in BO, xi [1983], 311-22; idem, in M. Forster (ed.), Festgabe für H.-R. Singer, vii, 881-909). All sides also agree today that, in rare cases, one has to reckon with foot substitution (a procedure first noted by Corriente).

The rules for the rhyme in zadjal are stricter than they are in kasīda. The most important difference is that words with /u/ or /i/ before the rhyme consonant (ik/kik) do not rhyme.

**Themes**

On the themes treated in Ibn Kuzmān’s zadjals, see ibn kuzmān. However, a particular theme deserves to be pointed out here, one that is sometimes subsumed under the category of maddah, although the relevant poems differ greatly from the other praise poems. They are request or begging poems in which the poet, due to his impecuniousness and in a melancholy mood, requests a lamb from a sponsor for the ʿId al-ʿAdhā (nos. 8, 48, 82, 85, 118). Since the same theme is also treated in one of the extant zadjals of Ibn Kuzmān’s predecessor Ibn Rāshīd (cf. below), but never occurs in a muwashshah or a kasīda, one has to assume that this style belongs to the genre of zadjal in general. The original zadjal was possibly a popular or minstrel request song, introduced into élite literature by Ibn Rāshīd and Ibn Kuzmān. In support of this one might adduce that also in the Romance zadjal, which is also originally a minstrel genre, request poems are typical (Juan Ruiz, Libro de buen amor, stanza 1650 ff, 1656 ff; Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino, El Cancionero de Banna, nos. 196, 219). The zadjals (and muwashshahs) of al-Shushtarf, the other great zadjal of whom a Divine is extant, are all of mystical content. It is again worth noting that the Romance zadjal was also adopted into the service of religion (Cantigas de Santa María of Alfonso el Sabio, Juan Ruiz, Villasandino; Laude of Jacopone da Todi).

The earliest poets Some information on this point is provided by Ibn Kuzmān; further indications can be gleaned from the admittedly late and non-Andalusian poetics of the genre written by al-Hillī (ʿAṭī, 66) as well as in Ibn Sāʿīd/Ibn Khaldūn (Mukaddima, iii, 404). Ibn Kuzmān names two predecessors: in the introduction to his extant Diwān, 18-19, he refers to a certain (al-)Ahkāl b. Numārā, from whom he quotes a few fragments. In the poems themselves he mentions Yahklafl b. Rāḥīd (no. 134/10/2; no. 186/1/1). Ibn Rāshīd appears to have been a slightly older contemporary of Ibn Kuzmān; two fragments of his have been preserved (Mukaddima, iii, 407; Stern, 185, 193 ff). Al-Hillī, ʿAṭī, 16-17, answers the question as to the first zadjalī by giving a list of names in two groups. Among these only the already-mentioned Yahklafl b. Rāḥīd can be considered a precursor of Ibn Kuzmān.

The genesis of the zadjal About the genesis of the zadjal genre the indigenous tradition is much more reticent than that of the muwashshah. The term zadjal for a popular poem or song is indeed attested early (in Ahmad b. ʿAbd Allāh b. ʿAbd al-Ra‘ūf’s treatise on ḥidāya, possibly from the first half of the 4th/10th century, and in the K. ʿAbd al-Malik al-uskuf al-wasqf from the middle of the 5th/11th century; cf. most recently J.T. Monroe, in Oral Tradition, iv [1989], 45 ff). It is, however, very unlikely that the same style mentioned are zadjals in the later technical sense. A vernacular distich from the 4th/10th century has been identified as a kind of "proto-zadjal"; the lines rhyme according to the Arabic, not the Romance, system: laban ummah fi fummuh— rās ibn Hafsān fi hukmuh (Ibn Hayyān, Mukthābās, v, 64). This distich might probably be considered a parallel to the vernacular kasādīs attested much later (cf. MUNAWARSHAH) (thus Corriente, Poesia dialectal, 79-80).

The often-raised question concerning the derivation of the strophic structure and the rhyme scheme of the genuine zadjal (aa bbb a, ccc a, etc.) can be answered today with certainty: this structure has been taken from the musammats [q.v.]. A special form of the musammat, attested in the East at the latest since the 4th/10th century, displays this very structure. So far, three specimens of this type have become known: (Ps.?) Hammād al-Rawīya, in Aghārī, v, 27 ff.; Abī Nuwās, Diwān, ed. Wagner, iii, 332-3 (no. 287 in the recension of Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī); and (Ps.-)Imrū’ al-Kays, in Ibn Rāshīd, Umda, i, 179; to these should be added a Persian imitation by Amīr Muʿizzī (d. ca. 520/1126) (Diwān, 597 ff; for these musammats, see Schoeler, in AS, li [1997], 618 ff). Three of these poems can be read either as a musammat or as a kasīda with regularly applied internal rhyme. This is impossible with the musammats of (Ps.-)Imrū’ al-Kays, since here all
lines have the same length; this poem thus exactly follows the structure of the zadjal in every respect.

Since Judeo-Spanish poets (e.g. Ibn Gabirol) used this poetic scheme almost in every Hebrew liturgical poem (cf. Monroy, op. cit., 44), this might be considered evidence that Arabic zadjals (in the technical sense) already existed at the time, to be imitated by the Hebrew poets. (The hypothetical Arabic models may have been popular or minstrel songs that had not yet ascended to elite literature.) However, this assumption is far from certain: the Hebrew poets may also have used as their models Arabic muwashshahs of the above-mentioned structure. The derivation of the structure of the muwashshah-like zadjal poses no difficulties: it is simply an imitation of the muwashshah in the vernacular.

The trend to compose poetry in the colloquial soon also affected the kasid: Mudjahils (or Madqahils), a younger contemporary of Ibn Kuzman, composed so-called kasid'at zadjals, of which numerous examples have been preserved (ed. W. Hoenerbach and H. Ritter, in Oriens, v [1952], 269-30). Summing up, the following can be said about the genesis of the zadjal: (1) Lines of poetry in the vernacular are attested in al-Andalus already in the 4th/10th century. (2) At a certain point in time (most likely in the 5th/11th century) this poetry, under the influence of a specific type of muwashshah, acquired the rhyme structure aa bbb a, ccc a, etc. (3) Finally, probably shortly before the time of Ibn Kuzman (around 500/ca. 1100), poems of this type attained to literary status. Deriving the zadjal from hypothetical Romance models, as most recently tried again by Monroe (op. cit.), is speculative and seems to overlook the existing Arabic models.

Spread of the zadjal

Born in al-Andalus, the zadjal soon spread to the East. Outside Spain zadjals are first encountered in the Maghrib (cf. Stern, 200 ff.). There the genre was cultivated down to the middle of the 10th/16th century in the Andalusian vernacular, which had become the “classical” language of the zadjal. (The mahtin [q.v.], written in the Maghribi dialect since the 10th/16th century, although also called zadjal and kasida zadjals, is entirely different from the “classical” zadjal.) In the first half of the 9th/15th century, imitations of literary zadjals in the manner of Ibn Kuzman became very popular with court poets in the Mamluk and Mongol spheres of influence, i.e. Egypt, Syria, and ’Irak (cf. W. Hoenerbach, in Homenaje a Millas Vallicrosa, i, Barcelona 1954, 725). In the 11th/17th century at the latest, minstrel zadjals in Egyptian, or would-be Egyptian, vernacular are attested in the written record (on these cf. Schoeler, in Festgabe für H.R. Singer, ii 902 ff., and M. Voegeli, Musäidät Sfä‘î l-’At, Lizentiatarbeit, Basel 1994 unpubl.). Starting in the 19th century, scholars, initially all European, have collected and published folk songs from the Near East; these are called zadjal, especially in Lebanon (the terminology is, however, confused), and they often, but not always, display an identical or similar structure to that of its Andalusian counterpart (cf. Jargy, La poésie, with bibl., 321 ff.).

From the 13th century onwards, several Romance literatures have produced poems that have the exact same structure of the zadjal (in Galician: the majority of the Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alfonso X [1221-84]; in Castilian: estrobes and nillancos, some poems in the Libro de Buen Amor of Juan Ruiz [1283-1351]; in Provençal: dansas and baladas; in French: streichs and ballades; and in Italian: ballate, frottola, laude of Jacopone da Todi [1296-1306]). Since one has here complete identity of the forms (predominantly poems of the rhyme structure aa bbb a, ccc a, etc., thus “zadjal proper”), and since in the performance there is evidence also for identical ways of presentation (use of the introductory lines as refrains—thus in many Cantigas of Alfonso X—as well as internal refrain), an assumption of a direct dependence of the Romance “zadjal” on the Arabic would seem difficult to counter (cf. Schoeler, Musäidät und Zadjal, 456-8).

Collections of Andalusian zadjals and works on poetics

The only two extant diwan are the Ishbat al-aghrâd fi dîghir al-ârâd of Ibn Kuzman (presumably only a selection from his poems, and even that not complete in the only extant manuscript) and the Diwan of al-Shugârî. The first and most important poetics of the zadjal (and other vernacular genres) is the K. al-A‘îl of Sa‘f Dal/al-Hallî (d. ca. 749/1348). The work contains numerous poems, from the Andalusian “classics” (among them poems by Ibn Kuzman not contained in the Ishbat) as well as from the author himself and other Eastern poets. Strongly dependent on this work is the Bulûsh al-amal fi fann al-zadjal by Ibn Hidj iça al-Hamawi (d. 837/1434). In contrast, the anonymous author of Dâf al-dâhkh wa 1-mayn fi tahnr al-funn (9th/15th century) develops his own ideas. The Safînâ of ‘Ali b. Mubarakshî is also an important source for otherwise lost zadjals, even for some by Ibn Kuzman (cf. Hoenerbach, in al-Hilli, ’Ali, German part, 8 ff.).


2. In modern times.

Zadjal is used nowadays as a term for a poem in vernacular Arabic, often one meant to be sung, or sung directly when improvised. The term is also used for vernacular poetry in general. The zadjal poet is called zadjali as well as—in the context of improvisation—kawmi (see [SHA CIR. 1. E]).

In a restricted sense, zadjal may refer specifically to a non-classical strophic poem of the muwahšah type (see MUSAMMAT), with four-line stanzas and an optional prelude (mašala or lizama), rhyming aa bb cc cc (thus corresponding with the prevalent form of its Andalusian namesake, see above under 1.), or some other related pattern. In informal parlance, the term may include altogether different types of poems.

In its broadest sense, zadjal covers a wide range of subjects and a great variety of forms with a correspondingly large arsenal of technical terms not always clearly defined in the literature. Sometimes it comes close to being the equivalent of the general expressions shīr 'amanī ("colloquial poetry"); shīr shādī (literally "popular"); but often synonymously with "non-classical poetry" and shīr ghayr muwha ("poetry without 'iṣbah"); i.e. with non-classical grammar), and of such other terms as shīr ghayr mašala (predominant type, widespread in Morocco, Algeria, Yemen), shīr 'amanī (Sudan, Lebanon), humayni (Yemen), and shīr nabati (q.v.) (Arabia). But zadjal does not seem to embrace all vernacular poetry: it does not refer, as shīr shādī may, to the truly popular poetry of folk literature. Zadjal may be couched in the "popular" language, but it is not composed according to the quantitative features at festivals with poetic duelling between zadjal poets and their accompanying troupes (djawakīb, sg. djawak) and enjoys a huge popularity with wide sections of the public (Haydar, 202-10) as well as with the government (cf. the conference that it sponsored where a resolution was passed calling for the teaching of colloquial poetry in schools and universities: al-Mu'tamar al-naṣāwal li-l-šīr 'al-蔺mni al-lubānī 1995, [Beirut] 1995-6, 202).

The media, for their part, focus regularly on the zadjal (e.g. six pages on "500 years of colloquial poetry" in al-Nahār newspaper of 6 March 1999).

Lecerf (234-5), writing in 1932, divides the Lebanese forms of zadjal into the sung genres of muwahša (see MAWĀLİYĀ, sīshā [q.v.], mašhīna, daššīna and dhurakī (ab ab ab ab); and the recited genres of kasāf (ab ab ab ab), mašīra or muwha (predominant type, widespread in Lebanon, kawmi (hepiyassalībc) and ḥammāza. He notes a preference for ghurakī and kawmi in Djabal Amīl against mašīra and kawmi in the Lebanon mountains (221). The subject matter of Lebanese zadjal is varied: the topics of Khalīl's thematic anthology are nature, beauty, love, songs, customs, wisdom, the fatherland, society, and politics.

The related Palestinian improvised poetry (šīr martajal (see [IRTIJA]), is divided by Bshui (214) into the genres of taba, ḥiḏa, ḥaš̱i, maw̱ka, mašli, kawmi and kawda. In common with the vernacular poetry of other regions, 'Irākī poetry has forms that show many characteristics of Lebanese, Syrian and Palestinian zadjal, but which are not normally designated as such. Zadjal is said to be extinct in 'Irāk (Majdīd Shubbār, al-Adab al-šīrī al-īrāqi, London 1995, 164-5), but it may be noted that the 'Irākī poet Abbād al-Karḵī (1861-1946) is referred to as a zadjal poet (šīr zadjal) in the introduction to the second edition of vol. 1 of his Dāwān al-Karḵī (Baghdād 1956).

As a literary form between the "high" fushā literature in standard Arabic and the literature in the colloquial, zadjal employs an intermediate language with characteristics originating from both. The metre appears to be quantitative and akin to those of the classical Arabic system (see [ARUD], but extended with non-classical patterns and rules. According to D. Semah (Modern Arabic zajal, 82-3), "No evidence has ever been given to support the often-repeated claim that Arabic zajal is not composed according to the quantitative Khilianis metrics, but is cast in syllabic metres, in which rhythmic regularity depends only on an equal number of syllables, irrespective of their length", but he qualifies this statement by adding that, with its seven syllables of random quantity, the Lebanese kawmi is an exception. Nor does he include the prosody of Māgrībī vernacular poetry where the issue appears to be not so clear-cut (see [MALAẖ)].

In 19th-century Egypt, zadjal widened its scope; it had entertained the elite as a literary pastime, and, in the case of the religious zajal, expressed the devotion of pious Sāfī, but it subsequently found a new function in the broader socio-political context of populist patriotism, especially in the wake of the 'Urābī (q.v.) revolt. This development was furthered by the growing importance of the press and the rise of many specialised satirical magazines such as those under the editorship of Ya'küb Ṣammī (1839-1912) (see [ARAD NADĀRA] and 'Abd Allāh al-Nadtīm (1845-96 [q.v.]). For his part, Muhammad 'Uthmān Djażal (1828-98 [q.v.]) not only wrote zadjals but translated Western drama and other literary forms into vernacular poetry, thereby heralding the heightened literary status that the spoken idiom was to gain in a later era.

In the 20th century, zadjal continued to be a voice for political and social criticism. Satirical periodicals were launched by zajalīs such as Bayram al-Tūnisī (1893-1961 [q.v.]), Husayn Shaffī al-Mṣari (1882-1948), Mahmūd Ramzī Naẓīm (1887-1939) and Badiʿ Kišvī in Egypt, and 'Abbād al-Karḵī in 'Irāq. In the same
period, the Lebanese poet Rashid Nakhla (1873-1939), who in 1932 received the title of amir al-zadjal, is said to have combined a political career with the writing of 18,000 lines in vernacular Arabic, mostly in the sphere of traditional love poetry but with a new vitality that contributed, as did the poetry of al-Tunisi and al-Karkhl, to the rise of the Basran and the Kufan schools. He may be regarded as the link between the old generations and the representatives of both schools. He may be regarded as the link between the old generations and the representatives of both the Basran and the Kufan schools. He may be regarded as the link between the old generations and the representatives of both the Basran and the Kufan schools.

This new stage is particularly visible in the work of Saïyid Hidjâb in his Sayyâd ʿir-ʿímiyya and in the present of the work of a poet like ʿAbd al-Rahmân al-Abnûdî (b. 1938). There is now a growing awareness with a wider public that the vernacular is as suitable a vehicle for the highest literary creation as any other language, as long as it is used poetically. It has even been suggested that the new colloquial poetry marks some change in the author's style, becoming the true successor of an obsolete and exhausted traditional fusha or riḍâla poetry (Semah, op. cit., 91).

The appreciation of modern fusha and modern colloquial verse as equal partners had already surfaced with Luwîs ʿAwad (1914-90) in his al-ḥalamantishl and al-Mubarrad, combining in his own teachings what he had learnt from these representatives. Among his other pupils are ʿAbd al-Fattah Shalabi, Cairo 1975, who took his nisba from him. Among his other pupils are ʿAbd al-Fattah Shalabi, Cairo 1975, who took his nisba from him.

The new perception of the role of the vernacular has not, however, put an end to the more traditional Egyptian zadjal, for the cultivation of which organisations such as the Râbiʿat al-zadjalîn, founded in Cairo in 1932 by Muhammad ʿAbd al-Menʿîm Abî Budhânya (1900-80), and the Qawwâlîn al-aṭlaqîn al-ddîlîn of Alexandria have continued to provide a framework with conferences and collective publications, notably of a nationalistic strain. The Egyptian crossing of the Suez canal into occupied Sinai in 1973, for example, produced a collection of seventy poems and zadâlîn under the title Minhâmah al-ʿabâr “the epic crossing” (ed. ʿAbd al-Fattâh Shalabi, Cairo 1975).

Political and social events all over the Arab world have sparked off the writing of zadâlîn throughout the modern period, written to a limited degree by workers (their short-lived poetic-social movement is discussed by Beinin), but more often by leftist intellectuals. The most popular and explicitly political representative in the second half of 20th-century Egypt is Ahmad Fuʿâd Nadîm (conventionally: Nîmîn) (b. 1929), who became famous for his partnership with the blind singer al-Shaykh İmân (1918-95). His poems are an indictment of the policies of the Nasser and Sadat régimes.

Zadâlîn has a long-standing relationship with the popular song and the operetta (masrah ġânî), with famous poets writing for famous singers: Bâdiʿ Khâyîrî for Sayyid Darwîsh (1892-1923), Ahmad Râmi (1892-1981) and Bayram al-Tûnisî for Umûm ġâlîm (op. cit.), and the Rasbâni brothers and Saʿîd ʿAbî Fâryrâ (b. 1936).

Zadâlîn has also provided all sorts of humorous enter-
tainment (early examples in F. Kern, Neuere ägyptische Humoristen und Satiriker, in MÖS As., ix [1906], 47-9; special forms are the zajal or ridele (a favourite item during Ramadan) and the gîhî or halamanîgî; burlesque poems in a mixture of standard and vernacular Arabic parodying famous classical examples (W. Stoezter, Classical poetry parodied: the case of Husayn Safiq al-Muṣîrî (1882-1946), in The Arabist (Budapest Studies in Arabic), xv-xvi [1995], 229-38).

See also Maḥmûd Nârâtî and the passage on “Writing dialect: dialectal literature” in al-ʿâṣmî, 3, at Vol. IX, 280.

of Kufan and Basran grammarians and the new grammar that was developed in Baghdad in the 4th/10th century under the influence of Greek logic.

Among his writings are a number of lexicographical works, e.g. his treatise on the khotāk al-imān and his book on the differences between fā'altu and qal'altu, and an important treatise on dipotpe and trip-
tote nouns (K. mā yanṣarī wa-mā lā yanṣarīf ed. by H.M. Kara’a, Cairo 1971), which was the first to pre-
tasAlthough his works are numerous, little is known about his life except for a few anecdotes. It is clear from his

Al-Zadjdjadjf remained an authority in the history of the Arabic grammatical tradition. His opinions are
quotable for instance frequently by al-Razf in his Kur‘an

Al-Zadjdjadjf’s chief fame rests on his K. al-Qumal

“Book of summaries” (rather than “sentences”, the usual meaning of this term in grammar), a didactic
introduction to Arabic grammar (ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1957) of the kind that became popular in the
3rd-4th centuries; it was written by Ibn al-Sarrādf, Al-Fārisī and Ibn Dīnjīf. In the K. al-Qumal,
he simply lists the rules of Arabic grammar without going into explanations or controversies. This book
became one of the most popular textbooks in the Arab world, especially in North Africa, where at one
time more than 120 commentaries were current (Ibn al-
Imādf, Shāhārīf, ii, 357); 49 commentaries are
preserved in manuscripts some of which have been
published, among them those of al-Baṣāyafa (d. 521/
1127), ed. H.A. al-Nashraff, al-Riyād 1979, and Ibn
Uṣūrīf (d. 669/1270), ed. S.Dj. Abū Dānāf, 2 vols.,

More interesting from a theoretical point of view is
his K. al-Idāh fī l‘lāl al-nahwi “Book of the explana-
tion of grammatical causes” (ed. M. al-Mubārakīf, Cairo
1959), which deals with the “lāl ‘cages’ [see ‘ILLA] of the discipline of linguistics. The term ‘illa in
the title is essential for the understanding of al-Zadjdjadjf’s
theoretical principles, and at the same time dif-
ficult to understand. In the fifth chapter (‘Idāh, 64-6) he
states that there are three kinds of linguistic causes:
the ‘lāl ‘al-tamī‘yya, the ‘lāl kiyātīyya and the ‘lāl nāṣarīyya
wa-qudsīyya. These represent the levels of explana-
tion grammarians provide for linguistic phenomena:
the first category are the simple rules (such as those
presented in the K. al-Qumal), and the second cate-
gory the explanations of these rules in terms of resem-
blance and relative force of linguistic elements, but
the third category contains extra-linguistic or logical
explanations that justify the explanations of the second
level. Al-Zadjdjadjf claimed that he was the first to
write such a book; this assertion may be exaggerated,
but nevertheless, his distinction of epistemological lev-
els in linguistic explanations must be regarded as a
unique contribution to the Arabic tradition, even though
there are connections with other texts, e.g. al-Strāfī’s
commentary on the Kitāb Sbawuṣī. Unlike the K. al-
Qumal and perhaps because of its uniqueness, the
‘Idāh does not seem to have had much impact on
Arabic grammarians. The original manuscript is
lost and the second-hand copy that is occasionally
published is rarely cited by later grammarians,
although there are lengthy quotations in later compi-
alions such as al-Suyūtī’s Mūṣībī.

Among the other books that have been preserved
from his writings he is a treatise on particles contain-
ing an l (K. al-Lāmāf, ed. M. al-Mubārakīf, Damascus
1969), a book on the functions of particles (K. Ma’dīf
l-lhuruf, ed. Farhūd, 1982), a treatise on the etym-
ology of the names of God (K. Ijūfī ṭamī‘ ma‘ūf Allāh, ed.
al-Ḍākīf, Damascus 1975), as well as several collect-
ions of notes and comments, the most important of
which is the K. al-Maḏīf, one of the most important
sources on debates between grammarians (ed. ‘A.M.
Hārūn, Kuwait 1962). Other books are mentioned by
title in the sources, but have not been preserved in
manuscript form, e.g. his Rīda, a commentary on the
introductory chapters of the Kitāb Sbawuṣī, which
he himself mentions in the ‘Idāh (41; cf. Versteegh,
1995, 32 n. 8). For a complete list see Sefzīn (GĀS, ix,
88-95) and Versteegh (1995, 3-6).

It is not easy to assess al-Zadjdjadjf’s value and
impact: as sāhib al-Qumal, he was celebrated, but the
original ideas in his ‘Idāh are largely forgotten. This
means that his special blend of grammar on a logi-
cally epistemological basis never caught on. In fact,
later grammarians were more concerned with the
semantics and pragmatics of the Arabic language—apart from the traditional preoccupation with morphological and syntactic analysis—so that they had no time for the methodological points which al-Zadjdjadjr attempted to make. In this way they analyze them in detail (Iddh., 48-55).

In general, what is characteristic of his work as a grammarian is his relentless quest for the "cause" or explanation of linguistic phenomena. Mention should also be made of his special style, a personal approach to polemics that is absent from most other grammarians. A comparison between al-Strâfî's and his own treatment of the same problem (that of the status of the weak consonants in the decennial of the dual and the plural, cf. Iddh., 129-9, with al-Strâfî, Shahr., i, 214-23; cf. Versteegh, 1999, 224-5) makes clear that there is a large difference in style: al-Strâfî's presentation is dry and concise, whereas al-Zadjdjadjr makes an attempt to present the discussion as an actual debate.


ZADJÎR [see 'Y.A.R.]

ZAFFAR, i.e. Zafar, the name of the ancient capital of the South Arabian kingdom of Himyar. The present small village of the same name on the ruins of the ancient town is located approximately 8 km/5 miles to the south of the town of Yafîn; the geographical co-ordinates of Zafar are lat. 14° 13' N. and long. 44° 24' E.

The identity of the site has been known in Yemen since Antiquity and is confirmed by Late Sabaic inscriptions found at this place. The site of Zafar is located at the foot of a hilltop with the ruins of an ancient castle, and remains of foundations and walls can be found at some points. Many fragmentary architectural elements, inscriptions and sculptures as well as items decorated with geometric designs, plant motifs, animal motifs, and various other motifs, like griffins, sphinxes, mythical creatures and signs of the zodiac, bear testimony to a strong influence of orientalised Hellenism in the 4th and 5th centuries. Zafar was already in existence in the middle of the 1st century A.D. Pliny (Natural History, vi, 104) mentions the inland of Arabia Felix a town called Sapphar, which is the residence of the king, and the unknown author of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea (§ 22) writes that nine days' further inland from the Red Sea is Saphar, the capital, residence of Charibael, the legitimate king of the two nations, namely, of the Homerite and of the Sabacan; also Ploemey (Geography, vi, 7, 41) calls Sapphar a metropolis. The earliest inscriptionsal evidence of Zafar occurs in the title "king of Saba' and Dhū-Raydān", since the name Raydān in this title is that of the castle on the hill above the town of Zafar which is still known locally by the name of Raydān and which was the seat of the Himyarite kings. The town of Zafar is explicitly mentioned in a dozen Sabaic inscriptions, mainly in votive texts from the temple Awâm in the oasis of Mârib [q.v.]. According to an inscription (Jamme 631) from the time of king Sâ'ârîm Awâr in the first quarter of the 3rd century A.D., the town had to be defended from an Abyssinian army which had marched to Zafar. The text Iryânt 14 from ca. 270 reports that the two kings Yâsîrîm Yuhanîm and his son Sâmâm Yuhârîn went from the castle of Raydân in the town of Zafar to the palace of Sâlîn [q.v.] in the town of Mârib, and from the inscription Iryânt 32 we learn that ca. 315, after a successful campaign against Hadramawt, the Himyarite army returned with rich booty into the town of Zafar.

Ca. 342 the Byzantine emperor Constantius II sent ambassadors under the leadership of a certain Theophilus to the ruler of the Himyarites, and as a result of the mission three churches were built, one of them in the capital Tapharon known as "Himyaretos, Ecclesiastical history", iii, 4). The first testimonies to Himyarite monothelism are to be found in two inscriptions from Zafar (Glaser 389 and Bayt al-Ashwal 2) dated to 378, in which king Malikkarib Yuha'min and two of his sons record the building of the palaces Shâwâtān and Kâllûnîn in their capital "through the power of their Lord, the Lord of Heaven". Zafar's further embellishment is documented by an inscription (Zafar Museum 1), which says that king Shurabihil Ya'fur erected a magnificent palace named Hargab in the capital in 457. The Abyssinian presence and influence are to be seen in an inscription (Zafar Museum 579) dated to 504, according to which the dedicators, whose names are clearly Ethiopian, refer to themselves as envoys and claim to have built a house in Zafar. When King Yissuf As'ar Ya'dîr, who professed the Jewish faith, came to power, he launched military operations against the Abyssinians in Southern Arabia along with their allies the Christians. According to the testimony of the Sabaic rock-inscriptions Ryckmans 508, Jamme 1028 and Ryckmans 507, in 518 the Himyarite king killed the Abyssinians in Zafar, three hundred in number, and burnt the church there. An account of the persecution of the Abyssinians and Christians and of the burning of the church in the town of Zafar (ge, tep) and the massacre of all who
were in it, is also found in two Syriac hagiographic works (The Book of the Himyarites, ed. A. Moberg, Lund 1924, 7; the latter contained in The Martyrs of Najjār, new documents, ed. I. Shahid, Brussels 1971, II A). The martyrdom of the Himyarite Christians prompted a military intervention and an invasion of an Abyssinian army under the Christian king Caleb Ella Aṣbeḥa, who conquered Yemen in 525. A vivid report on the capture of the royal city of Taphar by the Abyssinsians is given in the Acts of Saint Arethas and his companions (chs. 35-7), which were installed as bishop in Zafar, lists three churches built by Caleb in Tephar. With the fall of the Himyarite kingdom, however, Zafar lost its imperial status, power and influence, and went into an irrevocable decline; it was already in mediaeval times a ruined site and became the small village it is still today.

The most detailed description of the ancient site of Zafar is given by the 4th/10th-century scholar al-Hamdānī [q.v.] in the eighth volume of his Kīlīl, which deals with the antiquities of Yemen (Rādī, viii, ed. M. al-Akwā’ al-Hiwǎlī, Damascus 1979, 65-74). He says that, in addition to Raydān, which was the royal palace, there were two other castles in Zafar, named Shaḵwāṭān and Kawkābān. The town had nine gates which are all enumerated by name. At these gates stood attendants (aḥrād) who served as guards and without whose permission no one was allowed to enter the town. Attached to the gate were bells (māḥтан) which could be heard from a distance whenever the gate was opened or closed. Many verses of various poets are quoted by al-Hamdānī, in which Zafar is praised as a wealthy city of castles and in which the brightness and uniqueness of the royal palace Raydān is celebrated.


ZAFAR, a former settlement on the Indian Ocean coast and modern name of the Southern Region of the Sultanate of Oman. In early, mediaeval and late mediaeval times it was never actually a port, and is now a ruined site called al-Balid, a few miles to the east of the chief town of the southern region, Salālā [q.v.].

In modern times, the name came to be used for the whole of the Southern Region of the Sultanate of Oman [see `Oman] and was officially Anglicised as Dhofar. There can be no longer any doubt about the correct vocalisation of the Arabic name, for both lexicographers (e.g. Ibn Muhājir, La, Beirut 1953, v, 519-20) and geographers (e.g. Yākūṭ, Muṣjam al-baladān, Beirut 1979, iv, 60) are agreed that the name is of the pattern fādālī, i.e. un declined and ending in kasra.

Despite local tradition that Zafar was a pre-Islamic settlement in origin, there is nothing to substantiate this. The idea may stem from the fact that the whole area was an incense growing one, though we know that the pre-Islamic incense port was SMHRM/SMRM, present-day Khawr Rawrī east of al-Balid (Jacqueline Pirenne, The incense port of Moscha (Khor Ron) in Dhofar, in Jnl. Oman Studies, i [1973], 81-96). Furthermore, its pre-Rasulid [q.v.] history cannot be recounted in any great detail to commence with the Mandği/Mandjawiyyūn who arrived in the area after the decline of Strāf [q.v.] in the 5th/11th century, according to Ibn al-Mujjāwīr (fi early 7th/13th century) (T. al-Mustābiṣ, ed. O. Loûfîn, Leiden 1951-4, 270). According to Abū Makhrāma (d. 947/1540), Sultan Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Mandjawi, nicknamed al-Akhāl, was from a people known as Bulukh and he died in 600/1203-4, upon which the dynasty came to an end (T. Thâqîr `Adan, in Loûfîn [ed.], Arabiske Arbejder til Kenntschaft af den Stadt Aden im Mittelalter, Leiden 1936, 194-5). The historian of Hadramaut, Muhammad al-Kindî (d. 1310/1892-3) (T. Hadramawt, ed. `Abd Allâh Muhammad al-Hîbîfî, i, Şan`â’ 1991, 97), generally following Abū Makhrāma closely, tells us, however, that Bulukh (the text has Bulb) belong to the Yemeni tribe of Madghiji [q.v.], but he gives no evidence for his statement. It was these settlers who built the nearby port of Mīrābît [q.v.], continues Ibn al-Mujjāwīr, thus called because it was initially where they tethered their horses.

Early in the 7th/13th century (our sources differ on the question of dates and even names), Zafar was taken over by a Hadrami man who later was installed as bishop in Zafar, lists three churches built by Caleb in Tephar. With the fall of the Himyarite kingdom, however, Zafar lost its imperial status, power and influence, and went into an irrevocable decline; it was already in mediaeval times a ruined site and became the small village it is still today.

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the rise of the Kathins [q.v.], a tribal group from the area, in the late 9th/15th century. In 867/1462-3, they took al-Shīhr [q.v.], then the port of Ḥadramawt, and their subsequent history played out in the area of greater Ḥadramawt, in which we can, for convenience, include Zafar.

As for the site of Zafar, now called al-Balid, and situated about 5 km/3 miles from Ṣalālā, the chief town of the Southern Region, it has been examined and studied in some depth by P.M. Costa (The study of the city of Zafar (al-Balid), in Jnl. of Oman Studies, v [1979], 111-50). Drawings, maps and photographs of the site are many, and what excavations have been carried out there are described in some detail. Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the site is the Great Mosque (Costa's plan, fig. 25, fold-out opposite p. 133). The site which stretches along the sea shore is over one km/1,000 yards in length and it is perhaps worthy of mention that it is larger than the area of the Rasulid capital, Taʾizz [q.v.].

The modern area of Zafar, the Southern Region of the Sultanate of Oman and one of its governors, covers an area of about 120,000 km²/75,000 sq. miles, a third of the total area of the country. The population was estimated at about 160,000 (Oman Ministry of Information, Sultanate of Oman, the promise and the fulfilment, Muscat n.d., 30) in the 1980s, and the large majority are Sunni Shāfīʿī, unlike those of the Bāṭina coast and al-Ḍāḥil al-ʿAḥḍār region of the north of Oman who follow Ḥāḍī ʿIṣlām (see ʿumās). The main towns and villages of the Zafar region are: Ṣalālā, Miḥrāt [q.v.], Tākā and Ravūsūt. Geographically, the region of Zafar can be divided into three: the coast with its fishing and agricultural settlements; the mountains which enjoy plentiful monsoon rainfall and are the home of cattle reapers; and the Najd, a desert area extending north from the foothills to al-Ruḥ al-Khāṭif [q.v.]. For the languages spoken in Zafar, see ʿumās, heading (the modern South Arabian languages), and 4. The modern Arabic dialects.

Bibliography: Apart from the sources mentioned above, the following may also be mentioned as the best source by far of the Rasulid conquest of Zafar: Muḥammad Ibn Ḥātim, K. al-Simt al-ghāli al-ḥamān fi taʿālik al-mulk min al-Ḥāṣa bi ʾl-Yaman, in G.R. Smith (ed.), The Arābūs and early Rasulids in the Yemen, GMS, N.S. XXVI, i, 1, 995-29 (G.R. Smith).

ZAFA RAN (L) saffron, Crocus sativus L. or Crocus officinalis Pers., one of some eighty species of low-growing perennial plants of the family Iridaceae, found throughout the Mediterranean area, mid-Europe and Central Asia. A product, used in antiquity as an important source of yellow orange dye, was obtained from the stigma (ḏahr, ʿaṣwān) of the sterile cultivar C. sativus.

1. Domestic uses.

Saffron was, and remains, also widely used in Middle Eastern culinary traditions. In the extant Arabic culinary manuals of the mediæval period (4th/10th to 8th/14th centuries), ranging in provenance from Ṭrāḵ to the Iberian peninsula, saffron appears frequently in a wide variety of domestic preparations. A representative selection of recipes mentioned are found in the anonymous Kanz al-fawdʿīd, probably of Mamlūk Egyptian origin.

In substantial dishes containing meat, often together with one or more vegetables, saffron was used to lend colour, a purpose sometimes explicitly stated in the recipe. For example, in a sweet-sour dish of Persian origin, ḥūdīḏ, chicken is tinted with saffron before vinegar is added to the cooking pot. However, in other cases, saffron is used to add flavour. One of the stages of preparation for tabbīrga calls for a combination of saffron with honey, nuts, corn starch, pepper and various spices mixed together and added to the pot. The complement of the distinctive aroma of saffron was likely intended when, in a meatless recipe, it was sprinkled with sugar and rosewater on top of the finished dish; indeed, saffron is often found in combination with aromatic rose water [see MĀʾ AL-WARD, in Suppl.]. A mustard sauce, ḵηrdal, containing saffron and other dried spices, was mixed with brown vinegar, the preparation being used to prevent the "transformation" of fish.

Other, less known, domestic uses for saffron were its frequent appearance, among many other ingredients, in preparations for "home remedies" such as stomachaches (ḏawārīn), one such being said to sweeten the breath and prevent snoring. Finally, māʾ zafarān, a clear liquid distilled from saffron, was used to scent clothing without leaving a trace of its colour. As a medicament, saffron is one of the simple medicaments, abundantly cited in Arabic medical treatises. At the present time, it is used in traditional medicine of the Arab-Muslim domain (tibb ʿarabī, tibb yānānī). It has been used since Antiquity (cited in the Illiad, xiv. 348) as an aromatic, colourant and simple medicinal herb. In mediaeval Islamic literature it appears under various names: zafarān (the most common), raybakān, ḥadi, ḥadiṯ and ḥudūn. Dāwūd al-Anṭākī [q.v.] thought that the Syriac name of this herb was ḥudūn, but this term in fact denotes the curcuma, often mixed up with saffron on account of the similarity in colour. Saffron was cultivated in many parts of the Islamic world, but was also imported. Ibn al-ʿAwwām [see FILĀJA] ii gives a precise description of the plant's cultivation in al-Andalus, near to Seville (K. al-Fīlāḥa, i, 116-18). There were various varieties known in the classical period: the Maghribī and the Edessan (nūmūn), but also the Frankish or Genoese (ṭanẓūlī, ḥumma). Al-Bīrūnī mentions Persian varieties (ibāddānī, ṭaṭī and ḥurānsānī) and Syrian (ḏāmī) ones. The products of the Sūs [q.v.], in southern Morocco, were especially appreciated, as stated by al-Anṭākī and the anonymous Tadḥīṭ al-ʿalābīh; contemporary Moroccan herbalists further mention the zafrinān zubbādī (cultivated by the Zubbādī of the Sūs).

Saffron was considered to be a stimulant for the nervous system, but also an aphrodisiac, a tonic for the heart and a cordial (mufarrid). It was used in the composition of collyria, as indicated by Ibn Sīnā [q.v.] (Kānūn, i, 306-7) and al-Anṭākī (Tadḥīḥ al-Qurna, 178-9), since the powers of dissolving white specks in the eye and strengthening the eyesight were attributed to it. Finally, it was used as an emmenagogic, a diuretic and a lithotriptic, but also, on the fringes of magic, in amulets intended to combat the evil eye. Another usage, fairly current in the medical treatises, is as a calming remedy for pains and inflammations of the ear. Since saffron was a precious and expensive product, fraudulent substitutes of all kinds were current, to the degree that Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār [q.v.] devotes a section of his
treatise to describing the techniques for verifying the authenticity of this simple (mustakhân al-zafārān) (Mīrā'īd, 159). Most of the forgeries were done by using the curcurma rhizome (sc. that of Curcuma longa L., kurkum) or the bastard saffron (Carthamus tinctorum L., uṣūr), because of their close resemblance to genuine or medicinal saffron.


**AL-ZAFAYĀN, ʿAṬĪBA b. USAYD (or ASĪD) Abu ʿl-Mīrḵāl al-ʿUswāfī al-Saʿdī, Umayyad ṭaḏrāfīṣ poet, fl. ca. 80/700. His ḍīrān, collected by Mūḥammad b. Ḥābīb, has been only incompletely preserved (ten fragmentary poems, 230 verses) and published by W. Ahlwardt (Sammlungen alter arabischer Dichter, ii, 1903, ks-kv, 91-100; with four additional fragments, 30 verses). The ḍīrān was in better condition when used by al-Saghānī in the 7th/13th century.

Further fragments (41 verses), with corrections to the edition of Ahlwardt, have been collected in J. Hāmeen-Annitala, az-Zafayān and his place in literary history, forthcoming in Asiatische Studien, where the history of al-Zafayān’s ḍīrān is discussed in detail.

Al-Zafayān is rarely quoted in philological literature and almost nothing is known of his life. One of his poems (no. 8) refers to the defeat of Abū Fudayk in 73/693 and another (no. 6) is dedicated to a Marwānid caliph with typical Marwānid propagandistic themes such as are also found in poems by Ṭaḏrīf [q.v.]. The poems of al-Zafayān resemble those of his contemporary, al-ʿAḏḏāḏī [q.v.], and show the development towards polythetic anāguḍa [see anāguḍa]. Some of his poems exhibit the lexicographical orientation of the Bayrān ṭaḏrāfīṣ poets, whereas in others al-Zafayān uses a simple and straightforward language.

There seems to have been another ṭaḏrāfīṣ poet of the same name, al-Zafayān b. Mālik b. ʿAwāna, living in Baṣra a century later (Yāḵūt, Uṣūrāt; ii, 130-1), but almost nothing is known of his works.

**Bibliography:** In addition to references given in the article, see Zayyin, GAS, ii, 370. (J. Hāmeen-Annitala)

**AL-ẒĀFRĪ AL-bA-ḌAʾ ALLĀH, HANIF AL-MANSĪR ISMĀʿĪL, twelfth Fāṭimīd caliph and the ninth to reign in Egypt (born mid-Rabīʿ II 527/February 1133, r. 544-9/1149-54).

His four older brothers having predeceased their father, ʿAbd al-Maḏjīḏ al-Ḥāfiz, the latter appointed him, in writing, as heir to the caliphate. Al-Ẓāfrī, at sixteen years of age, received the bayān on Sunday, 4 Djamād I 544/10 October 1149, the day following the night of his father’s death, at a time when Cairo was the scene of confrontation between Turkish cavalry and black military slaves. To pacify the troops, he distributed cash payments to them and promised to ensure their welfare. As soon as the forty days after al-Ẓāfrī’s accession, Ibn Mašāl al-Lakīt al-ʿAṯfāl or al-Muwaṣṣal [see IBN MAŠĀL], a native of Baṣra, had eliminated the instigators of unrest in Ṣhābān/November, al-Ẓāfrī, a young man of exceptional beauty, was free to devote his time to recreation in the company of his concubines. There then erupted the rebellion of the governor of Alexandria, Sayf al-Dīn ʿAlī b. al-Sallār (or Salār), who overthrew Ibn Mašāl and had himself recognised by the Palace as vizier with the lakab of al-ʿĀfatılı [see AL-ʿĀ当他 B. AL-SALAR]. He then sent his stepson, ʿAbbās b. ʿAbī ʿl-Ḥuffūṭ [q.v.] Yahyā b. Tamīm b. al-Muʿizz b. Bādīs al-Ẓāfrī, accompanied by Ṭalaʾī b. Ruzzīk [q.v.] to execute (on 19 Shawwāl 544/11 February 1150, at Ibn Mašāl’s refuge at Dīlah) the deposed vizier and his ally, ʿAbd al-Rabbī, who had been unable to protect the Arab tribes of the Delta.

A month earlier, in Ramdān 544/January 1150, Ibn Sallār had gathered together all the “cadets” of Cairo, sibyān al-khiṣṣ, sons of dignitaries and officers receiving military training. Hearing of a conspiracy amongst them against him, he executed the majority of them and sent the others to garrison the frontiers.

In Radjab 545/October-November 1150, a Frankish contingent attacked al-Fārānān, which was sacked and burned. Less than a year later, Rabīʿ I 546/July-August 1151, al-ʿĀfatılı realigned by sending a fleet to raid the Frankish coast, causing severe damage to Yaḥṣī, ʿAkkā, Šāyda, Beirut and Tripoli and slaughtering a large number of Christian pilgrims. The expedition cost the Fāṭimīd treasury 300,000 dinārs, and in Cairo it was necessary to suspend the free distribution by the dīrām of clothing and various other items. Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangi [q.v.], then the prince of Aleppo, was tempted to support the efforts of the Egyptian fleet with a land attack on the Frankish positions, but concern about his relations with Abak, prince of Damascus led him to decide against it (M. Yared- Kiachi, La politique extérieure de la principauté de Damas 448-549, b. 1076-1154, Damascus 1997, 229-30).

In Muharram 548/April 1155, concerned at the pressure being exerted by the Franks, Ibn Sallār appointed ʿAbbās to conduct on his behalf the relief of the Egyptian garrison of ʿAskālān [q.v.] in Palestine, a relief which took place every six months. While ʿAbbās and his companions, including the renowned Usāma Ibn Munkīd [see MUNKIDH, BANU], were on the way, they became disenchanted with the idea of going and isolating themselves so far from Cairo in a fortress to which the Franks were laying siege. Arriving in Bilbays, they appealed to Naṣr, the son of ʿAbbās and a very close friend of al-Ẓāfrī, to go and persuade the latter to appoint his father vizier in place of Ibn Sallār. The young man obtained the agreement of al-Ẓāfrī, who refused him nothing, then went to the house where his grandmother was cohabiting with Ibn Sallār, beheaded him with a single sword blow and asserted his father in place of him. Naṣr, then took al-Ẓāfrī’s courtiers and the latter appeared in the mansion above the Bāb al-Diṣāh (see A.F. Sayyid, Le capitale de l’Égypte jusqu’à l’époque fāṭimīde. Al-Qahirah et Fustākh, essai de reconstitution toponymique, Beirut
bodies of his uncles and intimidated by the vehemence of the cry of unanimous support, was permanently traumatised, and was never to regain his health or his sanity.

From this tragic reign of a declining dynasty, one salient feature to be noted is the Sunni upsurge which marginalised the official Isma'iliism of the Fatimids at the same time as there developed a strong sense of Egyptian identity in confrontation with the Muslim powers of Syria, a sense which was the power-base of successive viziers, often accorded the title of wilāya by the chroniclers. Also to be noted is the effectiveness of the Egyptian militia fleet, at a time when the army was incapable of defending 'Ashkali, which fell to the Franks in Raedjab 549/August 1153.


Z坊 t ’Azafра, conventionally Dhafrah, the interior region of the shaykhdom of Abū Ṣāḥib [g.v.], now a constituent of the United Arab Emirates [see Suppl.], the undefined southern frontier of which marches with the northeastern part of Saudi Arabia. Al-Zafra forms a new tradition "whereby the most important positions in the central government were filled by the most important people in the Zaghawa [g.v.], and the Banu ‘l-Manasfr [g.v.]."

The tribes of Al-Zafra are semi-sedentary. They possessed a capital that was located in the region of Borkou (Burku). Their successes in the Morean campaign led to his eventual replacement in the governorship there, according to Chalcocondyles (see K. Setton, The Popacy and the Levant, Philadelphia 1976-8, ii, 220-2; Uzunçarşı, ii, 25; Savvides, Morea and Islam, 8th-15th centuries: a survey, in From Byzantium to the Turkish domination, 319 n. 173). He then completed the annexation of the Florentine Duchy of Gallipoli [see Suppl.], executing at Thessalonica its last ruler (see Savvides, The Ottoman conquest of Thessalonica in Greek, Athens 1993, 36, 58-9). In 1463 he became commander-in-chief of the army and possibly governor of Macedonia, and it was at this time that he took into his harem Anna, daughter of the last Byzantine emperor of Trebizond [see Taşbaş], eventually forcing her to adopt Islam. He died soon afterwards, probably in 1464.

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Z坊 ahrdāʾī Bāshī (†.), the title of one of the three commanders who formed the divān or administrative focus of the Janissary corps of the Ottoman army (the other two being the Şamsuddān Bāshī and the Turnābdji Bāshī). Since Zaghāw means "hound" and Zaghāwī means "keeper of the hounds", the oria or company of the Zaghāwīs (no. 64 in the Janissary corps) was probably in origin part of the hunting force of the early Ottoman sultans (cf. also the Selēbāns [g.v. in Suppl.]).

Bibliography: I.H. Uzunçarşı, Osmanlı devleti teşkilât-ı kâbe kalemleri, Ankara 1943-4, i, 199 ff.; Pakalin, iii, 645-6; Gibb and Bowen, i, 915; and see YENI CERI.

Z坊 awā, the name given to a part Saharan, part-Sahelian tribe or people, who inhabit parts of the Republic of the Sudan and Chad. They appear in the mediaeval Arabic sources and in more recent travel and anthropological literature in three distinct contexts:

(a) A pagan, albeit superficially Islamised, divine monarchy, which held sway within the existing territories of Wadai (Wādī) and Kanem. E.W. Bovill, in his Caravans of the Old Sahara, Oxford and London 1933, remarked (264) that "Probably no event in the history of the Western Sudan had more far-reaching consequences than the Zaghawā invasion. Unfortunately we know nothing of its circumstances—how it came about, or the manner of its achievement", but H.A. MacMichael in his The tribes of Central and North Kordofan, 105-10, found it hard to quote solid historical evidence to justify this claim. Islamic sources are silent about such an "invasion". The Zaghāwā are described, in some detail, by several Arab geographers, notably al-Yaʿqūbī (d. 259/872-3); al-Muhallabī (d. 380/990), quoted by Yākūt in his Muǧājam al-buldān, and al-Idrīṣī (d. 548/1154) in his Kitāb Rūḏūǧar. The Zaghāwā were, in part, Berber-speaking (the Saḥrāta) and were semi-sedentary. They possessed a capital that was located in the region of Borkou (Burkō).
According to Lewicki, the Zaghawa included four peoples that were later to form a part of the Tubu of Tibeisi [q.v.], sc. the Teda, Daza, Badayat and a group with whom the Mursi via the Zaghawa. According to Ishshāb b. Husayn al-Munadjaḏim (d. ca. 340/950-1), they had a town in the area of the Bayr al-Ghazāl and others which are now hard to locate, Manān and Tarāzē, Saghwa (which also denoted camel-breeding nomads) and Sāḥma. The Zaghawa also controlled Bīlma, Kawar and parts of Ayar (Ayat). These towns developed trading links with Egypt via Nubia, and with the Maghrib via the oasis of Gharga (Wardjālān) in Algeria. The chief items of exchange were wheat, sorghum, cowpeas and slaves. The Zaghawa facilitated the diffusion of Nubian culture into the Central Sudan, especially in crafts associated with leather and metals.

One of the last of the Zaghawa kings was the reputedly nominally Muslim Arktī b. Būli (r. ca. 414-59/1023-67), who established slave colonies in Kawar and at Zālda in the Pezzān [see Taqūrān].

(b) The Zaghawa were represented amongst the slave population in lower Ḥirāk during the ‘Abbāsid age. Seven Zaghawa slave girls are mentioned by Abu l-ʿAlāʾ al-Maʿarrī in his verse. A ḥglīmāt, whose name is mentioned by al-Tabārī and by Yakūt as Salīm al-Zaghāwī, played an active role in the great Zanjī revolt (see J. Wansbrough, Africa and the Arab geographers, in Language and history in Africa, ed. D. Duby, London 1970, 96-9, and M.A. Shaban, Islamic history, a new interpretation, ii, A.D. 750-1055 (A.H. 132-448), Cambridge 1976, 110-13; and Zangī, 2).

(c) Today, the term Zaghawa denotes a partially Islamised, linguistically distinct, mixed Negro and Hamitic tribal group, who are akin to the Tubu and who are to be found in the Eastern Sahara between Lake Chad and Dār firb province in the Sudan Republic. They are associated with the Dāḏjū Sultanate of Silā. According to Henni Berre, citing A.J. Arkell, (8-12) the Dāḏjū (or Kaddja) claim to be related to the Zaghawa and to have emigrated from the east. Some lay claim to an Arab genealogy which attaches them either to the Banū Ḥazāz (var. Ḥazzāz, according to Arkell, but possibly to be read as Dh żāhām), or to the Banū Djuhayna (see R. Capot-Rey, Les noms arabes de l'Afrique et de l'Asie, 1959, ii, 1-37; and see also R. Capot-Rey, The nomadism of the Sahara, in J. de psychologie normale et pathologique (1960), 233-34; and J. S. Tringham, A history of Islam in West Africa, Oxford 1962, 104-8; A. J. Arkell, The influence of Christian Nubia in the Chad area between AD 800-1200, in Kuh, ii (1963), 315-19; R. Capot-Rey, Le nomadisme de l'Afrique, in J. de psychologie normale et pathologique (1960), 233-34). The high pastures in this region are occupied in summer by Turkish nomads. Lower down, the oak forests have suffered severely from uncontrolled cutting. The foothills, with an annual rainfall of some 60 mm and with the aid of terracing and irrigation, can support vines, maize and rice. The population includes both Assyrian Christians and a substantial Turkish element that was moved here in Ottoman times. There was formerly a Jewish population of some significance, speaking either Arabic or Neo-Aramaic dialects; this group has now emigrated to Israel. Further south, between the rivers Divālā and Dez, the Zagros ranges are at their widest and highest, and are made up of regular folds, of mainly limestone rocks, of a height of some 4,000 m/13,100 feet, with few outstanding peaks. These mountains receive an appreciable precipitation, of 100 mm/40 inches or more, from the winter cyclones. This falls mainly in the form of snow, which melts through the summer to supply the extensive pastures of the high valleys and plateaux between the ranges. Summer storms here provide a further water-supply.
[q.v., and see also ILAT]. Their population was estimated in Pahlawan times at between four and five million, about a quarter of that of all Persia, and they could sometimes mount a threat to the central govern-
ment, as in 1906. In winter these high plateaux are snow-bound, and the tribes have then to descend to the foothills and Mesopotamian plains.

This pattern of movement, with two migrations dur-
ing the year, one up, one down, along established wide paths, is strictly speaking transeunt rather than nomadic. The tribes are at their most vulnera-
able during these movements, and it was then that, especially in the reign of Rıdă Şah Şah Pahlawî [q.v.], the army would waylay them and attempt to restrain them throughout the year in their winter camps. This enforced sedentarisation was a virtual death-sentence for both herds and herders.

The rivers of the high Zagros are active and pow-
erful, and have in many cases captured the headwa-
ters of their streams as far back as the main plateau. The watercourses pass through successions of isolated valleys separated by steep and narrow gorges or tangles which are practically impassable. In consequence, streams above and below these constrictions are often called by different names. Thus the river which begins as the Garmasıyä is thereafter known as the Said-
mardreh, and reaches the lowlands of Khuzistan as the Karkheh [see KARKHEH].

It follows that these river plains are very isolated, and only accessible by tâks or kotahs, passes over the ranges. These very rarely link to make a continuous route across the whole mountain system. Much the most important through route is the Tâk-i Girra, the ancient Porta Zargara or Motcata, the Zagros or Median Gates. This road climbs from Baghdad up the Diyâlî river [q.v.], which occupies a natural rift opening a way through the outer ranges. The rail-
way to Khânı̄kân takes advantage of this gap. From there the well-used road passes by Kâr-i Şirîn and Karand, crosses the Paylak Pass to Bâkhîrârân (Kir-
mânhâb) in the valley of the Kârê Sû, and then goes by way of the Tâk-i Bustân past the rock of Behistun (Mûsâ Baghizâna) with its sculptures and trilingual inscriptions celebrating the conquests of Darius. Thence there is an easy approach over the plain of Çamâ-
mâl to Hamadân, which under the name of Ecbatana was the capital of ancient Media.

Further to the east, there is another possible cross-
ning of the heart of the Zagros, from the town of Dîzûlî, along the lower Saidmarreh river and its tribu-
try the Khashan to Khurramâbêhd, and thence to the fringe of the central plateau at Bûrûjïrd. This, however, was never an important trade route, and is essentially a highway of seasonal movement for the Bûkhtibûrî tribesfolk between their winter and sum-
mer quarters. At a slight distance to the east, the Trans-Persian Railway pioneered in 1935 the very dif-
cult route up the Dîz river valley from Dîzûlî to Aråk.

The foothill ranges of the Pûgî-i Kûh, about 2,000 m/6,560 feet high, separate the main Zagros from the plains of Khuzistan. Their gypsum rocks make poor saline soils, and support only a thin cover of scrub oak. The main oil fields of Iran are trapped in these hills, between Mâşqijî-i Sulaymân and Gâçarârân. The tribes had to pass across this area on their seasonal migrations, and it was here that they were often ambushed.

Eastwards again, the high Zagros grades into the somewhat lower ranges of the province of Fârs, about 3,000 m/9,840 feet above sea-level at their highest. Rainfall here is appreciably less, the rivers less con-
tinuous and powerful, and the high plains often con-
tain not streams of fresh water but salty lakes at the creuse of systems of inland drainage, as in the Niriz basin and the Daryâ-i Mahîrâb in the high plain of Shîrâz. Seasonal transhumance is much less common here than in the central Zagros, and most of the pop-
ulation relies on the scattered oases irrigated by cis-
terna and kânâbhs.

The mountains are here crossed by two well-
established caravan routes, from the port of Bushrî (Bûşîrî) up the Shâhâr valley to Kâzãrûn and Shîrâz (improved by British troops in 1918-19); and from Bandar 'Abbâs by the Tâng-i Zîndân to Sûrdân and Kirmân.

Bibliography: J.V. Harrison, The Bakhtari coun-
y, South-West Persia, in (G7, lxxx (1932), 193-210; Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, Persia, London 1943, esp. chs. II, XI; V. Cromin, The last migration, London 1952; W.C. Brice, South-
west Asia, London 1966, esp. ch. 9.

(W.C. BRICE)

AL-ZAHAWî, Dâjâmîl Sîdîkî (b. 18 June 1863 in Bagh-{
d, d. 23 February 1936), neo-classical poet and eminent representative of the Nahâda [q.v.] in 'Irâk.

A son of the Kurdish elite family of al-Bâbûn from Sulaymânîyya [q.v.];—his father Muhammad Faydî was Muftî of Baghdad and his mother of Kurdish upper-

个项目, he acquired some knowledge of translation into the languages he knew: Arabic, Persian and Turkish (Kurdish was not yet a literary language). After teaching at the Sulaymânîyya School in Baghdad, he was appointed a member in the Madlî āl-mâ'ârîfî in Baghdad, later becoming director of the government printing house and responsible for the Arabic part of the official newspaper al-'azmî and also a member of the appel-
late court. In ca. 1903, having been summoned to the Porte in Istanbul, he visited Cairo and met with progressive Egyptian intellectuals. The Sultan 'Abd al-
Hamîd II, aware of al-Zahawi's enmity towards the government, sent him as an emissary to Yemen. After his return 11 months later, he was given a military rank and a medal, but his Young Turk sympathies and a critical poem which he wrote on Hanidian policies earned him two weeks' imprisonment and a return to Baghdad under guard but with a monthly salary. When the Constitution was restored, he became professor of Islamic philos-

ophy at the Dîr-ul-Fiinun in Istanbul. Health problems caused him to return to Baghdad, where he taught the Madîlî [q.v.], later translated by him into Arabic, at the Madrasat al-tukîq.

His first books deal with varied topics: philosophy (1894, lectures in Turkish, 1906); horses and horse racing (1896); physical and philosophical questions of the universe (1897); chess (n.d.); a disputation con-
cerning the condemnation of folk belief in miracles and saints, evidently meant to support 'Abd al-Hamîd II's policy towards the Wahhabiyya [q.v.] (1905 or 1907); and gravity (1910). In October 1896 he pro-
posed in the Egyptian journal al-Muhâsab a reform of
Arabic script (ed. al-Rashudi, pp. 186-7). Only at the age of 40 did he return to poetry. He criticised the Arabic poetic tradition, characterising mono-rhyme and mono-metre as a straight-jacket. In 1905 he composed the first Arabic poem in *dīrāz* (Baghdād, 149). All his later poetry is in mono-rhyme and, mostly, mono-metre. Already his first *dīrāz*, *al-Kalim al-maṣūm* (Beirut 1907), voices his religious scepticism and his role as a social and cultural critic and an advocate of progress in *Irāq*, foreshadowing his later anthologies *Dīrāz al-Zahāwī* (Beirut 1924), *al-Zahāb* (Baghdād 1928), *al-‘Ajāil* (Baghdād 1946), and *al-Zāhir* (publ. posthumously Baghdad 1939). The translation of ‘Umar al-Khayyám’s *Rubā’iyyát* (Beirut 1924) inspired him to his own *Rubā’iyyát* (Baghdād 1928), which criticise in short and pugnacious verses social injustice (especially as regards the position of Muslim women), and the contrast between *Irāq’s* former glory and its present educational situation. He praises technical progress and supports the then highly-contested Darwinism. His audacious article *al-Ma’ruf wa l-dījām* (1910, publ. Nādji, 253-8) scandalised orthodox circles. After a short (reading) drama *Layla wa Sumayr* (1927), 578-608) he published his brilliant *Qawwāl fī Dīrāz* (Baghdād, 1934), *al-‘Awshāl* (Beirut 1924), and *al-Lubb* (Beirut 1907), voices his religious scepticism and, probably, by his own admission, his contempt for the older settlement of Duzdab. [q.v^,].This being an administrative term of the Muslim West.

The term first appeared under the Almohad dynasty (524-668/1130-1269), replacing another term, *sāfār* used earlier by the Almoravids (454-541/1062-1147) and the Andalusian *tālaf* kingdoms to refer to the same type of royal or princely decree. As such, the term of the *zahir* was especially associated with the royal administrative tradition in the Maghrib and Islamic Spain. The *zahir* was, in the first place, a document the ruler delivered to a state official upon his appointment. In the case of a governor, it would define the administrative prerogatives and the territorial limits within which he would exercise his powers. Along with the royal decree, the governor would also receive a seal and a garment. A copy of the document was usually addressed to the subjects of the appointee in order to introduce the new official and reiterate the duty of obeying those representing the princely authority. The content of the *zahir* was made known in a public reading, usually at the main mosque following the Friday prayer. An ambassador on mission to a foreign court was also supposed to carry a *zahir* introducing him to the authorities of that country. In this case, the document was no different from an official letter of accreditation. In fact, in common usage, *zahir* became synonymous with “royal letter”, but *zahir* in its strict sense refers to a document endowed with a legal binding power, which a letter does not necessarily have.
Another use of the document consisted in bestowing privileges upon merchants, dignitaries, religious figures or former state servants as a reward for their past services or in recognition of their loyalty to the sovereign. These privileges could be symbolic, in the form of “distinction and respect” (at-tawkeir wa l-ikhtram), or they could be material in the form of a regular allowance, land grant (tanfiqah), the right to farm taxes within a defined territory, or a trade monopoly. zahir was also delivered to the shaiks of the Sufi lodges and to members of Sharifian families to confirm their distinguished status or to confer on them a holy lineage, on the basis of which they would be entitled to a number of privileges, such as exemption from non-religious taxation, arbitration impositions, conscription obligations and military service. They also involved respect (tawkeir) and special treatment by the local authorities, thereby demonstrating the state’s consideration for those whose descent or social distinction placed them above the common people.

The bestowal of such privileges by a Muslim sovereign by means of zahir was not limited to his Muslim subjects. Christian or Jewish subjects were also among the beneficiaries. The Almohad ruler Abū Ya`kūb Yusuf II (1213-23) even wrote a zahir in favour of a Christian monastery located beyond the northern Andalusian border, giving the monks the right to drive their cattle south to the more favourable grazing lands of the Almohad domains. The most famous Almohad ruler, Ya`kub al-Mansūr (1184-99 [see ABU YUSUF YUSUF AL-MANSUR]), also wrote zahir in favour of his Jewish subjects. The practice of extending zahir privileges to Jews became ever more common during the modern period with the growing role of Jewish merchants in domestic and international trade.

Under the Sa`dīd and `Alawī dynasties (916/1510-present day), the issuing of zahir became more frequent as a result of the special privileges acquired by the shari`ah and because of the proliferation of saintly lineages. The growing weakness of the central government and its inability to extend its effective rule to the whole country also meant that sultans were more disposed to grant privileges for those local religious and political authorities who would return the favour and support the state’s policies at the regional level. Under these two Sharifian dynasties, the most common form of zahir became the zahir al-tawkeir wa l-ikhtram delivered to Sharifian families, maraboutic figures, shaiks of the Sufi orders and faithful servants.

This form of zahir usually conferred upon the holder and his relatives the two kinds of privileges mentioned above, moral and material. Every zahir of this category was by definition a title of distinction conferred by the highest political and religious authority of the land. The mere fact of possessing such a document was enough to guarantee its holder special treatment by the local authorities and to free him from the exactions and abuses usually suffered by the common people. The royal decree could also involve material benefits, such as exemption from non-religious taxes, or even more, the authorisation to pay the legal religious taxes, normally due to the state treasury (baya al-mal), to the poor among the grantee’s relatives. In the case of za`uyya, such a favour amounted to a practical exemption from religious taxation, since it was up to the shaikh of the za`uyya to decide how he would spend the proceeds of the za`at and za`uq [q.v.]. In the case of an influential za`uyya, the sultan could also make concessions in the form of land grants, the right to collect taxes from tribes or villages for the benefit of the za`uyya, and even the right to nominate judges or other officials within the territory that fell within the za`uyya’s sphere of influence. The za`uq of respect could also be used to provide the beneficiary with a sanctuary (haram, harem in Moroccan usage) where people and property would be immune from state prosecution or intervention.

By the end of the 19th century, the number of subjects holding za`ūr of distinction freeing them from state obligations had reached unbearable proportions. This inflation of za`ūr, in addition to the harmful effects of European conquest, protection, led to the deterioration of state finances. However, reforms by which za`ūr privileges would be abolished, or at least limited, were doomed to failure since traditional groups benefiting from state-bestowed privileges vigorously opposed any attempt at reform which would harm their interests. Under the French protectorate régime, which ruled the country after 1912, and after Moroccan independence in 1956, the za`ūr as a title of exemption from state obligations was de facto abolished, even if Moroccan sultans (after 1956, kings) continued to deliver za`ūrs to reconfirm the Sharifian status of those who held similar documents issued by their predecessors. The significance of such documents became purely honorific. Nowadays, usage of the term za`ūr is strictly limited to legislation bearing the royal seal or to appointments to a high state position. za`ūr is also contrasted with dawla, also make concessions in the form of land grants, the right to farm taxes...
ZAHIR — AL-ZAHIR WA 'L-BATIN

Bibliography: Bāḍī, K. al-Hudūd fi 'l-wūl, ed. Nāzīr Ḥammād, Beirut 1973, 43, 48; Ḥammad, Q̱āmī' al-ṭalām, 4 vols., Ḥaydarābād 1911-12, 12, as "apparent, manifest sense"; and the second, bātīn, its antonym, meaning "hidden, inner, esoteric sense." This pair of words occurs together four times in the Qur'ān: in VI, 120, to describe the bātīn, its antonym, meaning "hidden, inner, manifest sense," hence "manifest, clear sense"; and twice in the Tafsīr, to mean that He is the Outward and the Inward (mādīg afẓūl al-Qur'ān al-kārim, Cairo 1409/1988, i, 141-2; Lane, i, 219-22, ii, 1926-30).

The Shi'ī tradition further states that the inner dimension has yet another dimension as well in its inner meaning (bayt), in order to support their contention they report a tradition wherein the Prophet is stated to have said, "In the name of the Qur'ān, which has come down [to me] but it has a (zahr) as an inner dimension (bātīn)," (al-Kāfī b. al-Ḥasan al-Tabrīzī, Fātih al-aṣfāl fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān, ed. Abu ʿr-Rūḥ, Jakarta 1998, i, 27). The aforementioned Shi'ī tradition further states that the inner dimension has yet another dimension; in fact, it states, there are up to seven or seventy inner dimensions (al-Sāyid Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Taḥṭābī, al-Ṣaḥīf al-kāfī fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān, ed. A. M. al-ʿAzmī, Beirut 1988, iv, 196-8; Lātīn and Tā', s.v. qā'im). However, there are also detailed accounts of their respective views on the subject. It should be noted, however, that in comparison with the Shi'ī use of it, the principle of the zāhir and bātīn is used by the Imāmīs somewhat moderately. The Shi'īs, in contrast, assert that every esoteric meaning has an esoteric counterpart; therefore, all aspects of religion are divided into zāhir and bātīn. The former consists of exterior aspects, such as knowing the apparent meaning of the Qur'ān and performing the outer duties, while the latter, the hidden, inner, true meaning of the Qur'ān and the Sharī'a. Thus it is apparent from the foregoing discussion that the zāhir and bātīn are different degrees of understanding of the Qur'ān and the Sharī'a, and these two shall never be separated until they return to me at the Pool (hawd) just like these two." Then the Prophet put together the index fingers of his right hand, "because one reaches out beyond the other. Indeed, the likeness of these [two things of great weight], is Noah's ark. He who boarded it was saved, and he who left it was drowned" (al-Kāfī b. al-Ḥasan al-Tabrīzī, Fātih al-aṣfāl fi tafsīr al-Qur'ān, ed. Abu ʿr-Rūḥ, Jakarta 1998, i, 27). The latter, on the other hand, is comprised of knowing the hidden, inner, true meaning of the Qur'ān and the Sharī'a. The zāhir, which represents the body, can be perceived by the senses, while the bātīn, which represents the spirit, is derived by special knowledge called taʾwīl. The apparent meaning of the Qur'ān, the Shi'īs state, perishes in the opacity and servitude of legalist religion. It is necessary to bring out the transparency of its depth, the esoteric meaning. Attaining comprehension of bātīn/tawwīl is like a spiritual birth that enables the person to enter a new world, to accede to a higher plane of being. They further contend that the zāhir was the miracle of the Prophet while the bātīn is the miracle of the Imāms (see ʿAṣīr al-ʿādām, 31; ʿAbī Yākūb al-Sidjīstānī, K. al-Ībshār, ed. Poonawala, forthcoming, ch. xii).
classified as extremist Shi'a by the Muslim heresiographers (see 'Abd al-Kahir al-Baghdadhi, al-Fark bayn al-frak, ed. M. Muhly al-Din, Cairo n.d., 281 ff.; al-Shahrastani, al-Milal wa s-rnk, ed. 'Abd al-Aziz al-Wakil, Cairo 1968, i. 192; al-Ghazali, Fadl'a al-batinia, ed. 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi, Cairo 1964; I. Goldziher, Streitschrift des Gazali gegen die Batinis-Sekte, Leiden 1916; Abu Muhammad al-Yamanf, 'Abd al-Ittihad al-thal'ath wa-sab, ed. Muhammad al-Ghazali, Medina 1414/1993, ii, 477). The 'Ash'fis are opposed to Batin'i ta'wil as practiced by Isma'ilis and Imams. Druzes (see DURUZ), on the other hand, affirm that the Bible, the Kur'an and their own scriptures have esoteric as well as exoteric meanings. They further maintain that in addition to these two levels of meaning there is yet another level, called "the esoteric of the esoteric." (Samy Swayd, The Druzes: An annotated bibliography, Kirkland, Wash. 1998, 36).

The 'Ash'fis also maintain this principle of zahir and batin with regard to the Kur'an. The tasfi of Sahih al-Bukhari (ed. 283/896 [q.v.], one of the oldest extant works representing mystical interpretation of the Kur'an, is a good case in point. At the basic level of interpretation al-Tustarfs division is twofold: zahir (exoteric) and batin (esoteric). The former aspect comprises mostly traditions (haddith) explaining religious law, occasions of revelations, and other obvious matters, while the latter aspect comprises mystical explanations. Referring to the Kur'an, at the beginning of the tasfi, al-Tustari states, "Its apparent meaning (zahir) is beautiful and its inner meaning (batin) is profound, and no mind is capable of comprehending it." (Tasfi al-Kur'an al-azim, Cairo 1326/1908, 2; G. Bowering, The mystical vision of existence in classical Islam, The Qur'anic hermeneutics of the Suffi Suhli al-Tustar, New York 1980, 139). Further explaining the meaning of the Kur'anic verses, he states, "Each verse has four levels of significance: a zahir, a batin, a hadd and a muttala (or muttala). The zahir is the recitation of that verse, the batin is its [proper] understanding, the hadd defines what is lawful and what is unlawful, and the muttala (the point of transcendency) or the muttala (anagogical meaning) is the spectacle of the heart and its meaning intended by God." (see also al-Sulami, Haddi al-tasfi, in Bowering, The mystical vision, 140; the fourth division is attributed by al-Sulami to 'Ali b. Abi Talib in Iktin). Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami (d. 412/1021) Haddi al-tasfi, which holds a unique place in the history of Sufi tasfi, also uses the distinction of zahir and batin (Bowering, The Qur'an commentary of Sulami, in Islamic studies presented to Charles Adams, ed. W. Hallaq and D.P. Little, Leiden 1991, 41-56; al-Sulami, Zadidli haddi al-tasfi, ed. Bowering, Beirut 1995, 1, 24, 38, 42, 43, 101, 106). This trend of Sufi esoteric interpretation of the Kur'an continued by Ruzbihan al-Bakfi (d. 606/1209), Ibn al-Arabf (d. 638/1240), and others.

AL-ZAHRI BI-AMR ALLAH — AL-ZAHRI LI-I'ZAZ DIN ALLAH

in 415/1024-5 Egypt experienced a serious famine, followed by an epidemic and rural and urban disorder, and the Fatihid presence in Syria was threatened by attacks on the part of three major tribes: Tassyi' Djarahids from Transjordan against Ramla, Kahl 'Adawis from Palmyra or Tadmur against Damascus and Kilab Mirdisids [q.v.] from northern Syria against Aleppo (see Biaquis, Une crise frumentaire dans l'Egypte fatimide, in JESHO, xxii [1978], 67-101; idem, Dans et la Syrie, ii, 399-511; Sayyid, al-Dawla al-Fatimidyya, 119-23 and index). However, the public teaching of the Fatimid doctrine with the aid of works written by the kāfīs al-Nu'mān and Ibn Killis continued in Egypt (see H. Halm, The Fatimids and their traditions of learning, London 1997). Propagandists sent secretly to the East enjoyed some success in southern 'Irāk but failed in the Ghaznavid state, resolutely Sunni and loyal to the 'Abbaṣids.

However, thanks to the efforts of two exceptional individuals, the most serious problems were resolved. In Cairo, in Rabi' I 418/ April-May 1027, the 'Irākī kātib Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Ali b. Ahmad al-Djarjārī, former steward of Sitt al-Mulk and a force in the palace since 415/1025, was appointed wādā, an office that had been suppressed by al-Hakim and replaced by the wādiṣa and the sifara. In southern and central Syria, Fātimid domination was restored by the able Turkish commander, al-Musabbih al-Dārī, who, during the hostilities of the diwān of Cairo, won a decisive victory over the Bedouin coalition at al-Ukhwānā, to the east of Lake Tiberias (Rabi' II or Djamād al-Dawr 409/1028). In 413/1023, a treaty between Byzantines and Fātimids, putting an end to the unfavourable relations existing between al-Hakim and the Emperor Basil II, was to have been concluded, but the death of Sitt al-Mulk led to its cancellation. In 418/1027, a provisional agreement guaranteed that, in the mosque at Constantinople, the invocation would be made in the name of the Fātimid Imam, and that the Basileus had the right to rebuild the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, burned by the orders of al-Hakim, as well as all the churches in Egypt which had been destroyed and not transformed into mosques. In 423/1032, in an exceptional episode in the history of relations between Constantinople and the Muslim powers, a combined Fātimid-Byzantine expedition attacked the Druzes in the Djabal Summaq, driving them into caves and slaughtering them (see Histoire de Yahya ibn Said d'Antioche, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, Fr. tr. Françoise Micheau and G. Troupeau, in PO, vol. xlvii, fasc. 4, no. 212, Tournai 1997, 153-3). It was not until 425/1034, after protracted negotiations brought together representatives of all the principalities of the Middle East, of which Yahya al-Antaki gives a detailed account, that the definitive version of the treaty came into existence. It included a clause stipulating that in the event of famine, corn would be transferred from the better-off state to the needy one.

Al-Zahir died on the eve of his thirty-second birthday, in mid-Shaban 427/1036, and was succeeded by his son, Abū Tamīma Muadd al-Mustansir [q.v.].

Bibliography: In addition to Musabbihī, q.v., Ibn Zāhir, Al-ghair al-dawla al-munkatā, ed. A. Ferrè, Cairo 1972, 66 ff. is the most informative regarding this caliphate, giving the list of administrators and kāfīs; see the numerous other traditional sources of Fātimid history, in particular Ibn al-Dawādārī, Kanz al-durar, vi, ed. Ş. al-Munajdidjī, Cairo 1380/1961, 313-41; Māšrīrī, Ittiṣā al-dūrūqī, ed. M.H.M. Ahmad, ii, Cairo 1971, 124-83; see also

Al-Zahir held sway over the principality of Aleppo, from the Euphrates in the east, the borders of Armenian Cilicia in the north, the Crusader principality of Antioch in the west and the Ayyūbid principality of Hamāt (*q.v.*) in the south. In 589/1193 he reinforced al-Adil, who had to suppress the rebellion of the dependent principalities in the Ḍażzār. In the ensuing struggles for supremacy within the Ayyūbid house, al-Zahir first sided with the coalition of the designated heir al-Adil (*q.v.*) and al-Adil against his ambitious brother al-'Adil (*q.v.*) in 598/1196-97, when al-Adil's incapacity became apparent, al-Zahir supported al-'Aziz, but the coalition of al-Adil and al-'Adil proved stronger. A reconciliation mainly on the basis of the status quo was reached. During the final stages of the power struggle, al-Zahir sided mainly with al-Adil again, now against a coalition of al-'Aziz and al-Adil, who had become al-'Aziz's main supporter. As a result, al-'Aziz was acknowledged as supreme sultan in Egypt and al-Adil got Damascus. Al-Zahir was confirmed in his possessions in 592/1196.

More struggles followed the death of al-'Aziz in Muḥarram 595/November 1198, extending over the next three years. Al-Zahir favoured al-Adil again, now as regent for al-'Aziz's son, al-Manṣūr Muhammad, in Egypt. Al-'Adil, at that time besieging Mardīn, was forced to withdraw in order to secure Damascus, besieged by al-Adil. In Shawwād 595/June 1199, al-Zahir set out to join al-Adil. Finally, the coalition broke up, and they lifted the siege of Damascus soon afterwards. The first phase ended in 596/1200 when al-Adil took Cairo and deposed al-Manṣūr in order to become supreme sultan himself. However, al-Adil now became recognised as supreme sultan by his main supporter al-Zahir and his northern Mesopotamian allies. Meanwhile, al-Zahir consolidated his position in northern Syria by conquering various towns and an attack on Hamāt. In Diūn 1-Ka‘da 597/August 1201, al-Zahir and al-Adil besieged Damascus again for over a month, but without success. Finally, in Dju‘mādā‘ II 598/March 1202 al-Zahir agreed to acknowledge al-Adil's suzerainty. He remained outwardly loyal but lived with the persistent threat that his uncle might seize his principality. When in 606/1209 al-Adil tried to conquer the Zangid principalities, al-Zahir tried to maintain the balance of power in northern Mesopotamia and supported diplomatically the besieged lord of Sinjār (*see Šenjār*). The marriage with her daughter Dayṣa Khatūn in 609/1212 and the designation of her son al-ʿAziz Muhammad, born in 610/1213, as heir, lowered the tension here.

After al-Zahir came to terms with his uncle, he turned his attention mainly to the development of the principality of Aleppo. He launched major building projects on fortifications, on religious institutions and on the water supplies (*sana‘a‘*). He promoted commerce and trade, notably with the Venetians, who in 604/1207-8 were given privileged access to the mint of Aleppo for imported European silver (Pozza, Bates). From Egypt, important scholars and able officials fled to his court, namely, Ibn al-Kīfīf and Ibn Mammūt (*q.v.*). The historian Ibn al-ʿAdīn (*q.v.*) dedicated a treatise to al-Zahir on the occasion of the birth of al-ʿAziz Muhammad (Brockeßmann, I, 405).

At the death of al-ʿAdī in 613/1216 after a severe illness. His three-year-old son al-ʿAziz Muhammad succeeded him under the tutelage of the mamālīk Shīhāb al-Dīn Toghrīl, whilst Dayṣa Khatūn became in 634/1236 an influential regent of Aleppo for her grandson al-Nāṣr Yusuf II (*q.v.*).


Al-Zahir al-Fāryābī (*see Čarmān*)

Al-Zahir al-Dīn Aбу ʿAbd al-Malik al-Fāryābī (*see Čarmān*)
the Bawandids [q.v.]. Still later he settled down at the court of the El-Figuzids or Idleduzids [q.v.], writing panegyrics and ghazals in praise of the Arabesque Mar'ash! at Urmân (581-7/1186-9) and Nasrât al-Dîn Abû Bakr b. Pahlâwân (591-607/1195-1201). One of the kasidas preserved in Zahir's Divân is addressed to the Sâldjûk Sultan Toghrîl III (d. 590/1194). Towards the end of his life, he retired from the world and led a life of devotion in Tâbrîz. In Rabî'1 598/December 1201 he died in that city and was buried at Surğabî in the cemetery of the poets (Mustawfi, Gâzîda, 297-8). The Divân of Zahir was collected shortly after his death by Shâms-i Sûджâşî (d. 602/1203-6), who is probably also the author of a prose introduction handed down in some manuscripts (Storey-de Blois, v/2, 536). The best preserved part of his work are the mukâtât. These poems were composed in the same learned style which marks the panegyrics of anwâr and Kâhânî [q.v.]. In the 7th/13th century, the critical comparison between Anwarî and Zahir became a topic of literary discussion in which the poets Mağdî-i Hamgar and Imâmî participated (cf. the introduction to Divân-i Anwâr, i, 108-10). Sa'dî [q.v.] objected to Zahir's extravagant use of hyperbole (Bustân, 40). His style as a court poet has been characterised as polished and graceful, but somewhat insipid (Brown, LHF, ii, 414). Of his ghâzals, few seem to be extant now, but the ghâzals attributed to him in printed versions of the Divân were really composed by another Zahir, a Shîfî poet of the 10th/16th century. Some kasidas by his contemporary Shams-i Tabâsi have also been mistaken for works of Zahir (see further de Blois, v/2, 538).


Zahir al-UMAR al-ZAYDÂNÎ, local ruler in northern Palestine in the 18th century (ca. 1690-1775).

His father and grandfather had already been mulâzems of Tiberias, and as a young man, Zahir al-`Umar struck an alliance with the al-Sâfîr tribe of eastern Galilee and made Tiberias his first power base. The 1730s were filled with efforts to expand his realm and consolidate his rule. In 1738 he conquered the fortress of Djiddm, which controlled the region of the Galilee and was driven by the enormous profits to be made from cotton exports to France. The prosperity thus created brought a veritable boom to Acre, making it the most important city on the Syrian coast.

Zahir al-`Umar's rise to power was part of a general contemporary trend towards greater provincial autonomy. A severely weakened Ottoman empire was unable to prevent the ascendancy of the al-'Azm family in Damascus, the defiance of the Mamlûks in Egypt and the consolidation of a completely new power centre in Acre and northern Palestine. Zahir was—at least for a time—more successful than his contemporaries because he was able to finance his political aspirations by innovative economic policies and by linking up with European markets.


Zahir al-DîN MâRÂSHÎ b. Nâşr al-Dîn, Sâyîd, Persian commander, diplomat and historian of the Caspian region, b. ca. 815/1412, d. after 894/1490. He was a scion of the important family of Mar'ashî Sayyids who dominated Mâzandârân from the later 7th/14th century until the province's incorporation into the Safawid empire by Shah `Abbâb I in 1005/1596 (see MAR'ASHIS).
Zahir al-Din stemmed from the main branch of the Mar'ashfs, that of Kama' al-Din b. Kiwam al-Din (d. 791/1389). He owned estates at Bâtaqârî in Gâlan and was employed by Sultan Muhammad II of the Kâr Kâyî line in Gâlan and then by his son and successor Mîrzâ 'Ali (r. 881 or 883/1476-8 to 909 or 910/1503-5). He was sent to resolve militarily a succession dispute in adjacent Rustamârd and he led other expeditions, including an unsuccessful siege of Nîr in 868/1463. It was for Mîrzâ 'Ali that Zahir al-Din wrote his Târîkh-i Taabaristan u Rasûl u Mâzandarân extending from the origin of the local dynasties up to 881/1476 (ed. B. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1850; ed. 'Abbas Shâyân, Tehran 1333/1954-5), and his Târîkh-i Gâlan u Daylamîstân, carried up to 894/1489 (ed. H.L. Rabino, Rasht 1330/1912), both valuable for the intricate history of the petty principalities of the Caspian region. Another work of his that is mentioned, but not apparently extant, is a Târîkh-i Gâzin u Rayy, and he wrote verse, probably under the pen-name of Zâhir, which are quoted by him in his histories.

**Bibliography:** Dorn, Sehîr-eddîn's Geschichte von Tabaristan, Rasûl und Mâzandarân, St. Petersburg 1850, 13-22; Rabino, Mâzandarân und Astarabâd, GMS, London 1928, p. xxii (résumé of the Târîkh-i Gâlan; Storey, i, 361-2; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1073-4, 1076. (C.E. Bosworth)

AL-ZAHIRA, “the rearwards region”, conventionally Dhahirah; the name given to the interior, landwards part of ‘Uman, that lying behind the Diabul Akhdar range and merging into the desert history of this “inner coastlands of ‘Uman. The religious and political history of Muslim theology shows that Zahirî in this case. Thus it relies exclusively on the literal (zâhir) sense of the Kur’ân and of Tradition, rejecting n’jî, but also kîyds [q.v.], although the latter is retained by al-Šâhî (d. 204/820 [q.v.] who is regularly cited as the point of departure of Zahirî methodology (J. Schacht, An introduction to Islamic law, Oxford 1964, 63-4, Fr. tr. Paris 1983, 59). In other words, and to quote R. Arnaldez in Grammaire et théologie chez Ibn Hazm de Cordoue, Paris 1956, 199, Zahirism “accepts only the facts clearly revealed by sensible, rational and linguistic intuitions, controlled and corroborated by Kur’ânic revelation”.

**Notes**

As the best means of reconstructing Zahirî thought, recourse should be had to the writings of its founder, the traditionist Dâwid b. Khâfa (d. 270/884 [q.v.]). But it has long been known that nothing of his work has survived into the present day (I. Goldziher, Die Zahiriten, Leipzig 1884, Eng. tr., Leiden 1971, 26-30). We must therefore be content with the works of authors who quote him, in particular al-Nawawî (d. 676/1277 [q.v.]), al-Šâhî (d. 973/1565 [q.v.] and, most of all, the earlier authority Ibn Hazm (d. 1063/1657 [q.v.]) (Goldziher, op. cit., 30-157). Following the lead of the Hungarian scholar, it has become customary to refer primarily to this Cordovan thinker who “illuminated, almost single-handedly in the Mâlikî milieus, the literalist or Zahirî school” (R. Brunschvig, Pour ou contre la logique grecque chez les théologiens-juristes de l’islam: Ibn Hazm, al-Ghazâlî, Ibn Taymiyya, in Études d’islamologie, i, 304-5).

For the constant burgeoning interest witnessed over more than a century in Hajmian studies, especially from the angle of Zahirism, see A.-M. Turki, Notes sur l’évolution du zahirisme d’Ibn Hazm de Cordoue, du Taqrîb à l’Ikûm, in SI, lxx (1984), 175-7. As to the credibility of recourse to Ibn Hazm, in view of this rehabilitation, see also, by the same author, Polémosques entre Ibn Hazm et Baâlî sur les principes de la loi musul- name, Algiers 1976, Ar. tr. Beirut 1994; see especially the index of this edition, 551; here are to be found 16 references to Dâwid, 14 in which Ibn Hazm is in agreement with his master, the two others showing rather a convergence with the son of Dâwid, known to be a Zahirî himself. This is useful for the usûl al-fîkh [q.v.] which are the subject at issue here, but it will be seen that this is also the case for the applied fîkh [q.v.] where Ibn Hazm notes a scarce point of disagreement with the master.

**Theological aspects.** Here our exclusive source is Ibn Hazm in his Fasl fi ‘l-milal wa ‘l-abhout wa ‘l-nihil, 2 vols., Cairo 1317-21/1899-1903 (Sp. tr. M. Asin Palaceos, Abenhdzam de Cordoba y su historia critica de las ideas religiosas, 5 vols. Madrid 1927-32). In Die Zahirîen, Goldziher drew substantially from the Fasl, at that time still in manuscript. He stressed negation of the attributes (shâhîd except those mentioned in the Kur’ân) to underline Ibn Hazm’s original contribution, he recalled that the Zahirîyya were never called anything other than a madhab fîkhî and that it therefore does not figure among the madhâbi kalâmîyya (op. cit., 123-56). Goldziher also dealt with this subject in his Le livre de Moh. Ibn Toumâr, Malhîât des Almohades, introd. and Fr. tr., Algiers 1903, where he stated that the history of Muslim theology shows that Zahirî fîkh was in accordance with the most diverse dogmatic tendencies, and he insisted once more on the exclusive contribution of Ibn Hazm in creating a synthesis of Zahirî fîkh and of dogmatic Zahirism.

M. Abû Zahra will serve as a guide for a considerable portion of this article; in his work on Ibn Hazm, hakûyât wa-‘arâdîn, dhâ’în wa-fîkhîn, ‘Cairo 1933/1954, he analyses the various aspects of Hajmian thought, while underlining its originality by means of a brief but informative comparative study. He refers to the Fasl, naturally, but also to the Ikhûm fi usûl al-akhkâm, 8 vols. in 2, Cairo 1345-7/1927-9; as well as to the Mubahât fi ‘l-fîkh al-zahirî, 11 vols. in 8, Cairo 1347-52/1929-33. The principal and characteristic aspects of the Hajmian, and thus Zahirî, credo are as follows. First of all, to exalt the oneness of God, while acknowledging the exclusive privilege enjoyed by His Prophets and Messengers in terms of the manifestation of miracles, the sign of sanctity and of keeping God free from anthropomorphism (tanzîh); and then to declare that God is one by means of His essence, while stressing the worth of His names, to the detriment of that of His attributes. In short, Ibn Hazm seeks to strip his credo of any trace of anthropomorphism (laqâhî); God, he further maintains, is unique in His creative action (dhâlî wa-tâlabîn). Also, the power
of man over his actions is affirmed not only in his continually active reality but also in his gradually sur-

On the fate reserved for the perpetrator of great sins (al-mahu), fate is equated between, on the one hand, clemency and divine pardon, and on the other, the Last Judgment (kitâb) and punishment, all those notions being explicitly supported by the sacred texts (op. cit., 337-40). A.M. Turki, L'engagement politique et la théorie du califat d'Ibn Hazm de Cordoue, in Théologiens (1982), 70, n. 10, following the lead of Abû Zahra, states that, while placing himself in a position of perfect continuity with regard to juristic classicism, Ibn Hazm sets forth instances which only the politico-social situation of his country could explain: legitimising the designation of a successor by the caliph already in place; and where no successor is named, occupation of the throne by the first claimant pro-

337-40). A.M. Turki, (op. cit., all those notions being explicitly supported by the sacred texts, but they attempt to present these conclusions as implied by these very texts (op. cit., 59). In sum-

mary, everything happens as if through a process of syllogism, reliable according to Ibn Hazm's terms, because here the conclusion is included in the premises. This is the famous dallâl (op. cit.) which will be observed at a later stage.

Here again, reference is to be made to the works of al-ul al-fikh of Ibn Hazm. Although they cannot all be cited here (see Turki, Polemiques, 458), mention should be made of the Ikhâm and of Marâtib al-udmâ' fi l-tibâtât wa l-ma'amâlatât wa l-tikâtât, Cairo 1357; another expressive title amongst these works is to be noted, sc. that of the Mulaikhdh ibîd al-kiyás wà l-ra'y wà l-Fishâhàn wà l-Tâlîl, Damascus 1379/1960. But within the limited scope of this article, Abû Zahra and Polemiques will continue to be the major points of reference.

Ibn Hazm does not object categorically to taklîl as practised by mankind in general (tâmînî), but he pre-

scribes an attitude of prudence and of vigilance, even a critical disposition if the individual is capable of this (Abû Zahra, 278-81). It has already been seen that the sacred text is defined as the Kurân, Tradition and the consensus of the Companions, or the daîlî (daîlî), drawn from one of these, and this has nothing in common with the kiyás of the jurists. The presum-

tion of continuity (itishâb (op. cit.).) is accepted, but not the pretexts (dharîrâ'î) invoked to legitimise a judge-

ment (âhkâm (op. cit.).) The abrogation (naskh (op. cit.).) of the Kurân is possible through the sunna (op. cit.), which, in turn, may be abrogated by the Kurân. Ibn Hazm goes so far as to accept the abrogation of the Kurân through the khabar al-âhûd (see Khabar al-Wardî) a tradition owing its transmission to a single authority. Taklîl is always rejected, even if it is practised with reference to a Companion (op. cit., 282-340, 364-81, 429-39).

For an illustration of these fundamental principles, see Polemiques, where there is detailed study of the original points of view of Ibn Hazm, with references to the Ikhâm in particular. Virtually all of the aspects of the al-ul al-fikh are tackled, from a comparative angle. The overall scheme is as follows: problems of interpretation (81-93): formulation of the order; general sense; and particular sense of two contradictory traditions; problems of transmission of traditions (99-130); khabar al-âhûd/sunna and hadîth/khabar musâ'il, normative value of the practice ('umal (op. cit.).) of the people of Medina; and licence for transmission of hadîth sc. idjâza (op. cit.). There follow the problems raised by the concept of consensus, as well as acceptance or rebut-

tal of reasoning by analogy (133-268, 271-393).

(b) Application of the law (furû') (see FURU', FURû') here, reference will be made in particular to Ibn Hazm's Muha'dâ, the study of which has been facilitated since the appearance of an index of topics, Mawâ'il al-tâkhîb fikh Ibn Hazm (Cairo 1412/1992). It is possible to follow Goldziher, op. cit., 50-53, and R. Strothmann, El' art. al-Zahiryya, in referring to the Mzân of al-

Sha'rânî, who has preserved "a large number of deci-

sons of the historical Zahirîyya" (Strothmann). A few typical examples picked out from the Mzân by Strothmann are as follows. A point at issue is the prohibition imposed on vessels of gold and of silver and intended only for drinking; eating from them is permitted, since no prohibition is mentioned by the
hadith. Cleaning the teeth with a tooth-pick in the course of ablutions is a necessity; knowingly neglecting to do this would render the prayer invalid. Wine, although forbidden, is not impure. There follows a host of examples concerning purification (tahara [q.v.]; the minor (wudū [q.v.]) and major (ghusl [q.v.]), as well as dry ablutions (tayammum [q.v.]): touching a copy of the Kur'ān in a state of impurity (hadath [q.v.]) is permitted. In wudū', invoking the name of God is obligatory. Reciting the Kur'ān in a state of major impurity (qandha [q.v.]) is permitted.

Schacht referred to the Hanbali Muhammad al-Shafiʿi (d. 1305/1187-8) as the authority for a K. fi maad al-Imām Dāwūd al-Zāhirī, in which he assembles a large number of Dāwūd's decisions, compared with corresponding Hanbalite doctrines. Nevertheless the essential source remains Ibn Hazm. Goldziher made use of his Itilāl al-kiyānas, but on a small scale (42-67). But Abū Zahra devotes lengthy chapters to the topic of these decisions, almost all of them drawing on the Malikī. The following are the most interesting points. On marriage. Ibn Hazm maintains that it is a legal obligation but one that is only incumbent on the man, and dependent on his eligibility for it; this follows from the Zahirī notion that Kur'ānic solicitation (talāb) constitutes a necessity (luzum). Ibn Hazm asserts the equality of the slave and the free man in contracting marriage with four wives and in taking a concubine, all of these simultaneously. He declares as forbidden, marriage with a daughter-in-law and with one raised in the bosom (fi īdārih) of a father-in-law, according to the Kur'ānic position; this, naturally, after dissolution of the alliance contracted with the mother. He acknowledges the right of the kālit to dissolve a marriage, but for a number of lesser reasons which he takes to be ordinary; thus no account is taken of the so-called latent vices of the husband, neither his prolonged absence, nor poverty preventing him from supplying the needs of his wife. In this last case it is she who is supposed to support her husband (441-63). See also Turki, Femmes privilégiées et privilégiées femelles dans le système théologique et juridique d'Ibn Hazm, in Théologiens, 101-38.

The following are a few more original positions regarding legacies and wills. Any decision involving property taken by a man suffering from a mortal sickness is declared valid, one's state of health having no legal status (Abū Zahra, 464-80). Ibn Hazm maintains that making a will is a duty subject to neither restriction nor condition of any kind whatsoever. It is certainly to the advantage of close relatives (kardba) having no hereditary rights, as is stipulated by a testator who takes to be a fard [q.v.], imposing a duty, which others consider to be simple guidance (ṣaghīd, 507-10). The option (khiydr al-shart [see kiyārā)] stipulated by the contracting parties to the agreement at the time of the conclusion of the deed of sale, is refused by Ibn Hazm, on pain of nullification of the deed whatever the duration of the option (510-1). A last example gives Ibn Hazm the opportunity to express his individualism, this time in relation to Dāwūd, as he chooses to cite him. The issue is the prohibition on hiring out land for agricultural purposes (al-ard al-mazrā; whatever the formula, the contract concluded can only be nullified. The only possibility envisaged by Ibn Hazm is a partnership, either for sowing (muzdrā' [q.v.]), yielding a agreed proportion of the produce of the land, or for a leasehold agreement (muḥārasa [q.v.]). If a building is placed on the land in question it alone can be the object of the hire, from which the ground is excluded. For the details of this issue, see Ziaul Haque, Landlord and peasant in early Islam, Islamabad 1977, 80-9, 337-43.

History of the school. For the masters of Ibn Hazm, see Goldziher in Die Zahiriten, who traced the roots of the school indirectly back to al-Shāfiʿi and, directly, to Dāwūd (19-106). This may be supplemented by Abū Zahra, 85, 268-72, and by S. Yafūt, 45-52, who supplies a list of 38 masters of Ibn Hazm.

For the followers of the Zahirī school of Cordova, see Goldziher, op. cit., 156-86, where there is a panorama of the most important representatives of the Zahirīyya from the 5th/11th to the 9th/15th century.

Still in the context of family law, Ibn Hazm rejects proportional reductions of hereditary portions (fard) in cases where the total of these parts exceeds the unitary whole; here he adopts the viewpoint of the Companion Ibn 'Abbās, giving certain privileged shares to the detriment of others (in Abū Zahra, 498-504). Furthermore, gifts must be given to close relatives (akhdāb), orphans and paupers who are present at the time when the property is being distributed; doing this is incumbent upon each heir but left to his discretion. In case of refusal, it belongs to the one holding the authority to act as executor in his place. This is, Ibn Hazm asserts, a position dictated by the Kur'ānic text, which should be taken literally, so long as no dālī is opposed to it (504-6), and which assumes the implementation of the principle of istislaḥ.

Various cases of transactions (muḍāmāt [q.v.]) follow. At the time of the conclusion of a deed of sale, performance of the witnessing required by law is an obligation which can be dispensed with only if there are no witnesses available. Otherwise, an offence has been committed, but the deed remains valid. If payment is to be made in advance, putting the deed into writing is obligatory. Otherwise, an offence has been committed, but the deed is not nullified. However, the obligation lapses in the absence of a scribe. This is what Ibn Hazm, on the basis of the Kur'ānic verse, takes to be a fard [q.v.], imposing a duty, which others consider to be simple guidance (ṣaghīd, 507-10).

The option (khiydr al-shart [see kiyārā)] stipulated by the contracting parties to the agreement at the time of the conclusion of the deed of sale, is refused by Ibn Hazm, on pain of nullification of the deed whatever the duration of the option (510-1). A last example gives Ibn Hazm the opportunity to express his individualism, this time in relation to Dāwūd, as he chooses to cite him. The issue is the prohibition on hiring out land for agricultural purposes (al-ard al-mazrā; whatever the formula, the contract concluded can only be nullified. The only possibility envisaged by Ibn Hazm is a partnership, either for sowing (muzdrā' [q.v.]), yielding a agreed proportion of the produce of the land, or for a leasehold agreement (muḥārasa [q.v.]). If a building is placed on the land in question it alone can be the object of the hire, from which the ground is excluded. For the details of this issue, see Ziaul Haque, Landlord and peasant in early Islam, Islamabad 1977, 80-9, 337-43.

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See also Abū Zahra, 516-23 and Camilla Adang, Beginnings of the Zahirī school in al-Andalus, in R. Peters and F.E. Vogel, The Islamic school of law. Evolution, devolution and progress, forthcoming. A problem that merits mention is that of the Hanbali influence which might possibly have affected Ibn Tūmāt (d. 520/1130 [q.v.]). Goldziher affirmed this, not on the level of dogma, on account of the Ash'arism of the Mahdī, but on that of the uṣūl al-ḥikm. See the two studies by R. Brunschvig, with references to Goldziher, Sur la doctrine du Mahdī Ibn Tūmāt, and Encore sur la doctrine du Mahdī Ibn Tūmāt, in Études d'Islamologie, i, 281-93, 295-302.

Bibliography: Given in the article, to be supplemented by the bibls. of S. Yafūt, op. cit., 84-7 (Notes) and A.M. Turki, Polemiques et Notes.
(AL-)ZAHRAN, conventionally Dhahran, a town of Saudi Arabia (lat. 26° 18' N., long. 50° 05' E.) in the eastern province (al-mintaka al-dhahrqiyah), situated in the Dammam oilfield just south of the Gulf port of al-Dammam. Near the site of the original discovery of oil in Saudi Arabia in 1938, the town did not really develop until after 1945 with the exploitation of oil by the Aramco company, one of whose main centres it still remains today. Situated on a hill in the town, the government-sponsored College, now a modern international airport and is now part of a vast urban and oil-producing ensemble stretching for some 40 km/25 miles from north to south along the Gulf, including the towns of al-Katif, al-Dammam and al-Khubar (q.v.), the point where the bridge linking Saudi Arabia with Bahrain Island leaves the mainland. Dhahran now (2000) has a population of 130,000.

Less than 20 km/13 miles to the north al-Katif remains famed for its palm groves, its date production and its gardens. It is this proximity which permits one to envisage the ancient history of Dhahran (even in the shape of a settlement of unknown name), confirmed by archaeology. The natural environment is relatively favourable: although located in a zone of sabkha (q.v.) (a coastal zone with high salinity), the region has abundant springs and artesian wells, the basis of an active and long-established agriculture despite the arid climate. This last is confirmed by recent archaeological work in the immediate surroundings of Dhahran (P.B. Cornwall, 1940-1; H.R.P. and Violet Dickson, 1942; T.G. Bibby, 1962-3; and R. Stehl 1964-6), which has produced large numbers of artefacts showing that the local hillocks were settled as soon as the waters of the Gulf receded (after 10,000 B.C.). Ceramic fragments of the Ubaid period (4th millennium B.C.) shows trade contacts with Mesopotamia, and the hundreds of burial tumuli have yielded objects indicating that the region of Dhahran formed part of the kingdom of Dilmun at the turn of the 3rd-2nd millennium B.C. (see on the archaeology of the region, D.T. Potts, The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity, Oxford 1990).

The actual name al-Zahrān does not appear in the Arabic historians and geographers, who call the region al-Bahrain or Yamāma (q.v.); they attest its richness, also known from the time of the Carmathian state there (8th-11th centuries [see KARMĀTĪ]), with the town of al-Katif often mentioned. Western travellers of recent centuries do not mention al-Zahrān either, although in the 1760s Carsten Niebuhr stressed the agricultural richness of the region, then under the control of the Banū Ḋhambil; in 1863 W.G. Palgrave halted in the small port of al-Katif, guarded to the south by the imposing fort of al-Dammām, but does not name al-Zahrān among the villages there. However, in the early 1870s, the Ottoman governor of Irāq, Midhat Pasha (q.v.), invaded the province of Ḥasā and introduced various projects for improving the agriculture of the al-Dammām–al-Zahrān region, and the latter name now starts to appear in Ottoman documents.


AL-ZAHRAWI, ĀBD AL-ḤAMĪD, Syrian Arab politician and journalist, author of numerous writings advocating political, social and religious re-

form (see İLŞAH, i.). The date of his birth in Ḥimṣ is not certain; in Arabic sources, it ranges from 1855 to 1863 or even 1871 (see Tarabin, 118 n. 1, and ‘Allāh, Masdūl, 12). He was born into a Sunni family claiming descent from al-Husayn b. ‘All andFsāma (q.v.), and from the latter’s honorific title, al-Zahrā’, the family derived its nisha. Over several generations, it had held the position of nakib al-zahrāf (q.v.), in Ḥimṣ. ‘Abd al-Hamīd received his formal education at a kutṭah (q.v.) and at a niṣābīyya [see MA'RĪF, I.]. Later on, he studied privately with a number of local scholars who directed his interest, inter alia, to the writings of Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn ʿAwida and Ibn Khaldūn (q.v.).

In 1890 or slightly later he was in Istanbul and then Cairo, and in this last place came into contact with a number of Arab and Turkish intellectuals critical of the regime of Sultan ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd II (q.v.). He was in Istanbul for about four years from 1895 onwards, contributing articles to the Arabic section of the Turkish newspaper Miftāh. Regarded with suspicion by the Ottoman authorities, he was back in Damascus in 1899, at this time associating with Syrian Salafi circles [see SALAFYYA], but escaped to Cairo in 1902 or afterwards, where he wrote for a number of newspapers and journals such as al-Muṣayyad, al-Djarida and al-Manṭar (q.v.).

After the restoration of the Ottoman constitution in 1908, al-ZahrawI returned to Hims. Soon afterwards he was elected deputy, for the provincial district of Hamāt, in the lower chamber of the Ottoman parliament. In the following years, as member of parliament and also as editor of an Arab newspaper that he had founded in Istanbul, al-Ḥasāfa (1910-12), he made himself known as a defender of Arab rights. At the same time, however, he called on all subjects of the Ottoman empire to support this state against the encroachments of European imperialism (his articles published in al-Ḥasāfa are reprinted in al-amāl al-kāmilta, iii, see Bibli.).

After the dissolution of the parliament in 1912, the military coup of January 1913 and the subsequent repression of all Arab reform committees, al-ZahrawI began openly supporting Arab nationalism. He was elected president of the first Arab Congress held in Paris in June 1913. In October of the same year, however, he travelled to Istanbul in order to establish new contacts with the C.U.P. [see İTTİHĀD WE TERAKKĪ QEMİYYETI] government.

In January 1914 he was nominated member of the Ottoman senate. While his acceptance of this post was regarded as a betrayal by some, al-ZahrawI defended his step by stating that the government had finally confessed its past mistakes towards the Arabs and intended not to repeat them. Rather, it would implement the reforms demanded by the Paris congress. As a member of the senate, he showed considerable moderation—at least in public—over Arab rights. However, when in December 1914 Djemalı Pasha (q.v.), the commander of the Ottoman Fourth Army and military governor, arrived in Damascus, he had already been informed about the contents of French diplomatic documents impugning a number of Arabs, including al-ZahrawI, in secret dealings with the Allies. Together with several others, al-ZahrawI was publicly hanged in Damascus on 6 May 1916 (list of those executed in Tauber, Arab movements, 55).

Al-ZahrawI’s execution has made him a martyr of the Arab national movement, although some earlier and modern authors have viewed certain aspects of his career rather critically. As for the development of
his religious and political ideas, the publication of his Amīl kāmiila (see Bibli.) may finally allow a thorough analysis.


(W. Endo)

AL-ẒAHRAWĪ, AḤĀM KHAJÅL B. Aḥ-ḤABĀS, important Andalusian physician. Virtually nothing is known of his life or education, though it is assumed from his nisba that he came from or resided in Madīnat al-Ẓahrāwī [q.v.], near Cordova, where a royal residence and governmental centre was established in 325/936 by Abd al-Rahmān III al-Nāṣir [see ‘Abd al-Raḥmān 3]. His residence there is confirmed by references within his writings to patients being “amongst us in al-Ẓahrāwī” (‘indānā bi l-Ṭahrāwī). His direct connection with the court is a matter of speculation, though later (16th-20th-century) scholars assert his service to either ‘Abd al-Rahmān III, his son al-Ḥakam II al-Musta‘īnṣār [q.v.] or al-Manṣūr bi l-Īlāh [q.v.], the de facto ruler of Andalus from 368/978 to 392/1002.

Given his subsequent influence, the biographical sources are surprisingly limited. According to al-Ḥumaydī (d. 488/1095 [q.v.]), he died in al-Andalus after 400/1009. Al-Ḥumaydī added that al-Ẓahrāwī was a person of distinction, religion, and learning, and that in the field in which he excelled, medicine, he wrote a large and famous book of great usefulness. After providing the title of al-Ẓahrāwī’s treatise, al-Ḥumaydī quoted the fulsome praise of the work given by Ibn Hazm [q.v.]: “If indeed we were to say that no one in medicine has written a better summary with respect to expression (‘aṣāil) and practice (‘aṣala), then we would speak the truth.” No other details are provided. Ibn Baṣḥkwālī (d. 578/1183 [q.v.]) repeats verbatim the account given by al-Ḥumaydī, adding only that al-Ẓahrāwī was mentioned amongst the teachers of one Ibn Sumayk. This latter fact was omitted by al-Dābbī (d. 599/1203 [q.v.]), who repeated (without credit) the account given by al-Ḥumaydī.

At what time and to what extent al-Ẓahrāwī’s writings were known to Arabic writers outside of Spain has yet to be determined. Ibn Abī Usayyib’s (d. 668/1270 [q.v.], writing in Syria, said that al-Ẓahrāwī was “experienced (kaḥrī) with simple and compound remedies and outstanding in therapy (ṣayyid al-ṭā’ifī).” The short entry is of significance since no mention of al-Ẓahrāwī is to be found in the important Andalusian sources on which Ibn Abī Usayyib’s is known to have relied. It differs from Andalusian sources in that no dates are given and it states that he produced several treatises, one of which was known as al-Ẓahrāwī and one was entitled al-Ṭarīf, the latter being the largest, most famous, and the culmination of his thought.

Later historians add very little. Al-Makka’ī (d. 1041/1632 [q.v.]), giving al-Ẓahrāwī’s name as Khājaf b. Ayyāḥ al-Ẓahrāwī, quotes in full the riśāla on the state of literature in al-Andalus by Ibn Hazm which praised al-Ẓahrāwī. Al-Makka’ī also gives the addenda to Ibn Hazm’s riśāla by Ibn Si’r al-Maghribī (d. 685/1286 [q.v.]), in which it is said that al-Ẓahrāwī’s treatise served as one of the sources for the materia medica of Ibn al-Bayṭār (d. 646/1248 [q.v.]). Kāṭīr Čelebī (d. 1067/1657 [q.v.]) listed the K. al-Ṭarīf by al-Ẓahrāwī, stating that it consisted of 30 makātīb, most of which were on compound remedies arranged like kunāqāt (a term often used for early Arabic, Greek, and Syriac therapeutic manuals).

The precise date of his death has been the subject of much speculation. According to the earliest sources, he died in al-Andalus after 400/1009. In the De viris gubbusiam illustribus aput Arabes, completed in 1527 and attributed to Leo Afric anus (q.v.), it is said that al-Ẓahrāwī was physician to al-Manṣūr (bi l-Īlāh), “consiliarius” of Cordova, and died in 404/1015 at the age of 101. Al-Makka’ī, in quoting Ibn Hazm’s praise of al-Ẓahrāwī’s book, inserted a phrase stating that he [ Ibn Hazm ] had encountered him and seen himself (wa-kād adhabkhā wa-dhahadnāhā); this statement was subsequently interpreted as meaning that Ibn Hazm’s (d. 456/1064) had met al-Ẓahrāwī (see Gayangos, 464-5 n. 134; Brockelmann, F, 276; Hamarneh and Sonne deeker, 19). Others suggested that he died in 500/1106-7 (see Casirii, ii, 136; Hamarneh and Sonne deeker, 20 n. 2).

His only preserved treatise is an enormous manual usually entitled K. al-Ṭarīf liv-man ẓabīha wa l-ta’dīf (“The arrangement [of medical knowledge] for one who is unable to compile [a manual for himself]”). The form and meaning of the title has generated considerable discussion, with the final word sometimes read as al-ṭa’dīf and interpreted as for one “who cannot cope with complications” (Spink and Lewis, viii). Occasionally the last term is written as ta’ifī (see Sezgin, G1S, iii, 324). The titles K. al-Ẓahrāwī or K. al-Ẓahrāwī al-kabīr also occur in some manuscript copies.

The Ṭarīf is made up of 30 books (makātīb), of which the first (on general principles), the second and largest (on the symptoms and treatments of 325 diseases discussed in sequence from head to foot), and the thirteenth (on surgery) form almost half the volume. The rest are rather short and concerned with various aspects of pharmacology, including compound remedies, substitute drugs, and the preparation of medicines. While al-Ẓahrāwī relied extensively on earlier sources (especially Paulus of Aegina, Ibn Māṣawāy, Sibīb b. Sahl, Imrān b. Kuṣṭa b. Lākā, al-Rāzī, and Ibn al-Djazzārī), he also included his own experiences and case-histories, thus providing an important source for our knowledge of a practicing physician. Many claims have been made for his originality, though most have not sufficiently examined his sources. He certainly contributed a number of technological inno-
vations, including a concealed knife for opening abscesses in a manner that would not alarm the nervous patient, a variety of ostertal forceps (though not for use in live births), new variations in specula or dilators, and a scissor-like instrument for use in tonsilllectomies. The final book, on surgery, appears to be the first to have been illustrated with diagrams of instruments, for there is no evidence that Greek surgical writings were illustrated, except for a tenth-century Byzantine treatise on bone setting.

In 1500/1465-6 the surgical book was translated into Turkish by Sharaf al-Dīn Müdendji-oghlu for Mehmed II [q.v.]. The illustrator of this Turkish version, concerned with producing an entertaining manuscript for a royal patron, inserted a large number of colourful miniatures showing physicians at work, though these illustrations added nothing to the understanding of the surgical procedures or instrumentation (and had no subsequent influence in surgical literature).

In Europe the Tarṣīf may have had greater influence than in the Islamic world. The 30th book, on surgery, was translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona (d. 1187) and widely influenced European surgical writing, especially that of Guy de Chauliac (d. ca. 1370) and through him the subsequent writings for several centuries. In the mid-13th century the first two books were translated into Hebrew and then into Latin and printed in Augsburg in 1519 as Liber theoreticus nec non practicus Alzaharvanii. At the end of the 13th century the 28th book, on the manufacture and preparation of medicaments from plants, minerals, and animals, was translated as Liber servitoris by Simon of Genoa and Abraham Judaeeus of Tortosa and printed at Venice in 1471, with numerous subsequent printings. In Latin the author was known as Albucasis (with many variants) and as Alzaharavasis (also with many variants), with the result that many early-modern European scholars thought they were two separate authors.


**ZAHRIYYÄT** (A.), sing. zahriyya, from zahr “flower, blossom” (or, more precisely, “yellow flower, yellow blossom”), like na'urāyiyya [q.v.], designates poetry dedicated to the description of flowers. The term is attested in the list of chapters of the *Dīwān of Sa'dī al-Dīn al-Hilli* [q.v.].

1. In Arabic. Descriptions of meadows (rawd, riyād) and flowers are encountered sporadically already in *qaḥīl* poetry. In the *nasib* [q.v.], the comparison of the scent of the beloved with the fragrance of a blooming meadow could result in a detailed description of the meadow (in the framework of a so-called extended simile). A famous example occurs in *Antara’s mas‘ālāda* (ll. 15 ff.); another in al-Ashāʼa’s *Wadī Ḫayratya* (ll. 14 ff.). In the context of his meadow description, al-Ashāʼa presents one of the flowers in greater detail; its blossom he depicts with the (subsequently very frequent) metaphor “star”.

Also in *qaḥīl* poetry, in the description of the abandoned campuses of the beloved contained in the *kūzūt* prologue, the depiction of its vegetation sprouting after rainfall could be included (e.g. in Labīt’s
In the tradition of this motif one finds for the first time the comparison of flowering meadows with a variety of garments, mats, and similar objects—an innovation that later became part of the stock imagery of the genre. Garden flowers (partly with Persian names) are first mentioned by poets who were in contact with the court of al-Hira [q.v.], impregnated as it was with a Persian lifestyle. Al-Khāja in particular, in the wine scenes of his kasidas, names and describes numerous flowers that are used to adorn the wine tavern, especially roses and narcissuses. These descriptions mirror without doubt Persian mores and lifestyle; however, they cannot be used to prove the influence, on Arabic wine and flower poetry, of a hypothetical Middle Persian bacchic poetry.

In addition to flowers, he also pays attention to the wind and clouds, the song of birds, trees and rivers, with spring descriptions.

In al-Buhturf’s (d. 274/887 [q.v.]) the zahrīyyāt, rauḍīyyāt, etc., form a separate genre. In addition to numerous short poems in the vein of Ibn al-Mu’tazz, he also composed many long “kasidas” whose main or sole theme is a garden or spring or a field in bloom. Alongside a literary debate (a full-fledged manāṣir) [q.v.] ([Dīwān, ed. M.A. ’Az-zām, ii, Cairo 1969, no. 71]), he entirely replaces the nastaḥ by a long depiction of spring that also contains descriptions of the rain and of flowers of various colours. The spring description is at the same time connected with the praise in an ingenious way (spring as an imperfect image of the caliph). This innovation of Abū Tammām’s acquired a model character in a similar way in later Arabic poets (al-Buḥūtī, Ibn al-Rūmī, al-Sanawbarī et alii.), but also Persian, Hebrew, and Ottoman poets, started their kasidas with spring descriptions.

In al-Buḥūtī’s (d. 284/897 [q.v.]) nature descriptions, the inventory of nature described becomes richer; in addition to flowers, he also pays attention to the wind and clouds, the song of birds, trees and rivers, and other elements of the landscape (e.g. the lands in bloom around al-Rakka, in [Dīwān, ed. H.K. al-Šayrāfī, Cairo 1963 ff., iv, no. 903, ll. 12 ff.; the Tigris and the Dījkīra, ibid., no. 818, ll. 16 ff.). Within the nastaḥ of his kasidas, al-Buḥūtī describes the garden of the manāṣir, at times together with his palace ([Dīwān, iii, no. 641, ll. 25-6; cf. below]). In a famous kasida he develops out of the praise one of the most beautiful descriptions of the spring in Arabic poetry, the connecting thought being “Unto you came the merry spring” ([Dīwān, iv, no. 791, ll. 25-30].

Probably the most important nature poet of the Arab East is al-Buḥūtī’s contemporary, Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896 [q.v.]). In addition to prologues to kasidas that often contained very detailed spring and flower descriptions (a meadow with many flowers in [Dīwān, ed. H. Naṣṣār, Cairo 1973 ff., iii, no. 956; narcissuses in ii, no. 413; spring and red anemones in vi, no. 1223, ll. 14 ff.), he composed the first substantial independent flower poems. The most famous one is a poem of fourteen lines, in which the narcissus is given precedence over the rose (a pre-muṣāfara [q.v.]). ([Dīwān, ii, no. 470]. This zahrīyya was “refuted” countless times. Equally remarkable are a number of rauḍīyyāt that are unusual for the empathy for nature they express (see below, and also NAWRIYA).

Ibn al-Mu’tazz (d. 296/908 [q.v.]) draws above all “epigrammatic sketches” and “poetic snapshots” (G.E. von Grunebaum) of flowers. His main techniques are the bilateral simile and the metaphor. These poems, consisting mostly of only a few lines, can be found, together with other “ecphrastic epigrams” ([J.Ch. Bürgel] in the chapter Ausfür “Descriptions” of his [Dīwān]. However, Ibn al-Mu’tazz also resumes the tradition of garden descriptions in wine poetry. His well-known muṣāfara “On criticising the morning draught” (fī dhīamm al-ṣabīḥ) ([Dīwān, ed. B. Lewin, Istanbul 1945-50, iv, no. 99) starts with a long flower and garden description; as with Abū Nuwās, the garden serves as the backdrop for the drinking party.

In al-Šanawbarī (d. 334/945-6 [q.v.]), the zahrīyyāt, rauḍīyyāt, etc., form a separate genre. In addition to numerous short poems in the vein of Ibn al-Mu’tazz, he also composed many long “kasidas” whose main or sole theme is a garden or spring or a field in bloom. Alongside a literary debate (a full-fledged manāṣir) ([Dīwān, ed. I. ’Abbas, Beirut 1970, takmila, no. 123), in which, in reaction to Ibn al-Rūmī, he gives precedence to the rose over the narcissus, he also composed a “war of the flowers” ([Dīwān, no. 77]. Nature description can form a prologue to the panegyric kasīda with al-Šanawbarī also; moreover, it penetrates almost all other genres cultivated by him (see further, NAWRIYA).

The perception of nature in later Arabic literature is predominantly optical, aiming at the decorative (G.E. von Grunebaum). In addition to the visual, acoustic (bird song) and olfactory impressions (flower scent) are expressed, though less frequently. The main means of description are simile and metaphor which serve to visualise mostly the form and colour of the flowers; the image donors are mostly frequent precious stones and metals (“roses like rubies”) and parts of the human body (“roses like cheeks”, “narcissuses like eyes”). The natural objects are often personified (Ibn al-Mu’tazz: “riders of drops of flowers on horses urged on in the morning by the whips of wind”, [Dīwān, iv, no. 111]; the animation is often combined with a fantastic reinterpretation of real qualities (al-ṣikārī [q.v.], lūs al-tā’līf) (Ibn al-Rūmī: “The cheeks of the roses glowed with shame”). In zahrīyyāt like these, many of the motifs, images, rhetorical figures, and conceits can be found that are also characteristic for the poetry of European mannerism (cf. Bürgel, Epigramme, and Schoeler, Naturdichtung, 100 ff., 260-1).

Only rarely does one find something like a “romantic” feeling for nature, by which real human feelings are projected on to (personified) nature. This is the case e.g. in al-Buḥūtī’s famous spring depiction already mentioned: “There came to you serene Spring, strutting his stuff, laughing with beauty, so that he nearly talked; and Nawruz, in the darkness before daybreak, has awakened the first roses which yesterday were still asleep…” ([Dīwān, iv, no. 791, ll. 25 ff].

Quite outside the customary is a small group of nature poems by Ibn al-Rūmī (cf. Schoeler, Naturdichtung, 219 ff.). The poet describes in these a nature
that lives its own life; a nature which through its splendour uplifts man and forces him to praise God; which animates man through the scent of its flowers and diverts him through its birdsong; and which through its cool breeze removes the sorrow of the sorrowful: “A northwind with a cool breeze which heals the heat of the fever of thirsting hearts: when it arises in the early morning in the clouded east, it removes the sorrow of the sorrowful ... as if it came from the Garden of Bliss” (Divān, vi, no. 1179).

In the longer poems of al-Sanawbārī, one often notices a lyrical-hymnic tone: his passages sometimes replace or supplant the pure description: “Do you not rejoice at the olive trees of Bitāyās and at al-Sālīhiyya with its cypresses and myrtles? ...” (Divān, no. 180). At one point al-Sanawbārī regards the gardens almost as a sanctuary: “If I had for once the power to preserve the gardens, no base man would step on their grounds” (Divān, tabārīda, no. 15).

In al-Andalus flower and garden descriptions are among the favourite themes of the poets. One of the oldest Arabic anthologies from Spain, that of Abū ‘l-Walīd al-Ḥimārī (d. ca. 440/1048), bears the title al-Badī‘ fī wasf al-rabī‘ (ed. H. Pérès, Rabat 1940) and contains exclusively spring and flower poems; likewise, in the even older work on tabābīda by Ibn al-Kattānī (d. ca. 420/1029), the K. Tabābīda al-fā‘l fī al-Andalus (ed. F. ‘Abdīs, Beirut 1960), the flower theme takes up much space.

In the 4th/10th century, under the ‘Amīrīds, a new variety of zaḥriyyāt appears sporadically in al-Andalus: the short, improvised flower poem with panegyrical closure or secondary theme. Its most important representative is Ibn Darrāḏī al-Kašfī (d. 421/1030) (cf. e.g. Divān, ed. M. A. Makki, Damascus 1961, nos. 16–22, 149), who also composed a long panegyrical kašīda addressed to al-Muẓaffar, to which al-Qāsimī prefixed as a prologue a famous description of a drinking party, a garden, and lilies (Divān, no. 15). The theme of the prologue is artfully connected with the main theme by metafora continuata (drinking party = military campaign; the lily = fort, etc.).

For the 5th/11th century, Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070–1 [q.v.]) should be singled out, although he is not a nature poet proper. In a panegyric poem addressed to his beloved Wallāḏa (q.v.) [Divān, ed. A. ‘Abd al-‘Azīm, Cairo 1957, 139), objects of nature participate in his longing, the relationship between man and nature being established by fantastic reinterpretations (huww al-itūb) (“the breeze ... is feebly, as if affected by pity for me”, “it is as if the eyes of the flowers, when they see my sleeplessness, were weeping about that [pain] which is in me [since they are covered with dew] ...”).

The most important nature poet of al-Andalus is Ibn Khāṇḍāḏī (d. 533/1139 [q.v.]). In his Divān, descriptions of nature take up much, if not most, of the space. More commonly than with other poets, in Ibn Khāṇḍāḏī the description of flowers and gardens is combined with other objects of nature, such as trees, rivers, dew, clouds and hills, all of these sometimes artfully intertwined, being treated in one single poem. The scenes of nature, very often combined with love and/or drinking scenes, can be lavishly appointed. An example is Divān (ed. M. Gḥāzī, Alexandria 1960), no. 113, in which the following themes are taken up: the dream image of the beloved, the night drawing to a close, daybreak, and the flowers on a hill and alongside a watercourse; this description of nature is framed by a love scene. Ibn Khāṇḍāḏī’s attitude toward nature is characterised by the fact that nature is almost constantly personified and/or seen in a relationship with man: “[a cloud] that has coined white dirhams of blossoms which fingertips of boughs have tendered to you” (no. 184, l. 4). Through his use of metaphor, Ibn Khāṇḍāḏī frequently projects phenomena of the macrocosm on to the microcosm of horticulture (“An arīk tree that has erected over us a dewy sky, while the stars of the wine cups have been set into circular motion” (no. 221 m, p. 351).

In the foregoing, only eminent Andalusian poetic personalities who developed their own styles have been focused on; it must be stressed, however, that the average Andalusian flower poem, as found e.g. in anthologies, does not significantly diverge from the Eastern Arabic one. It may be noted, though, that in al-Andalus the theme of flowers and gardens is also taken up in strophic poems (mwaqṣaḏaḥ, ziggal [q.v.]).

2. In Persian.

In Persian poetry, poetic spring and flower descriptions are already found in the great lyrical poets of the 4th/10th century: Rūḍākī, Dākīr and Kīsā‘ī [q.v.]. Rūḍākī, in clear continuation of the Arabic tradition of Abū Tammām and al-Buhtūrī (he mentions Abū Tammām in one of his poems by name, see S. Naflī, Abūtul-a al-gārī ... Rūḍākī ... iii, Tehran 1319/1940, 1016), opens one of his panegyrical kašīdas with a detailed spring description which leads to a short bacic description at the end (ibid., iii, 968–70). In the 5th/11th century (in such poets as ‘Unsūrī, Farrāḏī, Manāẓīrī and Kārṭān), the spring description, often combined with a drinking party description, becomes a favourite, if not the most favourite, theme of the prologue of the kašīda. This may be explained by the fact that the Persian panegyrical kašīda was composed as a rule for a celebration, especially the spring celebration (nawroz). Since also at the autumn celebration (muharrām), poems were dedicated and recited to the mammād, we find, besides spring descriptions, many autumn descriptions (cf. Fouchécour, Description, 13 f.). Apart from the kašīda prologue, nature descriptions can also be inserted in the madīḥ section, e.g. in the context of the description of the mammād’s palace (as in al-Buhtūrī) (cf. ibid., 5). Finally, the theme may also be treated in the framework of a kīrā, either in a nature poem or completely independently. This happened already in the 4th/10th century: among the collected fragments of Kīsā‘ī (ed. M. A. Rivāhī, Tehran 1347/1968) one finds a few poems with the themes of spring (77, 84), the narcissus (78) and the water lily (85).

In most of the Persian spring descriptions in kašīdas, the focus is not on a garden as a whole, under which the details are subsumed; rather, the poet treats a whole series of nature objects and phenomena as objects in their own right (cf. Reinert, Probleme, 74). The effect of spring on man is often included in the description. Rūḍākī treats the following in his already-mentioned kašīda prologue: spring [its colours, its fragrance, the rejuvenating effect it has on man], the sky with clouds, lightning, thunder, rain; the sun, the thawing of the snow, the brook, tulip, nightingale, starling and dove. One hundred years later, in a comparable nature scene in ‘Unṣūrī (d. 431/1039–40), we have wind, tree, garden, lily, earth, sun, cloud, night, stars, mountain and snow (the last present, but not mentioned) (Divān, ed. Y. Kārīb, Tehran 1341/1962, 45). Again, almost one hundred years later, in Amīr Mu‘īzzī (d. ca. 520/1126), we find season, earth, garden, mountain, tree, meadow, cypress, rose bough, dove, nightingale, cloud, tulip, stars and snow (again, the last not mentioned) (Divān, ed. ‘A. Ikbal, Tehran
Finally, after another hundred years, Khâkânî (d. 595/1199 [q.v.]) has the following:

"From greenness the water donned verdigris-coloured chainmail; when the lily saw this, it created a chainmail-piercing lance (fantastic reinterpretation of the shape of the pistil of the lily) from the aforementioned kastîda prologue of Khâkânî.

"The poetry of Ibn Khafîdja, the garden and spring depictions are, accordingly, as a rule richer than their Arabic counterparts. In the realm of imagery, metaphorical expression (which supersedes the bilateral simile for the most part or uses it only in a subordinate function) plays from the beginning a much greater role than it does in Arabic poetry (where the simile remains an important means of imagery, especially in Ibn al-Mü'tazz but also in al-Şanawbarî). Characteristic for Persian nature depictions are the numerous personifications (thus already in Rûdâki, "the tulip is laughing from afar in the field"); "see that thunder that is mourning like a sad lover") (cf. Reinert, ‘Proklimat’, 74). In later poetry, personification is very often combined with fantastic etiology (hanîf-ta'lit); the juxtaposition of two nature objects is thus reinterpreted as a cause-effect relationship; the choice of images is harmonically adjusted (munâriît-i nazar, cf. Ritter, Bilder sprache, 7 ff.). "From greenness the water donned verdigris-coloured chainmail; when the lily saw this, it created a chainmail-piercing lance (fantastic reinterpretation of the shape of the pistil of the lily) from the aforementioned kastîda prologue of Khâkânî.

Added to the images customarily used in Arabic nature descriptions for natural objects and phenomena there are a number of new images in Persian, e.g. those taken from the religious sphere (the earth in spring is a paradise [full of houris]; spring brings life to life like Jesus; the garden because of its colours is a temple of idols or a picture gallery of Mani; the violet has laid its head at [the rose's] in the meadow the rose has stepped from non-being to life like Jesus; the garden because of its colours is a temple of idols or a picture gallery of Mani; the violet has laid its head at [the rose's]

After the ghazal had superseded the kastîda as the most important lyrical genre, nature descriptions also increasingly penetrated the ghazal. Sa'dî (d. 691/1292 [q.v.]) begins some of his ghazâlâyât with garden and spring descriptions and then, with a phrase like "then I thought of you—and forgot the gardens", switches to the rehât (Kûshâyât, ed. M. Fûrûght, Tehran, 1337/1958, Tâbâhî, 525, similarly 532). With Hâfiz (d. 792/1390 [q.v.]), the garden and spring depictions can occupy the larger part of the ghazal. They are often connected with a call to drinking wine and to carpe diem; thus e.g. in the poem beginning "Now that in the meadow the rose has stepped from non-being into being, the violet has laid its head at [the rose's] feet in prostration" (Dâwîn, ed. M. Kâzzûnî and K. Ghânî, Tehran [1320/1941], no. 219). However, this garden description may also be the exclusive aloes topic of a Hâfizian ghazal, as in poem no. 295: "In the early morning I went to the scent of the rosesed in the garden, in order to heal [my] sorrow like the sad/loving nightingale" (note that a consolatory effect is here attributed to nature).

Finally, in epic poetry [see Hâmâkâ] the description of nature is frequently used as a frame in which the poet puts his protagonist. Such descriptions can be found already in Firdawsî's Shâh-nâmâ (a spring description occurs e.g. at the beginning of Isfandiyâr's fourth adventure). It is handled in virtuoso style by Nizâmî (d. 605/1209 [q.v.]) (cf. Ritter, Bilder sprache, 41 ff.). Very frequently, Nizâmî depicts a landscape, often a spring landscape with many flowers, before he puts his hero on the stage. Nizâmî uses nature as a staging area and as a décor of the epic action; however, he often establishes a relationship between nature and human affairs; the former may be con somant or dissolvent with a psychological condition (ibid., 43). Thus in Nizâmî's Shâh-nâmâ the story of Laylâ's death is introduced by an autumn description, in which the images are chosen in such a way that they exactly conform to the psychological content of the subsequent narrative: "the cheek of the garden becomes pale . . . , the rose takes up the book of grief in its hand" (ed. W. Dastgîrdî, 248; cf. Ritter, ibid., 45).


G. Schoeler

Zâ'îm (A., pl. za'ātim"), "chief", "leader". Eymologically, za'îm denotes the spokesman of a group of individuals such as a tribe, or, metaphorically, claimant to the name of this group; but za'îm has long been used, according to different periods of history, in a political or military sense.

Of the seventeen occurrences of the term in the Kur'ân, in two cases (LXVIII, 40: sal-hum ayahuham bi-gîyâlaka za'îm"; and XII, 72: wa-anâ hâbi za'îm") it appears in the sense of "guarantor", "trustee", a meaning which recurs in numerous treaties of Islamic law. Al-Kâlîkâshândî (Subb al-âlî) notes for the Mamûlık state the meanings of "chiefs of the non-Muslim community" (in the expression za'âmi ahî al-dhimma applied
ZA'IM — ZAINUDDIN

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to the patriarchs of Christian communities, iv, 194) and of "military chief" (in Egypt, vi, 51), while the honorific title of al.za'im al-'azam may be applied to the caliph himself (v, 444, 448).

The rise of the Ottoman Empire is seen as a form of timār, military fief, an institution of the Ottoman patrimonial system borrowed from the Seljukids [see Tīmār; ZA'IM and probably retained from the previous Byzantine institution. Attested since the beginning of the Ottoman period (Barkey, 36-7), it corresponded to a particularly extensive donation of land, allocated as a prebend to the chieftains of the Ottoman cavalry who controlled the provinces of the empire. In return for service in times of war and maintaining security in the province, the za'im collected taxes on the sultan's behalf. This revenue linked to a title marks the correspondence between social power and the functions of individuals bearing certain titles, to the point where the za'im tended to become hereditary, and intense competition between za'im incited them to military confrontation.

The term za'im has retained its military dimension, attested by the name of Za'im-oghlu, the Egyptian general who led Muhammad 'Ali's expedition to the Hijāz, at a time when the šāk [q.v.] had fallen into disuse. In modern Egyptian usage, it is applied to the leaders of political parties, for example Sa'd Zaghlul (1860-1927 [q.v.]), leader of the Wafd in the 1920s, and especially Damāl 'Abd al-Nādir (1918-70 [see 'Abd al-Nādir, in Suppl.]). As the za'im al-šarīf, the latter was the archetype of the za'im, authoritative and charismatic leaders of the independent states of the Arab East in the second half of the 20th century, another example being the ūrāk 'Abd al-Karim Kāsim (1914-63 [q.v.]), al-Za'im as-šābīt "the unique leader".

In contemporary Lebanon, the organic institution of za'im has gradually taken the place of the quasi-feudal relationship of the šāk, the latter having been abolished in the Ottoman reforms of 1858. Officially deprived of his military function, and having exchanged his status as tax-farmer (mulazīm) for the position of a landowner or a state official, the za'im is a political entrepreneur whose function is to serve as intermediary between his community and the state—Ottoman empire, French Mandate, or Lebanese state—and to keep the inter-community game in balance. He is a central figure of the cliental system whereby a political leader, most often a parliamentary deputy, assures himself of the loyalty of a local community in exchange for economic redistribution (A. Hottinger, 104). The za'im is an element of Lebanon who have succeeded in perpetuating a system of balanced community elites by making their status hereditary (S. Khalaf, Lebanon's predicament, New York 1987, 125-43). Combining manipulation with coercion, they constructed sophisticated electoral machines which enabled them to maintain control of their clientele during the crisis of 1958 (M. Johnson, Class and client in Beirut, London 1986, 105-11) under the patronage of the "patron" par excellence, the President of the Republic. The civil war of 1975-90 signaled a revival of the institution of za'im. Certain za'im had to surrender their prestige in rural areas (the As'ad in southern Lebanon) or in urban ones (the Salām in Beirut) to new leaders enriched or made powerful by the war (E. Picard, Les habits neufs du communautarisme, in Cultures et Conflits, xv-xvi [1994], 49-70). But the key institution of the Lebanese social and political system retains its vitality.


(ELIZABETH PICARD)

ZA'IM, MEHMED [see MEHMED ZA'IM].

ZAINUDDIN [see MAPPILA].
ZA'IRDJA (A.) or ZA'IRADJA, a divinatory technique which, in the same manner as geomancy [see KHATT] and alf [q.v.], and under various outside influences, had a wide diffusion in the medieval Islamic lands. It involved a mechanical means of calculating portents, strongly imbued with magic and astrology, in which were strongly mingled the talismanic sciences, based on the 'ilm al-thawāṣīh "knowledge of secret properties", the 'ilm al-aṣfāh "knowledge of conjunctions", 'ilm al-tilaṣāmat "knowledge of talismans" and 'ilm al-hurūf "knowledge of letters" [see ʿunūrī]. ʿunūrī and 'abūṣir led to the za'irdja.

This mechanical technique (ṣimā'iyya) functioned with the aid of a series of concentric circles, like the Arts magna of Raymond Lull, combining the letters of the alphabet, geomancy and astrology. From Ibn Khaldūn, Mukaddima, i, 213-20, iii, 146-79, cf. Fahd, Divination, 243-4, there emerges that the table on which these calculations were made represented the image of the celestial sphere. It was formed from seven concentric circles, the largest of which had the names of the signs of the zodiac, while the fourth contained twelve circles in which were written numbers and letters. Four other circles occupied the four corners of the square in which was a circular table. The answer to a question posed to the device was implicitly contained in the question itself, whose consonantal elements were groups, differently combined, replaced by their numerical values and set out on the tablet. After having taken into account the degree of the ecliptic which rose at the horizon at the moment of operation, one proceeded to complex calculations from which there resulted a series of numbers. When these were converted into letters, they yielded a phrase giving the answer to the question posed.

There were several methods of using letters of the alphabet for divinatory aims, as set forth in a work attributed to Ibn al-ʿArabī (d. 638/1240 [q.v.]), the K. ʿUṣūl al-ṣalāḥ fi ʾl-ʿāʾrifa (ms. Köprüla, Fazil Paşa 163, fols. 1-75; Bursa, Uluçami 3544, fols. 141b-194b). Two works on geomancy speak of za'irdja ramliyya (ʿUmar al-Khāṭīb), al-ʿIṣbāṭ al-zahāriyya fi ʿṣīfah ʿilm al-raml wa-kunuz asrār al-ʿāʾrifa (attrib. Doriy, Ramliyya, 3544, fols. 195b-199b). Two reproductions after p. 204 of this table, and at the end of vol. iii, in a pocket, there is a transliteration and tr. of the constituent elements of this table. A contemporary of Ibn Khaldūn attests the veracity of the experience in question in iii, 163 ff., 201 ff., Eng. tr. iii, 199 ff. Cf. on this subject, H.P. Reinaud, Divination et histoire nord-africaine du temps d'Ibn Khaldûn, in Hesperis, xxx (1943), 213-21. Cf. an expansion of this art in Fahd, La divination arabe, Leiden 1966, repr. Paris 1987, 243-5.

2. In mysticism and philosophy, and later survivals.

Texts of Sufi inspiration hold za'irdja to be a path of awareness of the highest degree, allowing direct access to divine secrets, some of which, such as knowledge in the correct order of the Ninety-Nine Names of God [see AL-ASMAʾ AL-HUSNA], guarantee entry to Paradise. Also found here are cosmological developments which insist on the correspondence (rāḥīb) existing between heaven and earth and which could constitute the substratum on which the concentration of Ibn al-ʿArabī is based (Ibn al-ʿArabī (attrib.), K. ʿUṣūl al-ṣalāḥ, cf. O. Yahia, Histoire et classification de l'œuvre d'Ibn ʿArabī, Damascus 1964, ii, 519 n. 808, and Fahd, La divination arabe, 244-5 no. 6; among others, B.N. ms. arab 2684, fols. 91a, 98a, or ms. 2694, fols. 2a, 12b; and the anonymous K. Ťurūk al-sālīṭan wa-kuntūz asrār al-ʿāʾrifa, B.N. 2684, fols. 31-52, later than al-Sabtī (see 1. above) cited on fol. 39b, cf. especially the opening and fol. 391-b).

The za'irdja has attracted the attention of "Lullian" studies and of scholars researching into the history of numbers. D. Urvoy has established Lull's debt, in his Arts magna, to za'irdja, especially when purged of its esoteric and divinatory elements; see his Penser l'Islam. Les présupposés islamiques de "L'Art" de Lull, Paris 1980, 23, 89-90, iii, 162-4. It was thus that the philosopher Leibnitz came into direct contact with al-Sabtī's system. As regards the practice of za'irdja, there are indications of its persistence in the 14th, 16th, 17th and even 19th centuries in North Africa (modern Morocco, Algeria and Tunisia) (Dozy, Supplement, i, 577; Leo Africanus, tr. A. Épaulard, Description de l'Afrique, Paris 1956, i, 219). The region of Cezuta in northern Morocco was probably the scene of important activity in the 6th/12th century; but E. Doubet did not mention having observed it at the beginning of the 20th century (Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord, half of the 4th/10th century, cf. Sezgin, GAS, vii, 177), who organises his subject-matter into five tables, referring to Greek sources (see Sezgin, GAS, vii, 177-82). Regarding the origin of this technique, the first mention of the term za'irdja goes back to Turtum al-Hindi (see Goldzither, in OLZ, xiii [1910], 59-61), who is reported to have himself commented upon one of his own works called za'irdja (Sezgin, iv, 119, 4). As we have just seen, it was used by al-Sīgīzī, as also by Abū Maʿṣūr (ibid., iv, 151) and Mīshāʿ allāh (iv, 166). But the invention of the circular table and the mode of its use are generally attributed to Shams al-Dīn Abū l-ʿAbbās al-Sabtī (d. 698/1298), author of al-Risāla al-sabīhiyya fi ʾl-ʿāʾrifa (ms. Paris ar. 2694) and of the R. al-Shabrīr fi ʾl-ʿāʾrifa (ms. Bursa, Uluçami 3544, fols. 195b-199b).

ZAKARIYYA

ZAKARAWAYH b. MIHRAYAWAYH, one of the earliest Isma'ili missionaries in 'Irak. In modern literature, the name, a Persian diminutive of Zakiyya (originally Zakaraye), is often misread as Zikrayawayh.

Zakarawayh came from the village of al-Maysaniyya near Kufa and was the son of one of 'Abd'an's [q.v.] first missionaries; he propagated the Isma'ili doctrine among the Bedouin of the tribe of Kulaib on the fringes of the desert west of Kufa. When in 286/899 a schism split the Isma'ili community, he was instrumental in doing away with his master 'Abd'an who had apostatised from the Isma'ili doctrine and fallen away from the headquarters of the movement at Salamiyya [see ISMA'ILIYYA at Vol. IV, 198a-b]. Out of fear of blood vengeance, Zakarawayh had to go into hiding; in 287/900 he reappeared and was again active in missionary work among the tribes of the Syrian desert, Asad, 'Yaqi' and 'Amir. [q.v.]; his hiding-place and headquarters was the village of al-Saww'ar, 7.4 km [4 miles west of al-Kahayiya. In 288/899 he sent two of his sons as missionaries to the Kalb in Palmeyra; it was these men, Yahyâ, the “Man with the She-camel” (sakhb al-naka) and al-Husayn, the “Man with the Binmark” (sakhb al-dha'ma), who in 289/902 won the support of several clans of this tribe for an armed rebellion against the 'Abbasid regime. They plundered the town of Rasqâ near the Middle Euphrates and besieged Damascus from December 902 until July 903 without success. This evidently profited the rebellion seems to have been a premature undertaking on the part of Zakarawayh and his sons, unauthorised by the leaders of the Isma'ili movement. It caused al-Mahdi 'Ubayd Allah [q.v.] flight from Salamiyya, and after the rebellion had been put down by an 'Abbasid army in 291/903, the whole enterprise was disavowed by the Fatimids; in later Fatimid sources, Zakarawayh and his sons are the subject of a damnatio memoriae.

After this catastrophe, Zakarawayh renewed his subversive activities in 293/906. His hordes of Kalb Bedouin plundered Buṣrâ and Ta'bariyâ (Tiberias) in Syria and Hit on the Euphrates; on the day of the Feast of the Sacrifice 293/2 October 906 they made a sudden attack on Kufa. After having defeated caliphal troops who tried to destroy his headquarters at al-Saww'ar, Zakarawayh in November 906 attacked the second of the three caravans of 'Irak pilgrims at al-'Akaba (today a border post between 'Irak and Saudi Arabia) and captured an immense booty. But on 10 January 907/22 Rabi' I 294, his partisans were attacked by 'Abbasid troops under the command of the general Wasfâ near the so-called ruins of Iram in Wâdî Dhib Kâr (ca. 160 km/100 miles west of Baṣra); in a two-day battle, the Bedouin suffered a crushing defeat, and Zakarawayh himself was mortally wounded. From the interrogation of his brother-in-law, the authorities in Bagdad obtained the detailed information concerning Zakarawayh's whereabouts which al-Tabari made use of in his chronicle.


ZAKARIYYA', also Zakariyâ, the father of John the Baptist, reckoned in the Kir'ân (VI, 85) along with John, Jesus, and Elias as among the righteous. The name most likely entered Arabic via its Syriac rendering. The Kir'ân gives the substance of Luke i. 5-25, as follows: Zakariyâ guards the Virgin Mary [see MARY AM, at Vol. VI, 630] in the niche (nbîhâb) and always finds fresh fruits there. He prays to God; angels announce to him that a son will be born to him, Yahyâ, a name not previously given to anyone, a pious man, a prophet, Jacob's heir, pleasing to God. Zakariyâ thinks he is too old. As a sign, he is struck dumb for three days (Kir'ân, III, 37-41, XIX, 11-12, XXI, 89-90).

Later legend expands the Gospel story and says that Gabriel was the announcer (Luke i. 19) and that Zakariyâ was struck dumb as a punishment for his doubts (Luke i. 20). It elaborates the details as follows: nineteen people anxious to take charge of Maryam wrote their names each on a reed; these were thrown into the pool of Siloam, and the reed with Zakariyâ's name came to the top. Zakariyâ grew old and resigned his office of custodian, which a reed oracle gave to Joseph, the carpenter. In Mary's niche there was winter fruit in summer and summer fruit in winter; this encouraged Zakariyâ to pray that his aged body also might be fruitful out of season.

Muslim legend has Zakariyâ the prophet die a death of a martyr. After Yahyâ's death, he escaped into a tree which opened for him. But the hem of his cloak remained outside the tree. Bûlis betrayed him, the tree was felled and with it Zakariyâ [al-Tha'lafib, 341-2; Ibn al-Athîr, Bûlak 1290, i, 120]. This is modeled on the Haggada and the martyrdom of Isaiah [see ISA, and references cited there].

Muslim legend amalgamates the Zakariyâ of the Gospel with the prophet Zechariah, of whom the Haggada records that, after his martyrdom, his blood boiled until Nebuchadnezzar's general Nabuzaradan came. The latter sought to calm the spirit with the blood of Israel but in vain. Only his final threat to kill all of Israel calmed it. Muslim legend tells this of Yahyâ b. Zakariyâ [q.v., and references cited there].

Zechariah, son of the High Priest Jehoiada, who was martyred by King Josiah (II Chr. xxiv. 22), is identified with Zechariah, the father of John the Baptist, not only in Muslim legend but also in Christian apocryphal texts (Prophetiærum Jacob, xxv; this text
provides the parallel for a number of other elements in the story also).


[B. Heller-[A. Rippin?]]

ZAKARIYYA' AL-ANŠARĪ, Abû Ya'qûb B. MUHAMMAD b. Zakariyya, Zayn al-Dīn al-Sunayfî, Egyptian scholar and Shi'î, born ca. 823/1420. After growing up in a humble milieu in the Sharkiya, he had the opportunity of making his way to Cairo to study Islamic sciences; he was the pupil of Ibn Hdjar al-'Askaranfi. He was educated in esoteric religious studies at the Sharkiya, he had the opportunity of making his way to Cairo to study Islamic sciences in the school of Deoband, one of his teachers was the author of two collections of hadîth (the Mawatta' of Malik, and the Sahîb of al-Bukhârî). He made the pilgrimage to Mecca four times (1920, 1925, 1964 and 1967), but in 1969 he had to stop teaching because he was suffering from cataracts. He went to live in Medina in 1973, and there he died and was buried in 1982.

He is famous for his prominent role in the development of the Tablighi Jam'at. Between 1924 and 1964 he published in Urdu a series of treatises on the merits (fadd'îl) of the fundamental practices of Islam. These are known under the collective title of Tablighi nisâh, and they have been translated into several major languages (Arabic, English and French). To this day they form the basic manuals for the movement. Muhammad Zakariyya was a very influential counsellor to the successive leaders of the Tablighi Jam'at, and he did much to extend the movement in Syria, Jordan, Iraq, Kuwait, Turkey, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, and Indonesia.


(M. Gaborieau)

ZAKÂT (A.), the obligatory payment by Muslims of a determinate portion of speci-
fied categories of their lawful property for the benefit of the poor and other enumerated classes or, as generally in Kur'anic usage, the portion of property so paid.

1. Introduction
2. Zakat in the Kur'an
3. Zakat in the Hadith
4. Zakat in Islamic history
5. Zakat in Islamic law
   i. Zakat on livestock
   ii. Zakat on crops
   iii. Zakat on gold and silver
   iv. Zakat on mines (mi'ādīn) and treasures (nācz)
   v. Zakat on merchandise (tūjārān, 'urūd)
   vi. Holding period (hassāl)
   vii. Persons subject to zakāt
6. Zakat al-fitr
7. Zakat in Sufism
8. Zakat in the modern period

1. Introduction. There is disagreement as to when the obligation of zakat was imposed: according to a common opinion, this occurred in the month of Shawwal of the year 2/624 after the introduction of al-fitr in Shab'ān of the same year, or, according to others, at 9/630-1 (al-Tabarî, iv, 1722, cf. Ibn Hadjar al-Askalânî, Fath al-bârî, Cairo 1378/1959, iv, 8-9). Another popular opinion is that zakat was introduced in general terms before the hajjāt and then in detailed fashion in Medina. Zakat is one of the “pillars” (arkân, delā'im) of Islam (cf. al-Bukhârî, al-Sabîth, Cairo 1418/1998, i, 19), and to deny its obligatoriness amounts to unbelief (kuffār). Failure to pay zakat when due is a grave sin (khnāb) (al-Dhahâbî, Kitâb al-Ra ḡîbîr, Cairo 1356/1937, 327). Acceptance of zakat on the part of those qualified to receive it is a collective obligation (jâ'izāt) (Abu 'l-Hudâ al-Ṣâyâyîdî, Dâw al-ghams, 1394/1974, ii, 5-7).

Muslim scholars almost universally regard the term zakat as Arabic in origin and derive it form the verb zakā, which has among its meanings “to increase” and “to be pure”. Zakat, on this view, takes its name from its functions of increasing, i.e. blessing, the property from which it is taken and purifying from sin those who give it or their property (Lane, iii, 1241). Modern scholarship has regarded the term as a borrowing, almost certainly from the Judeo-Aramaic zākkātâ or righteousness, as evidenced by its orthography in the Kur'ân (A. Spîtâl, Die Schreibung des Typus statt im Koran, in WZKM, lv [1960], 217), and it has been suggested that zakat was formed to rhyme with zâdâ', another borrowing from Aramaic (C. Brockelmann, Semitische Reimwortbildungen, in ZS, v [1927], 14). While the use of the noun zākkâtâ, unlike the related verb zakâ for alms, is not attested in Rabbinic writings (M. Sokoloff, Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic of the Byzantine period, Ramat-Gan 1990, 177, cf. J. Horovitz, Zakât, in IsÌ., vii [1918], 157-8), in turgonomic literature zākkâtâ functioned as the Aramaic equivalent for the Hebrew yâdâk, which had from its original sense of righteousness come to serve as the ordinary term for alms and was borrowed with this sense into Arabic as sadâkâ [q.v.]. Although some of the zakat rates have obvious parallels outside of Islam, e.g. one-tenth or one-fourtieth (Mâgha, Trûbîmî, iv, 3), there is no reason to doubt that the classical system of zakat is unique to Islam.

Sadâkâ, in common use for voluntary alms, is also frequently used for zakat, especially zakat on livestock and crops. The use of zakat in the sense of voluntary alms, if known at all, is rare (cf. al-Kurtûbî, al-Dáqîqî, li-Îbbâkîm al-Kur'ân, Beirut 1965, vii, 222 on Kur'ân V, 55). The forms of zakat, including zakat al-fitr, considered here, are in turn classified under the larger heading of sadâkâ, in a further, expanded sense that includes obligatory and voluntary alms as well, kuffâr [q.v.] (al-Sûrî, Kanz al-îwân, Tehran 1384, i, 318). Zakat is sometimes used in a figurative sense, for any offering, even one that is intangible: thus praying for other believers is said to be the zakat of one without property. Zakat was used in mediaeval times for various taxes without a basis in Islamic teaching [see MA'AKS]. The choice of the term zakat for these was likely prompted by its positive religious associations and its use for a compulsory payment, as opposed to voluntary sadâkâ (cf. H. Rabbî, The financial system of Egypt A.H. 364-741/A.D. 1169-1341, London 1972, 86, 96; P. Jackson and L. Lockhart (eds.), Camb. hist. Iran, Cambridge 1996, vi, 134, 541).

2. Zakat in the Kur'ân

The word zakat occurs thirty-two times in the Kur'ân, always in the singular, and, according to some, only in Medinan passages (A. Jefery, The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ân, Baroda 1938, 153). In at least two such occurrences (XVIII, 81; XIX, 13) it bears the sense of righteousness. The command for Muslims to give zakat is so often joined with the command to offer prayer (zâdâ', that zakat was later termed the “companionship” (karâma) of prayer. The same pairing occurs in connection with earlier prophets. Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were instructed to pray and give zakat (XXI, 73), as were the Israelites (II, 83, cf. VII, 156) and later Jesus (XIX, 31), and Ishmael so instructed his household (XIX, 55). Muslim exegetes, however, sometimes questioned whether the zakat known before Islam was identical with zakat as they knew it. Only in XXIII, 4 is “doing” or “practicing” (fâ'ulân) zakat found in place of “giving”, where zakat, if it refers to alms, may bear the sense of giving, rather than as elsewhere the portion of property to be given (cf. ‘Isâ, al-Mushaf al-muqaddas, Cairo 1385, 445; R. Bell, The Qur'ân, Edinburgh 1937, i, 327; F. Rosenthal, Sadaka, charity, in HUCa, xxiii/1 [1956-1], 422 n. 39). The command to give zakat is addressed to Muhammad’s followers in II, 110; XXII, 78; XXIV, 56; LVIII, 13, and LXXIII, 20, and specifically to Muhammad’s wives in XXXIII, 33. It is addressed to the Jews of Medina in II, 43. On the use of sadâkâ in the Kur'ân for zakat, see SADAKA. Zakat may also be intended in some of the frequent references to spending (e.g. VIII, 3). Mâ'ânî in CVII, 7 has also been interpreted as zakat (al-Bayhâkî, Muṣâfât al-manât wa ‘l-tâjîr, ed. al-Kalâdji, Cairo 1411/1991, vi, 9).

Those entitled to receive zakat are listed in IX, 60 (âyyât al-sadâkâ), said to have been revealed after the battle of Ḥâthân (8/630 [q.v.]) in response to criticism by hypocrites [see AL-MUNÂFIKÎN] of the equity of Muhammad’s distribution of zakat (IX, 58-9), which until then had been left to his personal judgement (al-Mâwardî, al-Mâkîn al-salâtîm, Cairo 1386/1966, 122). Institutionalisation of zakat within Muhammad's
lifetime is evidenced by the mention of agents for its collection in IX, 60, reportedly first sent out in the year 9/630-1, and by the requirement of the pagan Arabs that they practice prayer and give zakat for their lives to be spared (IX, 5) and for them to become "brethren in religion" (IX, 11, cf. IX, 18; and cf. al-Bukhārī, iii, 7). In LVIII, 13 the obligation of giving of zakat is opposed to the voluntary sadaka for an audience with the Prophet.

Muslim interpreters have found in the Kur'ān references to zakat on crops (II, 267; VI, 141), gold and silver (IX, 34), merchandise (LXX, 1), and slaves (LXX, 24), and mines (II, 267). A reference to the intention (niyya, see 5.xiii below) required for the validity of zakat has been found in XXX, 39. Kur'ān IX, 103, sometimes said to have been revealed to provide a means of atonement (kaffāra) for specific individuals who repented of their misconduct (al-Kurtubf, viii, 242-5), is nonetheless among the most cited verses in connection with zakat. Kur'ān XXX, 39 contrasts the intended increase of wealth in usury (rīd [q.v.]), and in the Kur'ān provided adequate information for implementing the injunction to give zakat (LXIII, 10: fa-assada'aka).

There is disagreement whether the obligation of zakat abrogated other Kur'ānic provisions for obligating the poor to give zaka't. A minority found a basis in the Kur'ān (IX, 103) for imposing zakat on all property (amālāt) unless there was evidence to the contrary (e.g. the Zaydi imām al-Hādhī, K. al-Āhkām, 1990, i, 180), a position sometimes attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa. Others regarded the Kur'ānic provisions as insufficiently detailed (mughfīlān) and in need of clarification from the Prophet, a position commonly ascribed to al-Shāfi'i, who did in fact regard the clarification of the Kur'ānic provisions on zakat provided by the sunna as paradigmatic of the relation between these sources of law (al-Umm, ed. Cairo, ii, 3).

Failure to pay zakat is a sign of hypocrisy, and the prayers of those who do not pay zakat will not be accepted. No poor person would ever go hungry, lack clothing or be hard-pressed if the wealthy paid their zakat, but it is admitted that there is no obligation more demanding than the payment of zakat. Zakat serves as a purification (tubra, tāhīr) of those who pay. It safeguards their other property, whereas giving voluntary alms (sadaka) heals the sick. No property at land or sea is ever lost except on account of the withholding of zakat. Zakat is never left commingled with other property without bringing about its ruin. Failure to pay zakat brings on drought and loss of livestock, while the payment of zakat ensures rain. Property on which zakat has been paid is not the treasured-up gold and silver condemned in the Kur'ān (IX, 35), even when it is buried deep in the earth. On the Day of Resurrection (ka'bāma [q.v.]), equivalent to fifty thousand years in this world, those who have not paid zakat will be confronted by the zakat they have withheld (cf. Kur'ān IX, 35); their gold and silver treasure (lanā') will pursue them in the form of a large fearsome serpent (cf. Kur'ān III, 180), with the cry: "I am your treasure," and those who have withheld zakat from livestock will be trampled and gored by the animals they have not paid, now grown large and fat.

Apart from the Kur'ānic list of beneficiaries, the other major elements of the law of zakat are based on hadith: the kinds of property subject to zakat, the minimum quantity (nādāq) in each case, the rate of zakat, and the rule of a one-year holding period (ḥarām) (Ibn Māḍīq, al-Sunna, Cairo, i, 547). The best-known traditions regulating the zakat due on camels and sheep are reports of written instructions for their collection (kišāb, sahīfa, 'ahd) that came to be preserved as family heirlooms. These are the instructions of the Prophet to 'Amr b. Ḥazm whom he sent to Yemen (cf. al-Nasā'i), al-Sunna, ed. 'Abd al-Wārīj 'Allī, Beirut, 1416/1995, viii, 41-2), the instructions that the Prophet is said to have prepared but was unable to issue before his death, and which were then implemented by Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and later by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz (Mālik, al-Muwatta'), ed. 'Abd al-Bākī, Cairo, 175-6; Abū Dāwūd, al-Sunna, ed. al-Khālidī, Beirut 1416/1996, i, 458-9), and the instructions of Abū Bakr to Anas b. Mālik, whom he sent to collect zakat in Bahrayn (al-Bukhārī, iii, 39-41) (on these traditions, see Iyyāb b. Mūsā, Ibn al-mustālim bi-faṣā'id 'Uṣūl, ed. Isma'īl, al-Mansūra 1419/1998, iii, 489-90). The zakat due on cattle appears in the Prophet's instructions to Mu'ādh b. Ḍābal, whom he sent to Yemen (Abū Dāwūd, i, 462), known, unlike the rest of Arabia, for its cattle-raising (al-Zarkashī, Ṣaḥāḥ al-Zarkashī 'tālī mukhtāsara al-Khabarī, ed. al-Djibrīn, ii, 392-3, cf. al-Ḥamdānī, i, 201). In some formulations one can detect a mnemonic intent: "No sadaka is payable on less than five camel-loads of dates, on less than five ounces of silver, and on fewer than five camels" (al-Bukhārī, iii, 10). Similar details are found in the Shī'ī hadith transmitted from 'Ali and the other imāms.

Both those who pay zakat and those who collect are cautioned: the former to make sure that the collector leaves them well pleased, the latter not to exact more than is due, which is as bad as refusing to pay (al-Tirmidhī, al-Sunan, ed. 'Abd al-Bākī, Beirut, iii, 38). Owners of livestock need not pay with their most valuable animals, unless they freely choose to do so (al-Bukhārī, iii, 49). The collector who acts according to law is likened by the Prophet to the warrior in God's cause (gūzī, muqādāh) (al-Tirmidhī, iii, 37). While the instructions of Abū Bakr to Anas are preceded by the statement that those of whom more zakat is demanded than is due are not to pay it, other traditions urge the zakat payer to comply with exorbitant demands, for which the collectors will be held responsible (cf. al-Shāwākānī, Nājī al-awālī, ed. al-Ṣahabī, Cairo 1413/1993, iv, 147). There are also warnings to those who accept zakat to which they are not entitled that what they acquire is only an ache in their heads and a burning in their innards.

According to the Islamic sources, the collection of zakat was already in full force during the lifetime of the Prophet Muhammad. He is said to have dispatched "innumerable" collectors of zakat, some of them among the most famous of his Companions, such as 'Umar and 'Ali (al-Khūza`ī, K. Taḥābib al-dalilāt al-gharības, ed. Abū Sālāma, Cairo 1401/1981, 544; Ibn Sa'd, ii/1, 115); On the other hand, the hadith indicates that the Prophet died before the definitive guidelines for the collection of camels and sheep were issued. The system of zakat collection was gravely
threatened during the caliphate of Abu Bakr, when some of the Arabian tribes refused to acknowledge that the Prophet's authority to collect zakāt had passed to the Prophet's successor. This movement was reinforced during the caliphate of Abu Bakr, when some of the Arabian tribes refused to acknowledge that the Prophet's authority to collect zakāt had passed to the Prophet's successor. 

Madelung, in his book *Zakāt* (d. 101/720 [q.v.]), and his rulings on questions of zakāt are widely, sometimes inconsistently, reported in later writings, along with references to his efforts to procure copies of instructions to collectors from the Prophet's day. A prominent feature of his rule was an effort to bring the *'udhghār* into conformity with Islamic law. The establishment of a special government office, *dīwān al-salāda*, for the receipt of zakāt occurred under the caliph Hishām (d. 125/743).

From the *Kābi al-Khnādā* of the kābi Abū Yusuf (d. 192/798 [q.v.]), written in the form of counsels to the *Abbhāsīd* caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, it emerges that the system for the collection of zakāt in his day was both corrupt and inefficient. Collection of zakāt was in the hands of the collectors of *kharāj* [q.v.], who did not keep the proceeds distinct as required by law, while zakāt on merchandise collected by the *'udhghār* was administered separately from the other forms of zakāt (K. al-*Khnādā*, with the commentary of al-Rāzī, *Fihā al-muṣal wa-muṣal al-rāzī*; Başâd 1975, i, 536-7). The joint administration of zakāt and the income of caliphal zakāt (*dīwān al-fār wa l-salāda*) introduced in 315/927 (Miskawayh, i, 152), suggests a decline in zakāt revenue.

Virtually nothing is known about the details of the official collection of zakāt throughout most of its history. References in the historical sources are scattered and meagre in detail, and the evidence of the Arabic papryi is limited (G. Khan, *Arabic papryri. select material from the Khalili Collection*, London 1992, 53). By contrast, the legal sources occasionally provide vivid details about such practices as the counting of livestock (al-*Shāfī‘i*, Umm, ii, 51, describing the procedure for collection for livestock of his uncle, a zakāt collector). Al-*Shāfī‘i* reports that collectors of zakāt on livestock were sent out in Muharram (ii, 14), while Malik states that the practice was for them to go out in May (Sahnūn, al-Mudawwana, ed. Muhammad, Beirut 1419/1999, ii, 446, cf. al-*Khnādā* ‘alā mukhtasar *Khalīl*, ed. Beirut, ii, 161-2). The animals collected as zakāt were specially branded (with the words "for God", according to al-*Shāfī‘i*; see also al-Muzānī, al-*Mukhtasar*, on margin of al-Umm, iii, 244; others state that the brand was "zakāt" or "sakāt"), although some jurists disapproved of this practice. The Ḥanāfī al-Sarākhsī tells us that it was the custom of collectors to give receipts (*bardū‘*) (al-Mubīn, ed. Beirut, ii, 161, 202), although their legal force was disputed, and this practice is corroborated by the papryi (Grohmann, *Arabic papryri in the Egyptian Library*, Cairo 1938, ii, 178-9, from 148/765-6) and historical sources (Ibn Ya‘kūb, *Sirāt al-Imām al-Mansūr bi ‘llāh*, ed. al-Ḥāshī, San‘ā‘ 1417/1996, 29).

Little, too, is known about how governments distributed the proceeds of zakāt or the extent of corruption involved. Administrative costs, which in the worst case could run so high as to consume the entire zakāt collected, appear to have been high (cf. Abū Yusuf, K. al-*Khnādā*, i, 536), and there is some evidence of zakāt farming (Khan, *Arabic legal and administrative documents in the Cambridge Genizah collections*, Cambridge 1993, 283-5, from 480/1088, cf. Khalid Abou El Fadl, *Tax farming in Islamic law (‘bidḥah and damān of kharāj): a search for a concept*, in *Islamic Studies*, xxxi/1 [1992], 5-32). The local distribution encouraged by Islamic law would tend to facilitate the use of zakāt to reward favourites and cultivate clients. In any case, the example of the Imām al-Hādı‘ (d. 298/911) in Yemen suggests the political obstacles that could face even a ruler of impeccable learning and religious conviction in his efforts to impose a system
of zakāt in accordance with the law (Madelung, Land ownership and land tax in Northern Yemen and Najrīn: 3rd-4th/9th-10th century, in T. Khālid (ed.), Land tenure and social transformation in the Middle East, Beirut 1984, 89-193).

The collectors of zakāt in some cases exercised further roles. In the time of the Prophet they were charged with teaching the elements of Islam (cf. al-Bukhārī, iii, 3-4), as were later the collectors sent out by the Imām al-Ḥadīth (al-ʿAlawī, Strat al-Ḥadīth, ed. Zakkār, Beirut 1401/1981, 45). Mālikī sources indicate that collectors of livestock possessed a limited judicial authority (al-ʿĀshī, ‘alā mahkātās rüḥānī, i, 149).

According to the Fātimid jurist al-Kāfī al-Nuʿmān (d. 363/974 [q.v.]), zakāt among the Sunnīs of his day was largely limited to private distributions to the poor, despite the approval by leading Sunnī jurists of payment to the state, and those who did pay zakāt in any form were a distinct minority (Daʾūd al-ʾĪslām, ed. Fayyūdī, Cairo 1385/1963, i, 257-8, 261-2). By about the year 493/1100, governmental collection of zakāt across the Muslim world had become largely a thing of the past and has remained so ever since for the great majority of Muslims. The Andalusian Mālikī Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (d. 463/1071 [q.v.] noted that the scholars of his day no longer made the coming of the zakāt collectors a condition for the obligation to pay, as had Mālik, in whose time they did regularly come (K. al-Raʾī, ed. al-Murtānī, Riyadh 1390/1978, i, 311).

Similarly, the Shāfiʿī Fākhī al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]) in the East writes of the collectors as a class of zakāt recipients that no longer exists (al-Taṣfīr al-khāṭir, Cairo 1357/1938, xvi, 115), as does the Shāfiʿī Malik Ibn Ḥadhī al-Razī (d. 363/974) (Subh al-aṣr, iii, 457-8).

Rulers with a reformist mission would, as might be expected, favour a revival of zakāt collection: the Almorāhs, ʿĀshī al-Dīn (Rabī, 96), the Sokoto Caliphate, etc. The general disappearance of official zakāt collection, which is said to be a pure act of worship, and the tithe (ʿašr) on crops, which is a form of revenue (muʿān, literally impost) with an element of worship (e.g. ʿAbbās, ed. al-Aswānī, ed. Dāhī, Cairo 1400/1980, 214), but it is also apparent in the treatment in many Shāfiʿī legal texts, following al-Muʿażzīn (d. 264/878 [q.v.]) al-Mukaddasī, of the basic rules of zakāt in the section on ritual (ḥadd) and the rules for its distribution (kazan) separately in a section on revenues of the state. The dimension of zakāt as a source of revenue is, of course, especially prominent in its treatment in the relatively small but significant legal literature on governance (ṣamāk walāʾīs) and public finance (amwil, khānāqāh).

Zakāt is commonly classified as a tax on property rather than income, but this is only approximately correct, since, for example, zakāt is due on crops only once, when they are harvested, without the requirement of a holding period. In any event, the theory developed by the classical jurists to explain why zakāt is payable only on certain kinds of property appeals to the notion of "growth" (nāmā): zakāt is due on property that represents growth or is devoted to growth, actually or virtually (takāḥrī). Thus grazing livestock and trade goods represent property actually devoted to growth, and gold and silver, by their very nature as media of exchange, property virtually devoted to growth, while crops and mined minerals represent growth itself. The requirement of a holding period of one year (ḥawl), where applicable, is understood to provide an opportunity for such growth, and the fact that zakāt is paid out of growth encourages compliance (Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Bukhārī, Muḥāsin al-ʾĪslām, Cairo 1357, 17). This theory gained near-universal acceptance, to the extent that it was even invoked as an explanation of the term zakāt (Ibn Ruḥyāl, Muḥāsin al-ʾĪslām, ed. Ḥadīthī, Beirut 1400/1980, ii, 271), and it remains popular today. The element of growth is even more obvious in the view of a minority of early jurists who are said to have imposed zakāt generally on property as soon as it was acquired (see below, 5.vi). One of the few opponents of the theory of growth was the Zāhirī ʿAbd al-Ḥazīm (d. 1456/1938 [q.v.]) (al-Muḥāsin, ed. al-Bināʾīrī, iv, 45, 146, 149, 187).

There is disagreement as to whether zakāt is an obligation in rem (fi ʿmāl, fi ʿayn al-māl) or in personam (fi ʿtāḥīm). The former view, itself subject to several interpretations, is that commonly defended, but if fully pressed would, among other unacceptable consequences, make the recipients of zakāt co-owners of the zakāt payer’s property (al-Zarkāḥī, ii, 460-2; cf. Wali al-Dīn al-ʾAṣrī, al-Nāḥyān, ed. Umayrātī, Beirut 1416/1995, 113, where they are co-owners). A more limited, commonly cited implication of the dispute arises in the case of the owner of forty sheep who fails to pay zakāt for two consecutive holding periods. On the in personam analysis, his zakāt liability at the end of the two years is two sheep; on the in rem analysis only one sheep, since with one sheep from the flock now encumbered by zakāt there is no longer a niṣāb (minimum number of forty, see below) during the second holding period (Ibn Hubayrā, al-ʾĪslām),

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of ritual and revenue-raising, elements that have historically competed for primacy and continue to do so today. Insofar as paying zakāt is a ritual act of purification, the focus is on the payer; as a system of revenue-raising, the centre of concern is the recipients, particularly the poor. The hybrid quality of the law of zakāt is most strikingly evident in the distinction sometimes made by Ḥanafs between zakāt proper, which is said to be a pure act of worship, and the tithe (ʿašr) on crops, which is a form of revenue (muʿān, literally impost) with an element of worship (e.g. ʿAbbās, ed. al-Aswānī, ed. Dāhī, Cairo 1400/1980, 214), but it is also apparent in the treatment in many Shāfiʿī legal texts, following al-Muʿażzīn (d. 264/878 [q.v.]) al-Mukaddasī, of the basic rules of zakāt in the section on ritual (ḥadd) and the rules for its distribution (kazan) separately in a section on revenues of the state. The dimension of zakāt as a source of revenue is, of course, especially prominent in its treatment in the relatively small but significant legal literature on governance (ṣamāk walāʾīs) and public finance (amwil, khānāqāh).

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The law of zakat is a product of the application to one degree or another of both views (cf. Ibn Ra’dî, al-Kawâd, ed. Sa’d, Cairo 1389/1970, ii, 224). This universal agreement that qualified recipients of zakat cannot exercise self-help in taking their share but must await distribution by the government or the individual zakat payer.

The theory of fairness is central to the classical theory of zakat. It is considered only just that, as a charitable sharing of wealth (mustâdâl), zakat should be in the first instance payable from the very property on which it is imposed and only from property of average quality. It is also commonly held that the rate of zakat is inversely related to the effort expended in producing the growth from which zakat is derived.

Concern with fairness also appears in the balancing of interests between the payers of zakat and its recipients that is attributed to the Lawgiver and that arises frequently in the discussions of the jurists.

Muslim jurists sometimes speculated as to the underlying reason for the differences in the quantities that abound in the laws of zakat. The Shâbî’i al-Kâfûr, al-Adili (d. 365/976) suggested that the sa’ of grain paid as zakat al-fîr could produce enough bread to feed a poor person for the day of the feast and the customary three-day celebration that followed, when no work would be available (al-Badî, al-Hâdî’i, al-Bagîr, al-Fâ’î, al-Idî, ed. I. ‘Allâm, Cairo, i, 280). Shâh Wâli Allah al-Dîhlwî (d. 1175/1762 [see AL-DIHLAWI]) proposed that the minimum amounts of agricultural produce and silver subject to zakat were each enough to sustain for one year a family consisting of a husband, wife and one dependent, and were thus a reasonable measure of wealth (al-Sâbî’i, al-Dâmis, ed. Al-Badî, al-Hâdî’i, Cairo 1402/1982, ii, 727-8, tr. M.K. Herman, The conclusive argument from God, Leiden, 1996, 297-8). Along similar lines, it was even suggested that the apparently complex and different rates of zakat held, and where, as in the case of livestock, such increases in the property subject to zakat are not proportional (e.g. ‘xpâb’, but set at discrete increments, each of these increments representing a further mustâdâl, with the second mustâdâl being ten) is in fact due on only five, the four additional camels being wa’âs, and should four of the nine perish after zakat is due, there will be no proportionate reduction in the amount of zakat to be paid.

As in other areas of Islamic law, there is considerable disagreement among Muslim jurists over the details of the law of zakat. The discussion here focuses on the doctrine of the Shâbî’i school with some notice of the most salient points of disagreement between the schools. Twelver Shi’i law alone recognises cases where zakat is recommended (mustâbâhîn) but not obligatory (cf. al-Hâlîmî, K. al-Muhamâdi fi al-‘ubâd, al-mîmân, ed. Fawda, Beirut 1979, ii, 343), a categorisation that serves to reconcile conflicting evidence for and against the imposition of zakat.

i. Zakat on livestock (bâsawîn, mashûkh, ni’âm). Zakat is imposed on camels (bâs), cattle (bakar), and sheep and goats (ghânum) according to the number of animals owned. According to the great majority of jurists, for the calculation of the number of animals in the herd, male and female animals, young and old, healthy and diseased count equally. The Zakât alone do not count animals under one year of age (al-Muhallî, iv, 82). Animals of different breeds or of both sheep and goats, the zakât is due on the herd, male and female animals, young and old, healthy and diseased count equally. The Zakât alone do not count animals under one year of age (al-Muhallî, iv, 82). Animals of different breeds (anawâm), such as Bactrian and Arabian camels, cattle and water buffaloes, are counted together, as are sheep (da’nîn) and goats (ma’dîn). Zakat is normally due in the form of adult (over one year), female, healthy, and defect-free animals. The assumption throughout is that greater age and feminine gender increase the value of the animal. Except for the Hanâfîs, who accept male and female cattle and sheep indifferently, male animals are acceptable only where indicated below or if all the animals in the herd are male. Where the entire herd consists of under-age or unhealthy animals or those suffering from defects, these are accepted as zakât, except for the Mâlikîs, who even in these cases require that zakât be paid with healthy, defect-free, adult animals. Where the herd consists of animals of different breeds or of both sheep and goats, the zakât is to be paid in the form of animals that reflect the relative values of the different breeds in the make-up of the herd. Thus for a herd consisting of thirty female goats and ten female sheep, the one sheep or goat due as zakât for forty animals must be worth as much as three-fourths of a female goat and one-fourth of a female sheep. Apart from adjustments (al-‘ubrân) in the form of cash or sheep, admitted by some jurists in the case of camels alone, the zakât payer who cannot supply the required animals from his herd is...
required to acquire them in order to make payment. The Hanafis accept in all cases payment of their value (khima), even in the form of fewer but fattier animals (see below, 5.xii). Pasturage. According to the great majority of jurists, a condition for the imposition of zakat on livestock is that the animals be put out to pasture (sawm) for breeding or milk. Animals that subsist on fodder ('alaf) are not subject to zakat, nor are animals that live on pasture but are put to work by the owner or hired out for work. The Malikis impose zakat on livestock without regard to whether the animals subsist on pasturage or fodder and, in the case of camels and cattle, whether or not they are put to work, a rule also followed by some Zahiris including Ibn Hazm (al-Muhallal, iv, 144).

Camels. There is general agreement among the Muslim jurists as to the rate of zakat on camels up to one hundred twenty as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of Camels</th>
<th>Zakat Due</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5-9 camels</td>
<td>1 sheep or goat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14 camels</td>
<td>2 sheep or goats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19 camels</td>
<td>3 sheep or goats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24 camels</td>
<td>4 sheep or goats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-35 camels</td>
<td>1 female camel in its second year (bint makhðḥ)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-45 camels</td>
<td>1 female camel in its third year (bint labūn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46-60 camels</td>
<td>1 female camel in its fourth year (bikka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61-75 camels</td>
<td>1 female camel in its fifth year (diqāda's)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76-90 camels</td>
<td>2 female camels in their third year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91-120 camels</td>
<td>2 female camels in their fourth year</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twelver Shi'is assess five sheep or goats for 25 camels and a bint makhðḥ for 26-35 camels. This variation, based on a tradition from 'Ali, was also accepted by Zaydi b. 'Ali (d. 122/740 [g.e.]) (Corpus juris, Milan 1919, 90), but not by later Zaydīs (cf. Muhammad b. Sulaymān al-Kufī, K. al-Muhaq(qah), San'a' 1414/1993, 75) nor by the Ḥanfīs al-Kāfī (al-Nu'mān al-Dīlīm al-Islām, t. 253). From 121 camels onwards, there is disagreement among the jurists: for the majority, the rate thereafter is one bint labūn per 40 head and one bikka per 50. The exceptional circumstance of zakat on camels being payable in the form of another species is explained as arising out of a desire to avoid the hardship to both zakat payers and zakat recipients of fractional shares (tadkhil) of camels.

Cattle and sheep. The nisāb for cattle is thirty. The rate of zakat is one cow or bull in its second year (lakt) for every thirty head and one cow in its third year (musāśna, thamījya) for every forty. The Malikis understand the animals required to be in their third and fourth years respectively. The Ṣa'īdīs, Malikis and Ḥanbalis impose this rate on multiples of thirty and forty, and according to them one bint is due for from 40 to 59 head of cattle. The Ḥanafīs impose zakat at the rate of one-fortieth of the value of a musāśna for each additional head from 40 to 59. For ibādis, the zakat for cattle emulates that for camels, and they impose one sheep or goat for each five head of cattle to twenty-four and thereafter for each nisāb substitute cattle of the required age for the corresponding camels (Aam K. Ėnnāmī, Studies in Ṣa'īdīsm, [Libya] 1972, 108-9). The historian and jurist al-Ṭabarī (d. 310/923) imposed zakat on cattle at the rate of one head per fifty (al-Sayyāghī, ii, 397), as did Ibn Hazm before he came to accept the view of the majority (al-Muhallal, iv, 106).

The nisāb for sheep and goats is forty. For forty sheep or goats, the zakat due according to the Ṣa'īdīs and Ḥanbalis is one female sheep in its second year (diqāda's) or one female goat in its third year (thamījya), while Mālikis accept a goat in its second year. Abū Yusuf and al-Ṣa'īdīs, but not Abū Ḥanīfa, accept animals under one year of age. For 121 animals, the zakat due is two such sheep or goats, for 201, three, for 400, four, and thereafter the rate is one per hundred. The Twelver Shi'is impose four sheep or goats on 301 to 399, the rate thereafter being one animal per hundred.

Horses. Abū Ḥanīfa, opposed on this point by his disciples Abū Yusuf and al-Ṣa'īdīs, imposed zakat on horses, either females alone or a mixed herd of males and females. There is no nisāb, so that zakat is due even on a single horse, at the rate of either one dinār per animal or, at the option of the owner, of five dinārs per 200 dinars of the horse's value (2.5%). This rate is reported to have been applied to horses by the caliph 'Umar. Although many Ḥanafī jurists preferred the view that horses were not subject to zakat, Abū Ḥanīfa's opinion was approved by important authorities within his madhhab (Ibn 'Abīḍīn, Ḥayḥūq ādām al-maḥār, Cairo 1386/1966, ii, 282). Unlike the zakat on other livestock, that on horses is not collected by the state (Ibn al-Hūmām, ii, 183). For Twelver Shi'is, zakat on female horses is recommended, at the rate of two dinārs per pure-bred animal ('atīk) and one dinār per work horse (bīḫyanun) (al-Allāmā al-Hālīfī, Nihāyat al-ahkām, ed. al-Radiidget, Beirut 1406/1986, ii, 376-7).

ii. Zakat on crops (harṣ, ḥabīb wa-thamīr, nābit, khannīf min al-arḍ, ma'duqghar). There is considerable disagreement among the jurists as to what crops are subject to zakat, ranging from the Twelver Shi'is, who impose zakat only on wheat, barley, dates and raisins, to the Ḥanafis and Zaydis, who impose it on virtually all products of the soil. In the middle are the Ṣa'īdīs and Malikis, according to whom zakat is due on dates and grapes and on crops of the sort cultivated and stored by humans as a staple foodstuff (kut muddakkar), to the exclusion of those products like vegetables that are not stored and those that are not staples like spices and condiments; the crops thus subject to zakat include wheat, barley, rice, chickpeas and lentils, and for the Malikis, olives, zakat on which is taken as oil. The Ḥanbalis, somewhat more broadly, assess zakat on crops that are measured by volume and stored, thus including almonds and pistachios, but continuing to exclude vegetables and most fruits. In addition to the four crops on which zakat is obligatory, Twelver Shi'is recommend paying zakat on crops that are measured by weight, but not on vegetables or fruits. Some jurists, including the Ḥanafis and Ḥanbalis, impose zakat on honey. Apart from the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfa that there is no nisāb for crops, the universal nisāb for crops is five awṣaḥ (sing. awṣaḥ), a measure of volume, which, like other legally significant measures of volume, is determined by the practice of Medina, and is reportedly equivalent to three hundred šd according to the šd of the Prophet. Legal texts commonly give approximate equivalents to this nisāb in measures of weight, e.g. 609.84 kg. These approximations are intended as rough guides, it being understood that the nisāb must be exactly satisfied (tahdid) before zakat is due. The
**ZAKAT**

nisab is applied to dates and grapes once they have been dried and to other crops once chaff and other foreign matter have been removed. The costs of drying the harvest for measurement are borne by the zakat payer. According to the Šafi’is, for crops such as rice which are stored in bins and not eaten with their husks, the husks are deemed to constitute one-half of the harvest, and the nisab is fixed at ten ansak. In the case of dates and grapes alone, the harvest, while still unpicked, is subject to a process on the part of the collecting authorities that estimates its yield as dry fruit (see below).

Varieties of a single species are combined for the purpose of determining whether the nisab exists; the Malikīs go further and treat as single species wheat and barley, and so also all legumes (katam). The entire yield of a single species for a period of twelve lunar months is considered as a unit with respect to zakat, without regard to different rates of ripening due to climate or other circumstances. The entire future yield becomes liable to zakat once any dates or grapes ripen or other crops harden, and the owner of the crop at the time such ripening commences is liable for its zakat. In the case of land leased for cultivation, Abū Ḥanīfa alone imposed zakat on the owner of the land, not the lessee.

The rate of zakat on crops depends on the mode of their possession employed in their cultivation. Where the crop has been irrigated without expenditure on water or the employment of human or animal labour in conveying the water to the plants, the rate is 10% (one-tenth, ushr). This rate applies to crops watered by natural sources such as rain and surface (sah) and underground water (bu') land, as well as canals (afghari land). The rate for crops that have been irrigated by water purchased for this purpose or with animal- or water-driven wheels is 5% (one-half of one-tenth, nisf al-'ushr). Twelver Shi'is in principle allow for a deduction of expenses incurred in the growing and harvesting of the crop, but jurists commonly counsel that this deduction not be taken (al-Khumaynī, Zuhdīyat al-abkām, Tehran 1404, 119-20).

3. Šakarī on gold and silver (al-muhāl, 'āyn, nakd, nāfis). Šakarī is due on gold and silver, whether in the form of raw metal, coins or manufactured objects, but, except for the Zaydīs, on no other metals or precious stones. Twelver Shi'is impose zakat only on gold and silver coinage, whether or not it is in actual use. The nisab for gold is twenty dinars (muskhāl) (ca. 84.7 gr), present value ca. $800 US, and for silver 200 dirhams (five šikāya) (ca. 592.9 gr), present value ca. $90 US. The equivalences given for these in grams by Twelver Shi'is are 19% lower. Like other legally significant measures of weight, these are determined by the practice of Mecca. The weight of the dirham, previously variable, was reportedly fixed under 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwan, and subsequently ratified by consensus, at ten dinars per dirham. The division of dinares into ten dirhams per dirham (al-mukhtār, Cairo 339, i, 450-1).

The nisab for merchandise is the same as that for gold and silver, and zakat is assessed at the same rate (2.5%). The rate of zakat on each metal is 2.5% (one-fourth of one-tenth, ma'dirī) which is applied pro-rata for any amount above the nisab, except by the Ḥanīfīs, Twelver Shi'is and Ḥanafīs, who apply it only to increments of forty dirhams or four dinārs. There is some support in the Ḥanafī school for subjecting the value of coins made of base metal (julās) to the rule for gold and silver. Others treat such coins as merchandise.

Gold and silver in the form of decorative articles for wearing (hijāf) are exempted from zakat except by the Ḥanafīs, Zaydīs, Ḥanbals and Šāhi'yīs. The exemption, however, is not absolute, and the Šāhi'yīs will, for example, impose zakat when the owner intends the waste (mustaghallī) as the standard of valuation: the appropriate metal as the standard of valuation: the appropriate metal
to be used is that with which the object was acquired, if gold or silver was in fact the consideration. Where the consideration was some other object or was not monetary in nature, the appropriate metal is that which prevails as the measure of exchange in the community (ğhālib nakd al-balad) at the time of acquisition.

The Mālikīs alone distinguish between active traders (muḍtir) and investors (muhṭakir, muḍdakhir), who look to long-term gain. The former need assess the value of their stock, combined with their holdings of gold and silver, once a year. The latter owe no zakāt until they sell their investments and then never for more than one holding period. An active trader can assume the status of an investor by a change of intention, but the change from investor to trader requires a change in intention coupled with a transaction.

Double zakāt: In light of a tradition (lā gīnā fi ʿ-ḍadaba) understood to prohibit a double application of zakāt to the same property for the same period, the jurists had to determine which category of zakāt was to be given priority when more than one applied, as in the case of grazing animals held for sale. In such cases, the Shāfīʿīs and Mālikīs give preference to the imposition of zakāt al-fitr under the heading of livestock, the Ḥanafis and Ḥanbalis under that of merchandise. The Ḥanafis extend the principle of avoiding a double incidence of zakāt al-fitr to zakāt al-fitr and do not require that it be paid on behalf of slaves held for trade.

vi. Holding period (ḥawāl). Except for the zakāt due on crops, mined gold and silver, and buried treasure, zakāt is imposed only if the property has been held for a period of one lunar year. There is almost universal agreement on the requirement of a holding period; the Companions Ibn Masʿūd and Ibn ʿAbbas are among the few reported to have held otherwise. Thirteen Shīʿīs, following a tradition from Daʿfar al-Ṣādik, consider the holding period to end with the sighting of the new moon of the twelfth month, although the next holding period begins only at the end of the twelfth month (al-Ḥillī, Nihāyat al-ahkām, ii, 312).

In principle the majority of jurists require that a niḥāl of property subject to zakāt already be owned in order for the calculation of a ḥawāl to commence and require that the niḥāl be maintained throughout the ḥawāl, as opposed to the Ḥanafis who allow a drop below the niḥāl during the ḥawāl. There are, however, important exceptions made for growth, in the form of offspring or profits, from an original stock. The Mālikīs, for example, treat the offspring of livestock as sharing the ḥawāl of their mothers, even when the latter begin the ḥawāl before the niḥāl. Thus when a herd of four camels has been held for eleven months, the birth of a camel in the last month, or even on the last day, before the end of the ḥawāl will suffice to reach the niḥāl of five camels and subject the herd to the zakāt of one sheep or goat. The Shāfīʿīs and Mālikīs make a similar exception for trade goods, the value of which must meet the niḥāl only at the end of the ḥawāl, provided that the increase is derived solely from a rise in value of the original stock of merchandise or from profit earned in trading with it. Because they do not combine gold and silver, the Shāfīʿīs further require that in order for this increase to share the ḥawāl of the original stock it must be “unrealised”, that is, not reduced to the precious metal designated for the valuation of the original stock. Again in principle, the majority of jurists, as opposed to the Ḥanafis, do not attribute the ḥawāl of the original niḥāl to additions acquired other than by growth (jāʿda, māl mustaʿfīd). Here, too, however, the Mālikīs make an exception for livestock and impute the ḥawāl of an original niḥāl of the same species acquired from outside the herd. Thus the owner of five camels owes two sheep for those five and for an additional five inherited on the last day of the original holding period. This rule has been explained as a concession to the convenience of the zakāt collector (al-Dardīr, al-Ṣāḥib al-saghir, ed. Wasfī, Cairo 1972, i, 593).

vii. Persons subject to zakāt. Zakāt applies almost exclusively to the property of private individuals. The property of the government, including the assets of the public treasury (ḥabīb māl [q.ṣ.]), is not subject to zakāt except according to some Zaydis (Ibn Miftah, i, 450, cf. C. Imber, Ebu’s-su’ud: the Islamic legal tradition, Stanford 1997, 82-3; J.R.I. Cole, Roots of North Indian Shi‘ism in Iran and Iraq, Berkeley 1986, 201). According to the Shāfīʿīs and Ḥanbalis, property constituted as the corpus of a waqf (q.n.) is not subject to zakāt except according to some Zaydis (Ibn Miftah, i, 450, cf. C. Imber, Ebu’s-su’ud: the Islamic legal tradition, Stanford 1997, 82-3; J.R.I. Cole, Roots of North Indian Shi‘ism in Iran and Iraq, Berkeley 1986, 201). According to the Shāfīʿīs and Ḥanbalis, property constituted as the corpus of a waqf (q.n.) is not subject to zakāt except according to some Zaydis (Ibn Miftah, i, 450, cf. C. Imber, Ebu’s-su’ud: the Islamic legal tradition, Stanford 1997, 82-3; J.R.I. Cole, Roots of North Indian Shi‘ism in Iran and Iraq, Berkeley 1986, 201).

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and crops, joint management will be found where common watchmen are used for guarding and where the places for drying the fruit or winnowing the grain are common. Joint management of merchandise depends on a common shop (dakkan), and common guards and places of safekeeping as well as common appurtenances such as scales. Thus two individuals, each owning twenty sheep or goats, will be liable for the zakat due on forty sheep or goats when they jointly manage their animals. The effect of joint management in this case is to create a liability to zakat that would not otherwise exist, since neither individual's holding amounts to a nisab. In other cases involving livestock, joint management may have the effect of increasing an existing liability to zakat or of diminishing it. Where some of the herd of a zakat payer is co-owned or jointly managed while the rest is held independently, the favourite solution is to extend the effect of co-ownership or joint management to all his property (khulut milk), rather than limit it to that portion actually co-owned or jointly managed (khulut 'ayn) (al-Nawawi, Rawa'il al-falabil, ii, 180).

The Mālikīs and Ḥanbalīs recognise co-ownership and joint management as legally significant only in the case of livestock, with the Mālikīs requiring that the share of each owner amount to a nisab. Like the Shāfī'īs, they require that the co-owners and joint managers will be subject to all his zakat, i.e. be Muslims. The Ḥanāfīs, Twelver Shī'īs and Zāhirīs give no recognition to co-ownership or joint management and look only to the property of each owner.

Possession. Although liability for zakat is predicated on ownership, the law in some cases takes into account the separation of ownership from possession. Where the owner has no access to his property (mal dismant, i.e. has been mortgaged or lost, the Ḥanāfīs assess no zakat on such property should it eventually be recovered years later, and the Mālikīs require the payment of zakat for no more than one year. The Shāfī'īs require that zakat be paid for the actual time that possession was lost.

ix. Debts. Debts figure in the calculation of zakat in two ways. To the extent that the zakat payer is a creditor, there is the question of the payment of zakat for the debts he is owed but has not collected. To the extent that the zakat payer is a debtor, there is the question of what effect his debts are to be given in assessing the zakat he owes.

The Shāfī'īs include in the property subject to zakat collectible currently due debts (dayn hali 'alad maḥl), including a wife's claim for unpaid dower (sādik), but not debts payable in livestock, inasmuch as the requisite grazing cannot occur. The Mālikīs apply zakat to collectible currently due commercial debts of active traders. Debts collectible either because a case cannot be made against the debtor or the debtor is insolvent are treated according to the rules for misappropriated property. The Ḥanafīs and Ḥanbalīs require no payment of zakat that has accrued where the agent, the owner can avail himself of the advantages of the practice by resorting to two reliable men capable of performing the estimation (al-Ramlī, Muhāyat al-muḥādij, Cairo 1986/1967, ii, 82). Some opposed the practice of estimation as unduly speculative, and al-Sha'bī (d. 103/721 [g.x.]) is reported to have denounced it as an "unwarranted innovation" (bid'a [g.x.]). The Ḥanafīs do not recognise the practice at all. Only the Ḥanbalīs require that the estimator exempt one-third or one-fourth of the crop for the personal use of the owner, i.e. be Muslimeen.

x. Estimation. In the case of dates and grapes, it is recommended that the ruler dispatch officials to estimate (ghurūn, zakatī) the crop as dried fruit at a step in determining the zakat due and ensuring that it be paid. According to the Shāfī'īs, the estimator, who must be a reliable ('adil), free, male Muslim, can act singly and is authorised upon completing his estimation to offer the owner the option of eating or otherwise transacting in the raw fruit on the condition that the owner become personally liable (udmīn) for the zakat due on the estimated yield. If the owner chooses not to accept this offer, he is not permitted to make any use of the crop until the zakat has been paid. The practice of estimation is traced back to the Prophet, who employed a number of such estimators (al-Māwardī, al-Hāfiṣ, ed. Matrājī, Beirut 1941/1994, iv, 205). In the absence of an official estimator, the owner can avail himself of the advantages of the practice by resorting to two reliable men capable of performing the estimation (al-Ramlī, Muhāyat al-muḥādij, Cairo 1986/1967, ii, 82). Some opposed the practice of estimation as unduly speculative, and al-Sha'bī (d. 103/721 [g.x.]) is reported to have denounced it as an "unwarranted innovation" (bid'a [g.x.]). The Ḥanafīs do not recognise the practice at all. Only the Ḥanbalīs require that the estimator exempt one-third or one-fourth of the crop for the personal use of the owner, i.e. be Muslimeen.

xi. Recipients. Those entitled (mustaḥfakūn, mustafīr, ahl al-salāmān, ahl al-zakāt) to receive zakāt fall into eight classes, enumerated in Kur'ān IX, 60, an enumeration understood to be exhaustive and exclusive. There is a dispute as to which of the first two classes, (1) the poor (fukarā') and (2) the indigent (mustakfin), is more disadvantaged, but the dispute is extraneous to the law of zakat, and some even regarded these as a single class. In both hadith and legal literature the needy, as the most numerous and best-known recipients of zakāt, stand in for the other classes. The collecting agents ('umālin alyāh) constitute class (3). These include the official sent by the government (ṣafī, muṣafūk, muṣaddik, kābīl, wālī al-sadākā) and his assistants. From the rule that zakat on livestock was to be collected where the animals were watered the agent for their collection was sometimes termed zakāt al-mā'ī. The most controversial of the classes are (4) those whose hearts are won over (al-mu'allafān kātibahum [g.x.]). These, according to the Shāfī'īs, include converts to Islam whose enthusiasm is in doubt and prominent converts who, it is hoped, will be able to win over others, as well as converts enlisted to deal with hostile non-Muslims or Muslims who refuse to pay zakāt. Some jurists, including the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs, regarded this class as having lapsed. Class (5) are the "slaves" (nābāl), an expression commonly interpreted to refer to slaves who have contracted to purchase their freedom (mukātabān) but are unable to make their scheduled payments. The Mālikīs, however, prefer that zakat designated for this class be used to purchase the freedom of full slaves (kinā). The patronage (ukāf) of such freedmen, according to the Mālikīs, inheres in the Muslim community as a whole, and not in the zakāt payer, a rule that removes any taint of self-interest from the payment. Class (6) are the debtors (ghārimūn) who lack the means to satisfy their debts.

The Shāfī'īs give preference in this class to those who have incurred indebtedness to avert possible violence among Muslims; these need not lack the means to pay their debt to qualify for zakat. Those "in the path of God" (ṣf abīt Allāh) constitute class (7). The most common interpretation is that these are the volunteers.

The most controversial of the classes are (4) those whose hearts are won over (al-mu'allafān kātibahum [g.x.]). These, according to the Shāfī'īs, include converts to Islam whose enthusiasm is in doubt and prominent converts who, it is hoped, will be able to win over others, as well as converts enlisted to deal with hostile non-Muslims or Muslims who refuse to pay zakāt. Some jurists, including the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs, regarded this class as having lapsed. Class (5) are the "slaves" (nābāl), an expression commonly interpreted to refer to slaves who have contracted to purchase their freedom (mukātabān) but are unable to make their scheduled payments. The Mālikīs, however, prefer that zakat designated for this class be used to purchase the freedom of full slaves (kinā). The patronage (ukāf) of such freedmen, according to the Mālikīs, inheres in the Muslim community as a whole, and not in the zakāt payer, a rule that removes any taint of self-interest from the payment. Class (6) are the debtors (ghārimūn) who lack the means to satisfy their debts. The Shāfī'īs give preference in this class to those who have incurred indebtedness to avert possible violence among Muslims; these need not lack the means to pay their debt to qualify for zakat. Those "in the path of God" (ṣf abīt Allāh) constitute class (7). The most common interpretation is that these are the volunteers.
They are to be given zakāt to meet their living expenses and the expenses of their military service (animals, weapons). The Twelvers came to adopt a broader interpretation that encompasses a range of public services, including the repair of mosques and bridges (H.M. Tabātabā’ī, Kharjī in Islamic law, London 1983, 25–6). The Ḥanafīs, among others, rejected the use of zakāt for such purposes on the ground that the valid payment of zakāt requires a transfer of ownership from one person to another (ənāk). Finally, class (6) comprises the travellers (ibn al-sābīl) who in the course of their journey, or according to the Ṣafī’īs, even upon setting out, find themselves without immediately available assets to meet their expenses.

Given the nature of zakāt as a religious obligation, the law imposes a minimal burden of proof as to entitlement. Thus those who present themselves as poor will not need to establish their status by oath (cf. ‘Abd al-Razzāk al-Ṣan‘ānī, al-Munānafi, ed. al-‘Aṣārī, Beirut 1983, iv, 149–50) or by witnesses, unless some doubt arises. The prevention of unqualified claimants from taking zakāt is within the authority of the muhtasib.

The Ṣafī’īs are the most demanding with respect to the allocation of zakāt to these classes. When distribution of zakāt is in the hands of the ruler, all existing classes are to be allotted equal shares, and to the extent that the collected zakāt permits, all those entitled under each class are to be given what they require. When the zakāt is distributed by the zakāt payer he, too, to the extent possible, is obligated to give zakāt to each qualifying recipient in his vicinity from the existing classes, but not necessarily in equal shares. At the very least, the private zakāt payer must give zakāt to three individuals from each class to discharge his obligation. By contrast, the Ḥanafīs permit distribution to a single individual from any class. Some later Ṣafī’ī jurists accepted the validity of following Ṣafī’ī rule.

Disqualifications. Disqualified from receipt of zakāt under classes (1) and (2), and according to the Ḥanafīs, all other extant classes except (3) and (8), are the wealthy (ghāni). There is disagreement on the test to be applied for determining wealth. The Ṣafī’īs, among others, apply a means test, i.e. one is wealthy if he can meet the expenses of the lifestyle, including food, clothing and shelter, to which he and his dependents are accustomed from his lawful property, distributed over an average lifetime (said to be sixty-two years), or from his lawful earnings. Such a person is said to possess a “sufficiency” (kifrū). Since the test is relative, ownership of a dwelling place, fine clothing or slaves does not in itself mean that a sufficiency exists. Opportunity to earn a sufficiency is significant only if the occupation is appropriate to one’s station and will not interfere with the pursuit of religious knowledge if one has an aptitude for learning. The Ḥanbalīs, Mālikīs and Twelver Shi’īs also apply a means test but look to sufficiency for one year; the Mālikīs, however, do not take into consideration the possibility of gainful employment, even when appropriate work is available. The Ḥanafīs apply a property test, i.e. one’s wealth is ownership of the value of a niyāb of property, whether or not subject to zakāt, above one’s basic needs, without regard to one’s possible earnings. The Ṣafī’ī standard allows for the same individual to be both a payer and a recipient of zakāt, a possibility excluded by the Ḥanafīs (although for them not every “wealthy” person will owe zakāt). The difference in the tests used to determine wealth is indicative of fundamentally different notions of the function of zakāt as an instrument to transfer wealth. Consistently with their understanding of zakāt, the Ṣafī’īs provide that those of the poor with trades are to be given enough to set them up in their trade for life. Those without trades are to be given enough to purchase land from the income of which they can live without future dependence on zakāt. By contrast, the Ḥanafīs recommend that a poor person receive enough zakāt to relieve him of the need to beg for one day, while they disapprove of giving to a poor person property of the value of a niyāb.

A further disqualification from receipt of zakāt is unbelief (kufri), although the early jurists al-Zuhūrī (d. 124/742) and Ibn Shubruma (d. 144/766) (a.s.) are reported to have permitted giving zakāt to poor dhimmis (cf. al-Tabarī, Dhimmī al-baṣrīn, Cairo 1388/1968, ix, 959). Many, but not the Ṣafī’īs, recognise an exception to this disqualification for class (4) and for menial tasks under class (3). Slavery is a disqualification except for entitlement under class (5), and the payer’s own slave is always disqualified from receiving his zakāt. The majority of jurists hold that one cannot validly pay zakāt to one’s direct ascendants or descendants, and husbands cannot pay zakāt to their wives, a rule which some extend to the payment of zakāt by wives to their husbands. A further disqualification, according to the majority of jurists, is descent from or a client relationship with the Family of the Prophet, for these are not to be deemed by receiving zakāt, which has become soiled in the process of cleansing the property of its payers (ausakh al-nās). They are, however, permitted to receive zakāt from one another. There is disagreement whether the disqualification of the Prophet’s relatives remains in effect when they fail to receive their allotted portion of revenue (khums), but there is a discernible tendency among later Ḥanafī, Mālikī and Twelver Shi’ī jurists to permit them to receive zakāt, although strictly within their needs. The question has remained a topic of lively debate among the Yemeni Zaydīs (‘Alī b. Muhammad al-‘Aḍrī, K. al-Makhdūm al-salīha, Ṣan‘ī’a’ 1411/1991, 220–42; cf. al-Hasan b. Ahmad al-Dalālī, Dau’ al-nakhr, Ṣan‘ī’a’ 1405/1985, ii, 333–40). With respect to the Ṣafī’īs, they are disqualified from receiving zakāt under classes (3) and (7). Strict piety is not a requirement for eligibility to receive zakāt, although it may be a ground for preference among competing claimants. Sectarian differences are potentially more significant. Twelver Shi’īs go so far as to require that zakāt be paid only to Twelvers, and a Muslim who adopts Twelver Shi’ism must pay zakāt a second time for past years unless the recipients were Twelver Shi’īs.

xii. Collection and payment. It is an obligation on Muslim rulers, following the example of the Prophet and the early caliphs, to send out officials to collect zakāt to assist property owners in fulfilling their obligation of zakāt. The ruler and his zakāt collectors are understood to represent the recipients of zakāt, whose best interests they are duty bound to safeguard. While this much is agreed upon, there is considerable disagreement among the jurists as to the scope for individual distribution when the state is fulfilling its obligation of collecting zakāt, for the distinction between zāhir and bātin property does not in itself preclude the payment of all zakāt to the state (al-Māwardī, al-‘Akām al-sulhīya, 113). The Zaydīs, for example, insist that all zakāt, whether the property is zāhir or bātin, must be paid to the official collectors representing the legitimate government of the Zaydī imām. Any
other form of payment will not discharge the obligation of giving zakāt. While the majority of Sunnis, following Ibn 'Umar, recognise payment of zakāt to even a miscreant (dāi') as fulfilling the obligation of zakāt, the Hanbalis prefer that the payer, where possible, personally undertake its distribution, even on zāhir property (Ibn Kudūmā, al-Sharḥ al-khaṭīb, ed. Medina, ii, 673-5). In this they represent an attenuated version of a legal tradition that was unwilling to put zakāt into the hands of the rulers, who could be expected to ignore the rules for its distribution. Thus Sulaymān ibn 'Abbās (d. 161/778) reportedly urged that one should even go so far as to swear falsely to the collectors to avoid paying them zakāt (ibid., ii, 673). Among the Sunni schools, the Mālikis go furthest in their deference to the official collectors: they make the coming of the collector (madīf' al-sālih), a condition for the obligation of zakāt on livestock in addition to the passing of the hawal, so that payment before its coming is invalid. The Shi'īs stand in the middle, preferring that zakāt on zāhir property be paid to the ruler, unless he is corrupt.

For the Šī'īs and Mālikīs, liability (dāmān) for zakāt requires, in addition to the passing of the hawal, actual possibility of payment (tamaqkan al-adā'), which e.g. includes access to the property from which zakāt will be paid and the availability of qualified recipients. Among the Hanbalis, the loss of the property after the hawal does not affect the zakāt due, while according to the Ḥanafis, a loss, whether before or after possibility of payment, proportionately reduces it.

The majority of jurists require that zakāt, except for trade goods, be paid in kind, while the Ḥanafis and Twelver Šī'īs permit the payment of the value (kmū') of the zakāt in all cases. The Zayyids permit payment of value when payment in kind is not possible (Ibn Miftah, 1, 500; but see al-'Adīrī, al-Muḥājad al-sāliha, 218-9). The Mālikīs go only so far as to allow zakāt due in gold to be paid in its market value in silver and vice-versa. The requirement of payment in kind, even when strongly upheld, did not obviate constant recourse to valuation in the assessment of zakāt. The inconvenience of the rule against payment in cash led later Šī'īs and Mālikīs to favour the Šafi'i rule, which very likely reflected the common practice.

There is disagreement as to whether it is better to pay zakāt privately or in the open (cf. Kur'ān II, 271), the majority of jurists favouring the latter view. The Šī'īs, however, prefer that one pay zakāt through an agent to preserve the piety of the act from self-aggrandisement. The religious quality of the act of giving is enhanced by a recommended prayer to be uttered by the payer and by a blessing uttered by the ādān or collector (Ibn Kudūmā, al-Sharḥ al-khaṭīb, ii, 678-9), the latter harking back to Kur'ān IX, 103 (cf. Ibn Sa'd, vii/1, 88, blessing by 'Umar). Favoured months for the giving of zakāt are Muharram, Ramaḍān, Dhu 'l-Hijjād (al-Ghazzālī, Ḩaṣā'ī 'ulīm al-ādām, iv, 109-11), and Rabī'II. Bādhī jurists go so far as to suggest a collusive transfer and re-transfer of one's property to permit timing one's giving in a favoured month (al-Dhannawwīn, K. al-Waf', ed. Aṭṭafayyīṣ, ed. 'Ummān, 175-6).

According to the Šī'īs, the ruler, but not a private zakāt payer, is free to remove (nakl) zakāt from the location of the property from which it has been collected. The zakāt payer is authorised to do so only in the event that the zakāt exceeds the needs of the local classes of recipients, in which case he may remove the zakāt for distribution in the nearest locality with qualified recipients. Zakāt for which no qualified recipients are found is retained for eventual future distribution. The Mālikīs prohibit removal and invalidate the payment of zakāt, unless it is removed to recipients as need requires. The original location of the zakāt is pre-paid, however, the failure to inform the collector or the muhtāb, in addition to seizure of the zakāt so removed. The Ḥanafis disapprove of removing zakāt unless it is for the purpose of distributing it to needy relatives or those in greater need than the local qualified recipients.

Finally, the death of the owner prior to the payment of the zakāt does not terminate the obligation, according to the Šī'īs and Hanbalis. According to the Ḥanafis, it always does except for zakāt on crops, and according to the Mālikīs, if the unpaid zakāt was one or more years overdue. In those cases where the obligation of zakāt lapses on account of death, it may still be collectible, if only in part, if the decedent has so provided by will.

Pre-payment. Provided that it exists, payment of zakāt may be made before the end of the hawal. The Ḥanafīs permit such pre-payment (ta'gīlī') for any number of years ahead, unless it is removed to recipients, according to the Šī'īs and Hanbalis for up to two years, and the Šī'īs for one. The Mālikīs permit pre-payment one month in advance, except for crops.

xiii. Intention (niyya [q.v.]). The validity of the payment of zakāt as an act of worship ('ibadah) depends on the requisite intention, which must make reference to the payment of zakāt as obligatory (zaka), but need not specify the property on which zakāt is being paid. The necessity of such an intention was agreed upon by all except the Syrian jurist al-Awsātī (d. 157/774 [q.v.]). There was, however, no agreement as to the role, if any, of an intention when the zakāt was collected by force from a recalcitrant property owner. There is evidence among later jurists of an attenuation of the requirement of an intention when one family member paid zakāt on behalf of another ('Ulayyah, Fath al-'alī al-mālikī, ed. Beirut, i, 165). There is no requirement that the payer must state to the recipient that the payment represents the giving of zakāt, and some jurists preferred that this not be done in order to spare the recipient embarrassment. When the zakāt is pre-paid, however, the failure to inform the recipient of the nature of the gift can prejudice the possibility of its recovery in the event of a change of circumstances rendering it invalid as zakāt.

xiv. Zakāt avoidance and non-payment. It is relatively simple to avoid the incidence of zakāt. The requirement of a holding period, especially, provided property owners with an easy means to do so. A collusive interfamilial transfer, for example, would terminate the hawal. This and other devices (ḥīyā [q.v.]) were a matter of controversy. The Mālikīs and Hanbalīs treat them as void, the property remaining subject to zakāt; the Šī'īs and Ḥanafīs disapprove of such transactions but regard them as valid and assess no zakāt. Such transfers are, in fact, reported of some wealthy Ḥanafī scholars, but their validity did not necessarily mean that they were not subject to criticism (M.L.R. Choudhury, The Din-ilahi or religion of Akbar, Calcutta 1952, 46). Further devices were employed to recover zakāt paid, and disqualified recipients similarly resorted to stratagems to circumvent the law (Ibn Mīṭāf, al-Manṭūṣ'ī al-muḥāṣṣīt, i, 539-42).

The great majority of jurists refused to follow a tradition authorising the imposition of a fine for non-payment of zakāt (Abū Dāwūd, i, 462; al-Khaṭṭābī, Muḥallīm al-sunan, ii, 33-4). Failure to pay zakāt, however, may subject the property owner to corrective disciplinary punishment (ta'żīr) either on the part of the collector or the muhtāb, in addition to seizure of
the zakāt on ẓāhir property. It is generally held that delay in paying zakāt when due results in loss of testimonial capacity.


Zakāt (ṣadāqah al-fitr, also zakāt al-fitrā) (a later term), zakāt Ẓa‘mān, zakāt al-najām, zakāt al-wa‘d, zakāt al-nuṣūr, zakāt al-sand‘i’ (also ẓāhirī, ẓāhir, but, as he notes, there was a disagreement as to its classification as zakāt) is a payment due on behalf of all Muslims, male and female, minor or adult, slave or free, in connection with the termination of the fast (ṣīrī) of Ramadan. For the Ḥanafīs and Twelver Shi‘īs, it is also due on behalf of non-Muslim dependents of Muslims. As a zakāt for persons, not property, it is also termed ẓāhirī, ẓāhir and zakāt al-ṣāhī. The amount paid (ẓāhirī) for ẓāhirī is that which gives it from his unseemly conduct and other shortcomings during the fast of Ramadan and at the same time relieves the poor from having to beg for food on the id al-fitr (q.v.) (Abū Dāwūd, i, 473). The practice of giving zakāt al-fitr is based on ḥadīth, although Qur’ānic verses are sometimes cited in support (e.g. LXXVII, 14; cf. Ibn Abī Zayd al-Khayrāwī, al-baḥr al-darār wa l-ṣayyādi, ed. al-Hulw, Beirut 1999, ii, 301). The opinion that it was abrogated by the zakāt for property was almost universally rejected, and zakāt al-fitr is, according to the great majority of Muslim jurists, an obligation, but its denial does not amount to unbelief. The Ḥanafīs label it compulsory (ṣaūdī), in accordance with their terminology for obligations that are not entirely beyond doubt. There is disagreement as to its classification as ẓāhir or ẓāhirī. According to al-Mawsī, al-Shāfi‘ī of his day considered it to be ẓāhirī, but, as he notes, there was a long-standing practice of distributing it personally (Hātu, iv, 432), and it is thus commonly classified as ẓāhirī, but not by the Zaydis (al-‘Ansī, al-Tālī al-mudghab, Šan‘a‘ 1380/1961, i, 222). One need not have lasted during Ramadan or even be subject to the fast for zakāt al-fitr to be due (cf. al-Kāsānī, Badd‘f al-san‘dt‘i‘, ed. Cairo, reprinted Beirut 1406/1986, ii, 70).

According to al-Shāfi‘ī, those obligated to make the zakāt al-fitr payment are, with some exceptions, Muslims or non-Muslims, who are under a legal obligation to provide support (na‘fa) for those persons on whose behalf it is due, and who also have the means to pay it (yasa‘). The means to pay zakāt al-fitr is defined as sufficient wealth to defray the cost of the payment and the needs of oneself and one’s dependents (mu‘mān) for the day of the festival, such needs including food, clothing, shelter and the household services of slaves. The Ḥanafīs and Twelver Shi‘īs measure ability to pay zakāt al-fitr by wealth as for zakāt on property (see above).

It is agreed that zakāt al-fitr is payable in the form of wheat, barley, dates and raisins, to which list may be added other basic foods. The ẓāhirī, for example, add several milk products including dried curd (akīt), yogurt (labān) and cheese (ja‘īm). The amount due is one sā‘ (ca. 2.03 litres) (q.v.). except that according to the Ḥanafīs, when payment is made with wheat, the amount due is one-half sā‘, a rule traced back to both ‘Umar and Mu‘āwiya. The Ḥanafīs also differ as to the size of a sā‘, which they take to be the equivalent of eight Baghdad rūls, not five and one-third rūls as the other schools have it. The Ḥanafīs and Twelver Shi‘īs admit payment of the value of the zakāt al-fitr due, and payment in cash is now in any case widespread (ca. $7 per person in the U.S.).

Although preferable that it be paid on the day of the feast prior to the festival prayer (in the absence of a valid excuse, it must be paid before sunset of the day of the feast), the Ẓāhirīs admit payment of zakāt al-fitr from the beginning of Ramadan, the Hanbalīs and Mālikīs two days prior to the festival, and the Ḥanafīs prior to Ramadān.

7. Zakāt in Ṣū‘ūrīsm.

Classical Ṣūfī sources portray the Ṣūfī as standing outside the system of zakāt. Owning no property, the true Ṣūfī pays no zakāt, and despite his poverty, the Ṣūfī’s spiritual wealth disqualifies him as a recipient. The Ṣūfī writers, however, find ample scope for the giving of zakāt in a wider sense that encompasses acknowledgment of all the benefits bestowed by God. Abī Naṣr al-Sarrājī (d. 378/988 [q.v.]) records an opposing position among Ṣūfīs in favour of accepting zakāt, refusal to do so being regarded as prideful, and popular works like the Kāt al-kālīf of Abū Tālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996) and the Ḣayt ‘ulīm al-dīn of al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) [q.v.], urged that preference in paying zakāt be given to the poor among the Ṣūfīs. The popularity of Ṣūfīs as favoured recipients of zakāt was noted by the Syrian Ṣūfī jurist Tākī al-Dīn al-Hūṣīnī (d. 829/1426), himself a Ṣūfī, who warned against giving zakāt to heterodox or superficially pious groups whose Ṣūfī affiliation he called into question (Kāfyn al-akhdār, Beirut n.d., 121-2).

8. Zakāt in the modern period.

The period since approximately the Second World War has witnessed a re-examination of zakāt unprecedented since the formative period of Islamic law. During this time there has also been renewed interest in the implementation of the law of zakāt, both in the form of increased individual compliance and governmentally sponsored or mandated efforts at collection. Academic discussion of zakāt has taken place within the two camps of jurists and economists. Although Muslim jurists affiliated with the schools of law continue to develop the law of zakāt, both more influential have been the writings of scholars with an independent point of view who have undertaken critically to survey the law of the classical period with a view to developing a law of zakāt appropriate for modern conditions. Efforts toward a revival of the institution of zakāt have led to the convening of frequent conferences, the publication of numerous manuals and pamphlets instructing Muslims how to fulfill their obligations, and the formation of various private organizations that aim at assisting in this compliance. There have also been notable instances of governmental involvement in the collection and distribution of zakāt, and legislation has been enacted that mandates the payment of at least some forms of zakāt.

Even before this period, Muslim reformers had begun broadening the traditional purposes to which zakāt had been put. In his interpretation of Kur‘ān IX, 60, Raṣīd Riḍā [q.v.] had urged that the class of “slaves” might now include not only individuals but societies “enslaved” by colonialism and that the zakāt for the “path of God” should go, not to a dīdār waged with arms, but to one waged with the weapons of argument and persuasion in the interest of a restoration of Islam. Some interest in directing zakāt to wider social purposes than recognised by the traditional law was not new (cf. Ibn Abīdīn, Ḥidżīyat radād al-muhātār, ii, 345-6, ḥiya to use zakāt for building a mosque; new was the willingness of the part of the reformers to resort to direct reinterpretation of the Kur‘ān to attain their goals. One can already see in the reformers the shift from regarding zakāt primarily as an act of piety (an attitude that, of course, still persists in some circles) to the emphasis on zakāt as the foundation of the Islamic social and economic system that dominates its modern revival.

Essential to the implementation of this vision of
**ZAKÂT**

(zakât) is the insistence that Muslim governments must once again assume the duty of collecting zakât and not leave its payment and distribution to the conscience of individuals. The consensus among the modernists that the classical distinction between zâhir and bâtin, according to which the government had authority to collect only the former, is no longer tenable, either because the distinction itself was not necessarily intended to be eternally binding or because under modern conditions of saving and investing very little property is truly bâtin. They have also called for an expansion of the property base (nusbah) on which zakât is to be assessed. The modernists have no inclination, as did some jurists of the past, to blur the distinction between zakât and secular taxes (cf. Ibn Ḥadāj al-Ḥaytamī, Fathātā al-habīb al-alwā'ī, ed. Cairo, ii, 48; Ibn Ḥādīfīn, op. cit., ii, 288-90), for zakât is now seen as an entirely viable alternative to the latter.

It is now generally accepted that the generic nusbah applicable to new cases is that for gold, which unlike silver has historically maintained its value. The rules for gold and silver are now widely applied to paper money, and the formerly held view that paper money be potentially treated as merchandise (Ulāyyah, Fath al-‘alā ‘al al-mālik, i, 164-5) is no longer much in evidence, although it continues in the treatment of stocks and bonds. It has thus been urged that zakât at the rate of 2.5% should be payable on horses and any other grazing animals with the value of the nisbah for gold. Similarly, the zakât for crops should encompass all produce from the soil, with the nisbah for gold applicable to those crops not measured by volume. Furthermore, it is often argued, fairness dictates that the expenses incurred in the growing and harvesting of the crop be deducted in the calculation of the nisbah. Similar arguments have been put forth to extend zakât to all minerals derived from mining and to all products derived from the ocean, including fish. Rental income from buildings, factories, taxis, buses and ships has also been drawn into the scope of zakât, at the rate for trade goods according to some, or the rate for crops according to others. Salaries from professions and trades should also be subject to zakât as earned, once the nisbah has been met, and the view dispensing with a holding period, formerly merely a legal curiosity, is now very much alive. A minority has gone so far as to call for an updating of the classical nisbah.

Modernist writers have, like their reformist predecessors, insisted that the proceeds from the collection of zakât be available for a wider range of purposes than the classical law generally allowed. They have also been concerned with the mechanisms of zakât collection, and have argued that zakât must be payable in cash to spare government agencies the costs of caring for livestock or storing foodstuffs. In general, however, discussions of the specifics of the administration of zakât collection are less developed than those concerned with the property base and the rate of zakât. Modernists are optimistic that under ordinary circumstances zakât will generate sufficient revenues to fund “all the activities of a state” (Fazlur Rahman, Major themes of the Qur’ān, 2 Minneapolis 1994, 41). They do, however, tend to acknowledge the possibility that states may, under one circumstance or another, need to find other sources of revenue. In the interests of equity, it is often held that non-Muslim citizens of Muslim states should be subjected to a tax that mirrors zakât.

At the present time payment of one form or another of zakât is enforceable by law in six Muslim nations: Saudi Arabia, Libya, Yemen, Malaysia, Pakistan and Sudan. Reference to the responsibility of the state for the implementation of zakât appearances in the Constitutions of Yemen (Art. 21), Pakistan (Art. 31) and Sudan (Art. 10).

Collection of zakât in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia is governed by Royal Decree no. 172/28/8634 dated 29 Qīmādād II 1370/7 April 1951 which imposed zakât on both individuals and companies with Saudi nationality. Zakât on livestock and crops is under the jurisdiction of the Department of Duty of the Ministry of Finance and National Economy, that on other items under the Zakât and Income Tax Department of the Ministry. Special committees composed of both government officials and private citizens assess the zakât due on livestock and crops, which the owners then pay directly to those whom local committees have determined to be entitled. Zakât is also collected on the merchandise, cash and other liquid assets, but not the fixed assets, of businesses, and on the income of self-employed professionals, the latter at the rate of 1.25%, the law authorising individuals to personally distribute to the needy one-half of the zakât otherwise due. The entire cost of collection is borne by the public treasury. The law imposes no penalties or fines for failure to pay zakât, but administrative pressures have been brought to bear against companies that have failed to make their payments and in egregious cases there is the possibility of detention by the police.

The Zakât Law of Libya (Law 89 of 1971) applies to all property, including paper money and company shares, but provides for the compulsory collection of zakât only on gold property. While drawing on Mālikī law for some details, it departs from it in its broader coverage of grains and fruits and its allowance of a deduction from the crop of the expenses of harvesting as well as in applying debts against livestock, and in admitting for the payment of zakât al-fitr in cash. In the case of non-payment, the law imposes a penalty not to exceed double the zakût due. Libyan law earmarks 50% of the proceeds of zakât for distribution to the poor.

Compulsory collection of zakât in the Yemen Arab Republic goes back to 1975. Its collection, including that of zakât al-fitr, which is deducted from the salary of public employees in Ramadān, is under the Department of Duties (maslahat al-wadājib) of the Ministry of Finance. As in Saudi Arabia, collection of zakât on livestock and crops depends on local assessment. The proceeds from zakât collection are deposited in the Central Bank and disbursed by the Ministry of Finance as an integral part of the state budget. The costs of collection run as high as 25%. Individuals are authorised to distribute personally 25% of their zakât.

The collection of zakât in Malaysia is separately administered in each state by the Religious Affairs Councils. The property from which zakât is taken varies from state to state, but the greatest sources of zakât revenues are rice (padu) and zakât al-fitr. Non-compliance is widespread, except for zakât al-fitr (ca. $1 US per person), explainable in part by the preference, going back to colonial times, on the part of some growers to distribute zakât personally (zakât peri-budi) rather than pay it to the government (zakât raja). The law provides for fines and imprisonment for non-payment, but enforcement is reportedly lax.

The Pakistani and Sudanese laws have attracted the greatest interest inasmuch as they formed part of...
larger programmes of Islamisation of the law. The Pakistani Zakat and Ushr Ordinance of 1980 was enacted during the regime of Zia ul-Haq (see ZIYA AL-HAQ] and introduced by him as a fulfilment of what was considered by him as the centuries' long aspirations of the Muslims of the region. It departs from the classical law in imposing zakat on various forms of what would traditionally have been classified as bātān property, including savings bank accounts, a measure justified by an appeal to Hanafi doctrine (cf. Tāzīrīn-or-Rahman, Introduction of Zakat in Pakistan (1982) and in SADAKA, see the following titles, grouped from the Ministry of Finance to the Ministry of Social Welfare and created a new Zakat Bureau (dziārāt) separate from the existing tax system. Further changes were made under the Zakat Law of 1990. The reach of the South African law is quite extensive, and it covers all the traditional classes of property subject to zakāt as well as the salaries of civil servants and professionals, and income from dairies, poultry farms and fisheries. Zakat on crops has come to be collected in cash since practical problems arose in its collection in kind. Zakat on livestock is also collected in cash, but implementation in this area has been hesitant. The law provides for payment to distribute personally 20% of their zakat. A penalty not to exceed the zakāt due is imposed for non-payment. 

The majority of Muslims continue to pay zakāt outside of a compulsory legal scheme for its collections and distribution. There has, however, been a movement across the Muslim world to create new intermediaries to receive voluntary payments of zakāt. Prominent among these are quasi-governmental agencies such as the Jordanian (1978) and Bahraini (1979) Zakat Funds (zandūk al-zakāt) and the more autonomous Kuwaiti Zakat House (bayt al-zakāt) (1982) and Egyptian Nasser Social Bank (1977). Zakat paid to such agencies, like zakāt paid under the compulsory schemes, typically enjoys the advantage of being deductible from the national income tax. Some see in these voluntary schemes a stage on the way to compulsory collection, as in the case of Sudan, where the Zakat Fund (1980) preceded the Zakat Law. Only in Jordan did the Zakat Fund replace a scheme, albeit of limited scope, for compulsory zakāt collection (Law No. 35 of 1944). The activities of these intermediaries now often include the making of interest-free loans (kārād hasan), a form of assistance not provided for by the classical law of zakāt. 

More informally-organised intermediaries continue to function throughout the Muslim world and among minority Muslim populations, both in competition with each other and in competition with legislated compulsory and voluntary schemes. Such organisations are increasingly taking advantage of modern technology such as the Internet to reach potential zakāt payers, and provision for payment by credit card is by no means uncommon. While insisting that zakāt has nothing to do with taxation, these new intermediaries have readily adopted the vocabulary (e.g. "zakatable") and trappings of modern systems of taxation, including more or less elaborate forms of calculation, and a variety of forms for "zakāt returns". Much, however, remains to be done in the effort toward greater compliance. For while virtually all Muslims are aware that there is an obligation of zakāt, accurate information about its implementation is far rarer and compliance is still very limited. A recent study of zakāt in rural Egypt indicated that, while 96% of the farmers knew that zakāt was an obligation, only 20% paid it on their crops, as compared with 76% who paid zakāt al-fitr, a relatively small obligation and one intimately associated with Ramadan (A.T. Abu Kuryāghā, al-Zakāt wa l-tanmiya, Cairo 1999). 

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text and in SADAKA, see the following titles, grouped according to the numerical headings above: 

AL-ZAKÁZIK, conventionally ZAGAZIG, a town in the east of the Nile delta of Egypt, 90 km/55 miles to the northeast of Cairo. It is now the chief town of the Sharkiya province, and in 1998 had almost 270,000 inhabitants.

The town was founded in the first third of the 19th century on the bahr Muwís, a canal following the ancient course of the Tanácíc branch of the Nile. The Egyptian ruler Muhammad ’Ali Paşa [q.v.] entrusted to a specialist hydraulic engineer, Ahmad al-Bárdí, the construction of six dams on this canal and its branches, in order to irrigate the Sharkiya province as a whole. The original site of al-Zakážik corresponded to the dockside huts of mud and reeds, and for fixing the settlement. Work on the dams took from 1827 to 1832, and when they were completed, a permanent settlement, with more durable buildings, grew up on the site.

The name of the town, whose origin is controversial, is said to have come from a member of the family of a certain Ahmad Zakázík, who settled at the end of the 18th century half-a-kilometre to the north of the future dockyard, in a village which is said to have taken its name from the newly-arrived family: Kafi al-Zakázík. Naturally, in the late 1820s, in order to complete the new dams, recourse would have been made to local manpower, and especially to the workers of Kafi al-Zakázík, including some of the descendants of Ahmad Zakázík, who are said to have called their dockside settlement Nazát al-Zakázík.

This patronymic would also be kept in the engineer Ahmad al-Bárdí’s administrative documents and was definitively confirmed by Muhammad ’Ali when he visited the site shortly after its completion. However, other etymologies prevailed more strongly in folk memory in the later 19th and early 20th centuries. Its origin was attributed to a species of fish like the carp, the zakázík, pl. zakázík, caught in large quantities in the bahr of Muwís; at the present time, the preferred derivation is from the root zakákţa, denoting the twit-tering of the large numbers of birds in the trees along the main road of the town along the canal.

The town rapidly developed after its foundation, thanks to the transfer at an early date of the irrigation offices of the Sharkiya from Bilbays to al-Zakázík, followed a year later by the town’s elevation to the rank of capital of the province (mudristiya, now muhafázá) of the Sharkiya, all at the expense of Bilbays. Muhammad ’Ali considered al-Zakázík as having a more central site. The arrival of numerous officials was followed by that of merchants and the development of infrastructures, notably the arrival of the railway, making the town definitively the main centre of the Delta, so that it had 40,000 inhabitants in 1911. This population came from diverse origins, seen e.g. in the town’s Coptic community; the family of Saláma Músá (1887-1958 [q.v.]), originally from Asyút, settled in al-Zakázík in the years after its foundation.

The two first mosques there were built early, one by Muhammad ’Ali on the eastern bank of the canal and the other on the western bank by a government dignitary, the amir Yusuf, the so-called “Little Mosque”. The third mosque, from the second half of the 19th century, well reflects the development and modernisation of the town, being built, with steel columns, by a local rich merchant, Sulaymán al-Sharbí, today, most important in the town is the Mosque of the Conquest financed by the singer ’Abd al-Halim Háfiz, originally from the district. The town’s Muslim community has further acquired, in less than two centuries, two tutelary saints, Abu Khálil and Abu ’Amir, whose maukil is celebrated by Muslims and Copts equally.

The town’s prosperity derives nevertheless from economic and commercial activities. In the later 19th century, al-Zakázík became one of the main Egyptian centres for the cotton trade and an important centre of preparation and marketing of cotton. Several dozen European merchants (English, French, Greek) invested capital in the cotton industry and installed factories for cotton ginning and spinning. This foreign presence, increasingly visible through the development of land and the building of churches and of colonial villas surrounded by gardens, led, in the 1870s, to conflicts
in the town between the locals and the newcomers; hence Ahmad ‘Urabī [see ‘URABI PASHA], originally from this region, was to find strong support from the citizens of the town at the time of his revolt in 1881. Bibliography: 'Ali Būhā Bahārār, al-Miṣr al-tauṣūfīyya, xi, Būlāq 1887, 93-4; S. Māsās, The education of Salāma Mūsā, Leiden 1961; S. Māhīr, Mubāhāzāt al-Diqūkūriyya al-arabīyya al-muttaḥa swādīgūrū al-baṣāyī’ fī ’l-‘ar바t “l-islāmī, Cairo 1966, 126-8; Muhammad Rāmzī, al-Kāmil al-dīqūgrafī l-bihād al-miṣrīyya, repr. Cairo 1993, ii/1, 89-92. (J.-M. Mouton)

ZĀKHĪR, ‘And Allāh, polemicist, copyist, translator, printer and painter, born in Aleppo in 1680, died at the Monastery of Mūr Yūḥannā, al-Shuwayr, Lebanon, 30 August 1748. The son of a Greek Orthodox goldsmith, Zakhir learned his father’s trade before studying with Christian scholars and the Muslim dārūd Sulaymān al-Nahwī. He worked as a copyist for the Catholic missionaries in Aleppo amongst others, especially for the Jesuits, whose translations of works of theology and spirituality he also rendered into acceptable Arabic. After the Greek Orthodox former patriarch Athanasius Dabbās returned from Wallachia, having had two Arabic liturgical books printed there [see MĀṭRA’ā. 1.B.1], Zakhir cooperated with him in setting up the first Arabic press in the Near East, using equipment, and with financial support from Romania. Between 1706 and 1711, when it ceased working, this Aleppo press published 10 titles. Zakhir’s polemical writings date from 1722 onwards, when the break between Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics became open. Accepting Papal claims to supremacy, he refuted the Orthodox teaching on the issues that separated the two traditions. The target of Orthodox hostility, he left Aleppo for Lebanon, where he eventually settled at the monastery at al-Shuwayr. The press he set up there in 1733 was to function with interruptions until 1899; the first book it produced, in 1734, was Mizān al-zamān, a translation of an ascetic work by the Jesuit J.E. Nieremberg.

In his original writings and correspondence, Zakhir demonstrates not only command of the ‘arabīyya (he was a contemporary of Djarmanūs Farḥāt [q.v.]) but also a well-developed rhetorical sense and capacity for argument; he was understandably feared as a polemicist. Though never ordained or a monk, he lived a life of asceticism and service to others, which earned him the title of šaghrāmā (lit. "deacon"). He is perhaps the first Arab painter to have left us a self-portrait, together with portraits of some of his contemporaries.

Bibliography: Zakhir’s biography by a disciple in Muṣṣara, iv/6 (August 1913), repr. in Muṣṣara, xxxiv/7 (1948) [special issue on the bicentenary of Zakhir’s death], 386-96; J. Nasraḷlah, Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l’Église Melchite du V au XXe siècle, iv/2, Époque ottomane 1724-1800, Louvain-Paris 1989, 111-37, with the bibliography given there, which may be added Usāmah ‘Anūṭ, al-Harrak al-adabīyya fī bilād al-ḥṣīm fī ‘l-kam al-ḥṣīmīn ṣaḥḥat, Beirut 1983, index; B. Heyberger, Les écrits du Proche-Orient au temps de la réforme catholique, Rome 1994, index. (Hilary Kilpatrick)

ZAKHRAFA (Ar.), in Islamic art, “ornament, ornamentation”. The word is connected with the noun zukhruf “gold” > “ornamental work” used in Kūrīn, XVII, 95/93, hast min zukhruf, and there is an adjective muṣakhir “ornamented”; the origin of zukhruf seems to be in a deformation, via Syriac, of Gr. σιγάρφος “to paint”, see Jefery, The foreign vocabulary of the Qur’an, Baroda 1938, 150. Islamic ornament possesses certain qualities that, even if not exclusive to this art, are sufficiently distinct to be recognisable. One is that it is independent from the underlying structure; be it a building or an object of art. It therefore can easily be transferred from one material to the other, and from one technique to another. As in other civilisations, the elements of which it is composed or by the method by which it is organised. In addition, it can be interpreted symbolically, can communicate ideas or can have metaphorical qualities.

The most common elements are vegetal, geometric, epigraphic and figural. In order to create order and harmony—one of the most characteristic functions of Islamic ornament—it is organised by two principles: geometry and symmetry. To achieve this aim, the Islamic artist used a number of methods, the most typical being framing and linking. Plants may completely grow into each other and form an infinite pattern generally termed “arabesque” [q.v.].

The predominance of vegetal motifs in Islamic ornament hardly needs to be reiterated. Its development can broadly be divided into three main periods: the formative, roughly between the 7th and 10th centuries A.D.; the ornamental integration, from about the 10th to the later 13th centuries, and the final phases, from about the 14th to the 17th centuries. The first centuries are characterised by an enormous variety of motifs adopted from pre-Islamic civilisations. In the course of time, acanthus and vine leaves, palmettes, half-palmettes, lotus blossoms and grapes, to mention only the most common vegetal designs, were flattened out, became two-dimensional, and made into space for additional small ornamentation. Composed without background, divided only by bevelled lines, these ornaments create abstract designs that give the impression of uniform patterns, though their floral and vegetal origin is still recognisable. The best examples attesting to the transformation and integration of these elements into ornamental patterns stem from late 8th-century Syria and 9th-century Samarrā, from where they spread to Egypt and other parts of the Islamic world (Plate V, Figs. 1 and 2). Only Spain was less affected by these tendencies. Depending on Umayyad tradition, such as the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock [see KUBBAT AL-SAKHRA] or the eastern façade of Mehtarāt [q.v.], deeply carved and feathery leaves are folded over, so that the design becomes three-dimensional instead of being flattened out.

In the following centuries, the changes within plant ornaments occur primarily in the central Islamic lands. Of particular importance is the development of the arabesque. While its preliminary stages may already date from the 11th century, it reached its full scope only in the following two centuries, culminating in Asia Minor, where full use of the potential qualities of the arabesque is attested from works made in Konya (Plate V, Fig. 3). Because of the Mongol invasions, Central Asian motifs—lotus blossoms, peonies, composite flowers and the like—enrich the vegetal repertory and remain a constant feature from the second half of the 13th century onwards. The earliest Chinese-inspired floral motifs seem to occur on ceramics, but were immediately adopted also in other media such as metal, wood, glass, textiles and manuscript illuminations. Assimilated to the Islamic tradition and taste, they became favourite motifs in Persian and Central Asian architecture, and by the second half of the 14th century, intricate and organically-growing floral patterns, transformed into flat, coloured faience mosaics,
become a common decoration on religious and secular buildings alike. Thanks to trade relations and wandering workshops, this vocabulary reached also Syria, Egypt, and Turkey and brought about a new taste, which preferred a more exotic and less traditional floral repertoire. In the course of the 16th and 17th centuries, Ottoman Turkey in particular excelled in combining a multitude of stalks, buds and flowers from different origins, which in colour and composition remain unique (cf. the wares of İznik [q.v.]).

Although not used as ornaments on religious buildings or objects produced for religious purposes, animals and birds were part of the decorative repertoire from its very beginning. At first they reflect the same artistic traditions as the vegetal ornaments. Yet by the 9th century, first in Mesopotamia, and almost simultaneously in Egypt and Persia also, these animals become less realistic. Their bodies lose plasticity, details such as hair, felt or feathers are replaced by ornaments unrelated to their indigenous shape, and the whole figure is often adapted to the shape of the object it decorates. Or, following the bevelled style of Sāmarrā, the shape of a bird is transformed into an abstract pattern, composed of fully merged three-petalled lotus blossoms, half-palmettes and undulating stems (Plate VI, Fig. 4). In eastern Persia, this abstract style continued for some time, while in Egypt the animal figure become again more realistic. The number of species increases, and on portable objects of art fabulous, occasionally even grotesque creatures figure in the centre of an object as its major decoration. The fascination with imaginary animals, including Far Eastern dragons, unicorns, qilins and the like that light blue glazed brick or terracotta and white glazed elements were used for the decoration of Kur'an frontispieces, Egyptian 15th and early 16th-century minbars, or a wooden Turkish Kur'an box from the mausoleum of Sultan Selim II. Another decoration generated by geometric forms are stalactites or mukarnas [q.v.]. In contrast to the patterns mentioned above, they are three-dimensional, and became one of the most conspicuous architectural ornaments created in the Islamic world. Finally, signatures, foundation inscriptions, quotations from the Kur'ān, proverbs and the like, often became the main and only decoration of buildings or objects of art. The latter, documented since the 8th century on ceramic, glass and metal objects, even preceded inscriptions on architecture. In the course of the centuries, Islamic calligraphers invented a variety of styles, and the inscriptions became integrated into the rest of the decoration [see KHATT]. Limited in time and material is a script in which either the whole letter or part of it assumes a human or animal form. Except for the ornithomorphic script, which appears for the first time on 10th-century eastern Persian ceramics, it is limited to metalwork, produced between the mid-12th and late-13th centuries. Beginning with the early 14th century, inscriptions, written in either naṣīḥī or thulūth styles, became a dominant feature in architecture as well as in minor arts. Mamlūk dignitaries favoured a radiating arrangement of the script which, set in roundels or polychlobed medallions, was meant to glorify their names and titles. Perhaps the first sultan who used this device was al-Nāṣir Muhammad b. Kalāwūn [q.v.] in the early 14th century (Plate VII, Fig. 7). These epigraphic roundels were equally favoured by high officers and other members of his dynasty. By the 15th century, only a few Mamlūk rulers continued to write their names and honorary titles in a radiant composition. They re-appear, however, in Ottoman epigraphic roundels of a religious content. The ornamental qualities of the script were fully exploited in epigraphic panels in which the words, made up of unadorned Kūfic letters, form a regular geometric design. This script was exclusively used for religious inscriptions, repeating the name of the Prophet, the names of the Imāms and various saints, or else the Muslim creed or dhikr [q.v.]. After the mid-13th century, these decorative panels enjoyed considerable popularity in Anatolian, Egyptian and Persian architecture, wood carvings and manuscript illuminations, and this popularity has continued up to the present day.

The most common means of creating an overall pattern was by means of frames and borders, which outlined the primary motifs and set them into medallions, panels, cartouches and arches, giving the pattern an inner cohesion. Due to the survival of antique elements in Syrian, Egyptian and Coptic art, niches and arcades remained a relatively frequent feature until the end of the Mamlūk period. In other instances, round enclosures or arches were provided with lobed outlines, a feature that entered Islam from China long before the Mongol invasion. They often formed continuous bands, decorating objects of art and architectural monuments alike. In patterns where the decorative elements completely eliminated the background, the basic design was repeated in a reciprocating fashion, applicable to larger surfaces as well as to closed panels and frames. Carved with slanting outlines or painted on flat surfaces, they remained in vogue up to about the 14th century, often differentiated by their colour (Plate VIII, Fig. 8). Other methods of creating coherent overall designs involved placing different geometric forms next to each other; determining the structure of a pattern by continuously crossing and overlapping bands, or creating a three-dimensional design by arranging up to four decorative schemes one on top of the other.

Ornaments, however, also communicated—either explicitly or implicitly—certain ideas. Their interpretation remains equivocal. Yet it would seem that, aside from being aesthetically attractive, some of these orna-
ments evoked additional connotations. Among these one may suggest that fruit-bearing trees were charged with religious symbolism. As in the domes of Late Antiquity, which were decorated with whirls and stars, domes were given cosmological symbolism, transforming a cupola or ceramic bowl into the vault of heaven. This is further enforced by Persian poems, in which the vault of heaven is called "upturned bowl", i.e. "heaven", or "fāsī spīhūt "bowl of heaven". Other ornaments with metaphorical qualities are fish and water creatures (Plate VIII, Fig. 9), imitations of jewellery, or animal wheels.

It has, however, to be reiterated that our quest for understanding the meaning of ornaments is still at its beginning and awaits future studies in depth.


ZAKHU, local pronunciation Zakho, a Kurdish town on the Lesser Khabur river [fig.] in northern Iraq, situated about 8 km/5 miles from the Turkish border and 20 km/12 miles from the Syrian border (lat. 37° 2’ N., long. 42° 8’ E.). It became world-famous after the Gulf War (1990) when thousands of Kurdish refugees, fearing retaliation by the Savak, tried to escape to Turkey but eventually were resettled in Zakho or near it; as a result, by 1992 Zakho’s population rose to about 350,000 (2), compared to only about 30,000 (?) in 1950.

In addition to the largely Kurdish Muslim population, Zakho had also a Christian community (Nestorians and Chaldeans, Armenians, etc. totalling ca. 5,000 persons in 1992), and a Jewish community (about 350 families before their emigration en masse to Israel in the early 1950s). However, according to the table in M. Chevalier, Les montagnards chrétiens du Hakkari, 285, the estimates of various travellers vary widely. Each community lived usually in a separate quarter, close to its house of worship (4 churches, 2 synagogues, and a few mosques). The Kurds spoke the Kurmandji dialect of Kurdish [see KURD, KURDISTAN, v.], whereas the Christians and the Jews spoke Neo-Aramaic, each community having its own dialect.

Zakho’s commercial and communal life centred around the river, which was, before the advent of motorised vehicles, the main route for the transport of materials from central Kurdistan to the Tigris plains, so that Zakho was an important shipping centre. About seventy Jewish families in the town were loggers and raftsmen who transported goods and wood to Mawil and beyond on large rafts made of logs tied together alone or over inflated sheepskins [see KELK].

Other typical occupations included peddlers, butchers, weavers (mostly Christians), dyers (Jewish), shop owners (mixed), carpenters, farmers (mostly Kurds), teachers and government officials (mostly Christians). Zakho may be an old town, and probably identical with the būt zakkā ("House of Victory") mentioned in an 11th-century Syriac manuscript (Budge, 183; cf. Fiey, 261, 880; B[qa]Zākho"). Zakho has three modern bridges, but a prominent one made of huge stones and associated with a legend, is popularly assumed to be from the ‘Abbāsid period. The oldest syna

gogue there had an inscription dated 5568 (= 1798). Social and commercial relations between the communities were generally good, with the Jews feeling secure under the protection of the local Shemdin aghas.


AL-ZAKKĀK, ‘Alī b. al-Kāsim b. Muhammad al-Tudjībī al-Fāsī, Abu ’l-Ḥasan (d. 912/1507), famous Mālikī jurist, whose lakab is explained in the sources as being unconnected with the trade of making skin vessels for holding wine. He studied Khallī’s Muḥtassar with Muḥammad b. Kāsim al-Miknāsī al-Fāsī (d. 872/1468) and al-Mawwālī al-Ḥarmānī (d. 897/1492), whose al-Tajj wa lā bālī he also translated. In al-Madār (ms. National Library of Madrid); a commentary was written by Mayyāra (d. 1072/1662). He also wrote a famous Lāmiyya, known as al-Zakkākīyya, of which many mss. are preserved. It was edited by Merad ben Ali, La Lamiya ou Ṭaqqāṭyha du jurisintravel manoucan (ms. National Library of Madrid); a commentary was written by Ahmad al-Mandjarī (d. 995/1587). The Lāmiyya shows the existence of solutions in which the ‘amal fasī was adopted. In the last years of his life, al-Zakkākī was khātīb in the mosque of al-Andalus at Fās. Some of his descendants were also famous scholars.


ZAKKUM (a.), a tree that figures in Islamic eschatology as growing in Hell, with bitter fruit which the damned are condemned to eat. It is mentioned in the Kur’ān three times (XXXVII, 60/62; XLIV, 43; LVI, 52).

The lexicographers explain it as an evil-smelling tree that grows in the Tihama, but also as a medically beneficial one that grows in the Jordan valley around Jericho; and as a foodstuff of the Arabs, composed of fresh butter with dates (see Lane, 1239a-b). Richard Bell, The Qur’ān translated, ii, 556 n. 1, cited as a parallel the same word in Syriac meaning “the hogbean”; Bell must have taken from Payne Smith, Thesaurus Syriacus, col. 1148; zi:kum/zi:kūm, citing the agricultural treatise of Geoponika, 115 i, 20, in which zi:kūm are something dried in front of a fire before eating, and where the word is probably a corruption of kūmī
Fig. 1. Vine plant in plaster in audience chamber (diwān), Khirbat al-Mafdjar, ca. 725-30.

Fig. 2. Overall patterns of palmettes, lotus buds and trefoils aligned vertically. From house at Samarra, ca. mid-3rd/9th century.

Fig. 3. Qurʾān stand elaborately carved with arabesques, ca. 1278-9, Konya.
Fig. 4. Bird carved in wood. Egypt, Tulunid period. Paris, Musée de Louvre, Inv. MAO 459.

Fig. 5. Coloured drawing of dragons on foliage. Ottoman, mid-10th/16th century. The Cleveland Museum of Art 44.492.

Fig. 6. Tile and faience decoration from the Madrasa Ghiyathiyya, 846-87/1442-5.
Fig. 7. Radiating inscription. Incense burner of Muhammad b. Kalâwûn. Egypt or Syria, 693-741/1294-1340. The Nuhad es-Saïd Collection.
Fig. 8. Border pattern with reciprocating motif. Sultan Khan, begun 629/1231.

Fig. 9. Fish pond ornament at bottom of early 14th-century Persian brass bowl. Naples, Museo Nazionale, Inv. H.3253.
and its Greek equivalent κόπατα “lentils”. In any case, it seems a long way from a tree with bitter fruit.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

ZAKKUM, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek island of Zakynthos, Ital. Zacinto, Fr. and Eng. Zante, the southernmost of the Ionian islands, lying off the westernmost tip of the Peloponnese [see MORA].

Lost to Byzantium in 1185, it passed under the control of various Western powers until 1320 when it was seized by the Italian Tocco family, whose Ionian Islands dominions were to prosper till the later 15th century, receiving large numbers of refugees from the Greek mainland. Zakynthos, together with Cephalonia and Levkas/Aya Mavra [see LEVKAS], was briefly captured in late 1479 by Ahmed Pasha Gedik [q.v.], but recovered in the next year by Count Leonardo III Tocco. In 1483, however, the Toccos were driven out by Venice, who secured possession of it and Cephalonia by an annual tribute to the Ottoman sultan, maintained until 1699 [see D. Pitcher, The historical geography of the Ottoman empire, Leiden 1972, 65, 86-7, 132 and Map XVI; P. Soustal and J. Koder, Nipotopoli and Kephallonia, Vienna 1981, 77 ff., 278-9; arts. Ionian Sea, Zakynthos and Tocco, in The Oxford dict. of Byzantium, New-York-Oxford 1991].

In the long Venetian period, Zakynthos suffered numerous Ottoman naval attacks and raids, in the 16th century commanded by Khayr al-Din Pasha, Torguld Re’s and Ulidji ‘Ali [q.v.] (see W. Miller, The Latins in the Levant, London 1908, 483 ff.; idem, The Ionian Islands under Venetian rule, in EHR, xxxii [1928], 209-39; A. Krantonelle, History of piracy in the Tourkokratia, 2 vols. Athens 1895-91, in Greek). Zakynthians participated in the battle of Lepanto in 1571, in the Russian-incited insurrection of 1770 and in the Greek War of Independence, when the island became a base for insurgents. It had been ceded by the Venetians to the French by the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797); there was a brief Russo-Turkish occupation (1799-1807); a French re-occupation (1807-14); and finally, it became a British protectorate until 1864, when the Ionian Islands were ceded to the kingdom of Greece.

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ZALIDJ [q.v.], also zalidji, a word somehow related to Perso-Arabic IPv/IPv/IPv “lapis lazuli” (see Dozy, Supplement, i, 598; idem and W.H. Engelmann, Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais derives de l’arabe, 2 vols., Leiden 1869, 229), a mosaic composed of fragments of pottery squares with a coloured enameled surface. The technique involved is more one of marquetry than mosaic, since the pieces are cut into shape according to the place they will occupy in the mosaic as a whole (G. Audisio, La marquetterie de terre emaillee (mosai’que de faience) dans l’art musulman d’Occident, Aliqis 1926, 8). Also attested for this technique is the Spanish term alicatado (see Dozy and Engelmann, op. cit., 140). The usage of the term is essentially a Hispano-Maghribi one; the Moroccan traveller Ibn Battuta [q.v.] compared kahhati tiles on the buildings of Nadja in Iraq with the zalidj of his own country (Riba, i, 415, tr. Gibb, i, 256).

The technique is first attested in ancient Persia and Mesopotamia, e.g. on the palace of Sargon (Seton Lloyd, The art of the ancient Near East, London 1963), and then used by the Romans and Byzantines. The use of pieces of marble of different colours runs through the centuries, to appear in a rather clumsy fashion in the Great Mosque of Cordova and in certain pavements at al-Madina al-Zahra’ [q.v.]. For zalidj stricto sensu, the main attestation is at the Ka’at Banu Hammad [see HAMMADIDS] (5th/11th century), where one finds enameled bricks and genuine marquetry (G. Marçais, Potiers et faïenciers de la kalâa des Beni Hammad, Constantine 1913). After this, there is the minaret of the Kutubiyya in Marrakesh (586/1190), then the Great Mosque at Tlemcen/Tilimsân (679/1280), where Saldjuk influence from Konya is discernible, culminating in the Alhambra at Granada. The Western Islamic lands acquired the appropriate technology and seem to have been culturally propitious for a widening use—perhaps delayed by Almohad austerity—of the art of zalidj, seen in its scope within the dynastic art of the Marinids and Naṣrids [q.v.].

At first, this use of enameled marquetry work, resistant to weather, appears on exteriors, and especially on minarets and door surrounds (Chella near Rabat, and Tlemcen) and on the retaining walls of patios. But in the 8th/14th century it was interior use, within rooms that were lived in (especially at Seville and Granada and, to a lesser extent, at Fès), that provided the finest aesthetic usage of zalidj on pavements, niches, walls and columns, though only exceptionally in mihrabz and prayer halls. Artists preferred flat surfaces, with symmetrical and repeating designs, usually on the lower parts of surfaces. Animal and human motifs are not found; the few epigraphic examples of these are to be found at Tlemcen and, above all, in the Alhambra (Tower of the Captive, Hall of the Two Sisters). The difficulty of cutting fragments with curved edges explains the rarity of floral decorations, although delicate curvilinear designs are to be found at the Alhambra (the above examples and the Hall of Ambassadors). Likewise rare, apart from a few Egyptian examples, are epigraphic motifs, difficult to execute. Use of the Kufic script would have allowed the formation of curves and reverse curves, but was no longer fashionable in the 8th/14th century in the Muslim West, where arrangements and geometrical patterns reigned supreme. Rectilinear elements, combined with infinitely repetitive geometrical patterns, characterised Marinid and Naṣrid decoration, which was inspired by Berber traditions but was adapted to Islamic taste.


AL-ZALLĀKA, a decisive battle which took place in Muslim Spain near Badajos (478/1085) and was won by the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBĪTĪN] in their first encounter with Alfonso VI of Castile.

Alfonso’s capture of Toledo (478/1085) posed a great threat to the Ta’if princes of al-Andalus, driving them to seek the help of the Almoravid sovereign of Morocco, Yūsa‘ b. Tāhūfīn [q.v.], who responded to their appeal and called on the Andalusī amirs to join his campaign. On learning of the advance of the Muslim troops, Alfonso raised his siege of Saragossa
and sought help from Sancho Ramirez of Aragon and from other Christians beyond the Pyrenees. The ensuing encounter thus assumed the character of a holy war, just one decade before the first Crusade in the East.

The battle of al-Zallaka (Span. Sagrajas) took place on the plain of the latter name on the banks of the Guererro, some 8 km/5 miles north-east of Badajoz, on Friday 12 Radjab 479/23 October 1086; hence the reference to the battle in Arabic sources as Taam (Arabic: "Friday encounter").

It is quite clear from the eyewitness account of 'Abd Allâh b. Bulugîn, the Zirid amîr of Granada, that, in contrast to Alfonso's eagerness to engage in battle, Yusuf b. Tashufin was extremely reluctant to do so and even hoped that Alfonso would give up and withdraw.

The Andalusî contingents were led by al-Mu'tamid b. 'Abbâd, king of Sevilla, while the Almoravid troops were deployed in such a way as to enable them to join battle as required. When the latter failed to arrive, however, some of the Andalusîs sought refuge within the city walls of Badajoz. The Almoravid sovereign, in the meantime, despatched a force to set fire to Alfonso's encampment, while he himself joined the fray with his big drums resounding like thunder in the hills and wreaking havoc on Alfonso's troops and horses. According to Ibn Abd Rabbih himself who set fire to Alfonso's encampment and then launched an attack on the Christian troops from the rear, annihilating most of them, Alfonso is said to have escaped with barely 500 survivors.

Details in Arabic sources about the battle have reached us primarily through the exaggerated accounts of later Muslim chroniclers such as al-Hîmâyil, Ibn Abî Za'îr, and the anonymous author of the Huîdil. It is surprising that the Zirid amîr of Granada, himself a participant in the battle, has little to say about it. He simply refers to the encounter as the battle of Badajoz, and he does not give the day or date on which it took place, nor does he mention his role or that of other Andalusîs in the battle. All that he says is that Alfonso mounted a surprise attack, that Muslim troops were outnumbered, and that the Almoravid sovereign returned to Sevilla "safe and victorious" ('âdâ bîlît salâmât wa-na'âr). Could it be that the Zirid's brief and somewhat casual account is due to the fact that he and other Andalusîs did not distinguish themselves?

His defeat at al-Zallaka cost Alfonso the loss of a large number of his seasoned troops, checked the progress of the Reconquista, stopped the payment of tribute to Alfonso by the Târîf amîn and, above all, revived the hopes and raised the morale of the Andalusîs. The Almoravid sovereign's popularity with the Andalusî masses and, of course, with the fâkâhâ', was greatly enhanced. Although the Almoravids did not attempt to recover Toledo, their intervention helped to prolong Muslim presence in al-Andalus, and, above all, helped to prolong Muslim presence in al-Andalus, which, to quote al-Marrakushi, had been on the verge of being handed over to the Christians.

**Bibliography:**

**ZALZAL, Mansûr b. Djà'far al-Dârîb, famous lute-player at the early 'Abbâsid court. He was a dark-skinned muwallad, humble, possibly "Nabatean" origin from Kûfâ (see BASSAMNA, in Suppl.). Under the patronage of 'Abd Allah b. Mu'ad (q.v.), his future brother-in-law who gave him an education in "Arab music" (al-ghânî al-arâbî), he became one of the rare musicians to be proverbially known as an instrumentalist without being a singer (atrab min 'ûd Zalzal). He seems first to have appeared at court under the caliph al-Mahdî (r. 138-69/775-85). Under Härûn al-Rašîd (r. 170-93/786-809) he reached the highest class (tabakâ) of court musicians. His best known pupil in the lute playing was 'Abd Za'îr. Having arrived at.the age of 25 during his lifetime, Zalzal had a well dug in the southern suburbs of Baghdâd, and thus for centuries the place and the neighbouring quarter were known as Bâirkat Zalzal. After having been imprisoned by Härûn al-Rašîd, he is said to have died in 174/790. This date, mentioned by Ibn Tâgâribîdi, this is the only known document that states Zalzal's imprisonment under Härûn al-Rašîd lasting for "about ten years", hence, when he was released "his hair and his beard had whitened". Accordingly, he may have died between ca. 185/801 and 193/809. In a khabar related in Aghânî, v, 280-2, Zalzal is still the hero of a contest with the lute player Mulâhîz in the presence of the caliph al-Wâlîkh (c. 227-92/842-7). This, however, seems to suffer from inaccuracy and anachronism. Zalzal's famous name may have slipped into the story to replace that of the less well-known lute player Rabrab, who was a contemporary of Mulâhîz (ibid., vi, 337).

In the history of music, Zalzal finds a place as the inventor of a lute called 'ûd al-shâbût on account of its shape resembling the round and flat fish of that name. His name is also connected with the introduction of the middle, or neutral, third among the frets (daqâtîn) of the lute. The interval was called waštâ Zalzal and first described by al-Fârâbî (q.v.). It is the characteristic interval of the main mode of Arab music called nást (see MAŠĀM). Al-Fârâbî placed it at the ratio of 27:22 between the nut and the bridge of the lute (355 Cents above the pitch of the open string). This corresponds to the modern note siâlî as given by 19th and 20th-century theorists from Syria and Egypt (Collangettes; Amîn al-Dîk). Ibn Sinâ defined the waštâ Zalzal differently by giving it the ratio of 39:32 (342 Cents). His value reappeared also in the 19th century, namely, in the scale of Mikhâ'il al-Mušâkha (q.v.).

**Bibliography:**


**ZALZALA** (A.), also *ZILZAL*, pl. *zaldzil*, earth quake, a fact of life in many parts of the Islamic world, from Morocco to Southeast Asia, a zone that coincides in large part with the great Alpine belt stretching from the Azores to the Indonesian archipelago. Along this zone of collision between the Eurasian plate to the north and various smaller tectonic plates to the south, the main areas of activity within the Islamic heartlands are the Anatolian fault zone, the Dead Sea-Jordan transform fault system, the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden, the Alburz and Zagros ranges in Iran and the Chaman fault in Afghanistan (see Fisher, 11-23; Blake et al., 26-7; Ballard, 636-9; Gupta, 61-71; Barazangi; Jackson and McKenzie). (See Fig. 1.)

*Earthquakes in Islamic belief, cosmology and science*

The earliest surviving study of earthquakes in the Muslim world was written by Dājāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, the Egyptian polymath (d. 911/1505 [q.v.]). His *Kisāʾ al-maṣāʾif wa ʿl-adīf al-zalzalā* lists some that occurred in the area from Spain to Transoxania, and was inspired by reading a report of the large earthquakes that possibly lies behind it is recorded in the *hadith*, involving the Prophet and his Companions. Following an ancient chronological practice of naming years after a universally significant (and memorable) occurrence, the 9th year of the hīdīma (626-7) was called the “Year of the Earthquake”, according to al-Būrīnī (al-ʿAdīf al-bākyya, 31), apparently with reference to an event in Medina. The very birth of Muhammad is said to have been heralded by an earthquake that shook the idols in the Kaʿba and damaged the palace of the Khursaws at Ctesiphon (al-Yaʿkūbī, 5; al-Suyūṭī, 21), clearly a literary fiction. Several stories concerning Muhammad and the first caliphs give an anthropomorphic portrayal of the earth, which does not know what it is doing and needs correction; ‘Umar b. ʿAḥmad b. al-Ḥπṭab is particularly violent in lashing the earth with his whip to restore it to order (see e.g. al-Suyūṭī, 22; cf. Clément, 265).

Al-Būrīnī [q.v.] is conspicuous among mediaeval authors for his scientific discussion of geological processes, touching on the effects of earthquakes (e.g. in his *Tadhāk*, 20-3), and citing Ibn al-ʿArḍī’s lost work on the construction of cities, which seems to have taken a practical approach to earthquake hazard. On the whole, Classical theories that attributed earthquakes to subterranean winds or escaping gasses, formulated particularly by Aristotle (*Meteorologica*, 2.7-8, and developed by Seneca, *Naturales quaestiones*, 6.16-17, 20) and probably adopted by Muslim authors such as al-Kindī (see his lost work listed in Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist*, 261; cf. Taher, *Tracté*, 133), did not enjoy much currency. In so far as a physical or mechanical cause was envisaged, earthquakes were explained as the movement of the bull on whose horns the world rests, or of the fish which in turn supports the bull, though logically any such movement would shake the whole world rather than a specific region. Similar, but more precise, was the explanation that each territory was underlain by a root that went back to the mountain of Kūf[.q.v.] which encircles the earth; when God wished to punish a people, he ordered the angel in charge to animate the appropriate root (al-Suyūṭī, 1, 3). Al-Muṭahhar al-Makḍīsī (*al-Badʿ wa l-taʾrikh*, ed. Huaart, ii, 37, tr. ii, 35), would only accept this tradition on the doubtful authority of the *Aḥl al-Kūṭb*, and says its purpose was to popularise the idea that God was the prime mover, rather than an independent natural cause. Other early Arabic geographers and chroniclers also had a reasonably “philosophical” view of earthquakes, though note al-Mukaddasī’s response to the destruction of Sīfāf on the Persian Gulf (cited in Miquel, iii, 105), similar to Abu l-Dardāʾ’s sermon following an earthquake in Damascus in the mid-7th century (al-Makḍīsī, loc. cit.).

After the 10th-11th centuries, Muslim theory more generally eschewed even such pseudo-physical explanations and regarded earthquakes simply as the signs of God’s will, being sent either to assist, or to warn, or, more usually, to terrify and punish the people, each type of sin meriting a particular correction. However, in view of the numerous contradictions in the writings of the theologians and traditionalists, al-Suyūṭī preferred to view earthquakes rather as a sign of God’s majesty and power (Clément, 272, 275-8). A later author, Ibn al-Dājjāzārī, writing in the aftermath of the earthquake of 984/1576, considers even the level of detail given by al-Suyūṭī to be redundant and in bad taste (cf. Taher, *Tracté*, 133).

Nevertheless, in common with their European counterparts, Middle Eastern chroniclers were interested in recording earthquakes along with other natural phenomena. Some, such as Ibn al-Dājjāzī [q.v.], evidently believed that it was among their primary concerns and functions (cf. Rosenthal, 144-5 [on Ibn al-Dājjāzī],
Fig. 1. Earthquakes from 1964 to 1997 (International Seismological Centre).

Fig. 2. Earthquakes of magnitude 6 and greater, 1900-98 (J.A. Jackson, pers. comm.).
News of earthquakes and the destruction they might have caused was, of course, a matter of practical concern, and large events could be reported with a certain amount of detail, including most usefully for the purpose of modern assessments of seismic activity the names of the places affected. One outstanding example of this is the report of an earthquake round Ibīb in Yemen in 349/1154 (Ambraseys, Melville and Adams, 34-7; al-Maneethi, esp. 151-62), evidently based on a detailed field investigation by al-'Arashi. Nevertheless, the title of his (lost) work, al-Maneethi wa l-tibār, indicates that here as elsewhere, if any gloss was put on the report of an earthquake by historians, it was normally that the event was a portent of some political or social upheaval (see Ambraseys, Melville and Adams, 7, for some examples), or, as with the theologians, understood as a punishment from God, which encouraged people to repent of their sins (ibid., see index). Al-'Arashi also composed another work called al-Zalzal wa l-tibār (Taher, Tracte, 134); probably with the same orientation. Despite such views, in general the chroniclers do provide a full and often quite factual account of the seismicity of the region and of the largest events that have occurred.

Survey of regional seismicity

Apart from the work of al-Suyūtī, no reliable integrated catalogue of Middle Eastern seismicity exists. Early works by Thobois (1879) and Sieberg (1932) were inaccurate and incomplete; the derivative list by Ben-Menahem (1979) for the Levantine Middle East, and the work of Poirier and Taher (1980) for the historical period, based on primary sources (see Taher, Corpus), are the most comprehensive in their scope. For the best part of 40 years, the work of N.N. Ambraseys has dominated the field and inspired numerous studies of different regions and periods, the most substantial being on Persia, Egypt and Turkey (Ambraseys, A reappraisal). A significant contribution has also been made by researchers taking the Mediterranean world as their focus (e.g. Bousquet et al.; Guidoboni et al.). This modern, long-term research, which has concentrated on retrieving archaeological and historical evidence of earthquakes in the region as well as early seismological data, including slow progress, has greatly expanded the information available about the seismicity of the Middle East and adjacent areas.

Fig. 2 shows the pattern of the largest earthquakes in the central part of the region since 1900 (magnitude greater than 6.0). As can be seen, many parts of the Islamic lands do not show up strongly on such modern maps of world seismicity, although a few recent events indicate that the risk can be serious, particularly in view of increasing population and poor building techniques. Thus the Agadir (Morocco) earthquake of 29 February 1960, though of moderate size (magnitude 5.9) was responsible for 12,000 deaths. The town was previously destroyed by an earthquake in 1751. In Algeria, the total destruction of El Asnam (Orléansville) on 10 October 1980 by a magnitude 7.5 earthquake was foreshadowed by a smaller but equally disastrous event on 9 September 1954 (M = 6.8), and earlier destructive earthquakes in central Algeria in 1716 and Oran in 1790. The recent seismicity of Tunisia and Libya is low, though an earthquake of magnitude 5.4 caused damage and around 500 casualties at Bace in Cyrenaica on 21 February 1963. Historical evidence is also rather sparse for North Africa, partly due to a dearth of sources and low population density in most of the region. For further details and references, see Adams and Barazangi, 1012-13; Ambraseys and Vogt; Vogt and Ambraseys; Ambraseys, Libya; Ambraseys, Melville and Adams.

Similarly, there is no evidence of earthquakes in the Sudan before the mid-19th century (Ambraseys and Adams), despite the occurrence of a large event in southern Sudan on 20 May 1990 (M = 7.2). To the north, however, Egypt has a long history of recorded earthquakes, though few were sufficient to cause significant damage (see Tucker). Most of the stronger shocks experienced originated outside Egyptian territory, in the Hellenic Arc (such as the 7027/1303 earthquake) to the north or in the Gulf of Suez-Gulf of Aqaba to the east (e.g. the events of 1212, 996/1588 and 1969). In Egypt itself, the earthquake of 12 October 1992 (M = 5.2), with an epicentre about 10 km south of Old Cairo, caused heavy damage to over 9,000 buildings, killed over 500 people and injured 6,500, a reflection largely of the high vulnerability of the ageing building stock. A previous earthquake on 7 August 1847 was probably a similar event and caused widespread damage and loss of life between Cairo and Beni Suef (Ambraseys, Melville and Adams).

The Arabian Peninsula is one of the most stable areas of the world and it is only in Yemen, in the southwest corner, that significant events have occurred (Ambraseys and Melville, Yemen), most recently the Dhajār earthquake of 13 December 1982 (M = 6.1), which killed about 2,500 people. Seismicity in this region occurs mainly offshore along the zone of seafloor spreading in the Red Sea and Gulf of Aden. In northern Hijāz, however, several large earthquakes have been reported in historical times that have not recurring in the instrumental period, notably in 259/873 (al-Yaḥṣūbi, ii, 624), 460/1068 (Ibn al-Banna‘, 250-1, 256; Ibn al-Djawżi, vii, 256), and 996/1588 (al-Shādūhī, 64; al-Iṣḥākī, 154), all apparently affecting the area round Taymā‘ and Tabī‘ on the Pilgrimage route (Ambraseys and Melville, Evidence, Ambraseys, Melville and Adams, 27, 36-2, 56-7). These events are to be associated with the southern end of the Dead Sea fault system at the northwest boundary of the Arabian plate.

It is particularly in this area that the past century of instrumental observation is not representative of the longer-term seismicity. The Dead Sea zone has been extremely active in historical times, in clusters of activity within a few decades, alternating with long periods of seismic quiescence (Ambraseys and Barazangi). The earliest periods are covered by Russell, partly on the basis of archaeological data (see also Guidoboni et al.). In the 12th century, Crusader and Arabic sources report major earthquakes on 12 August 1157, 29 June 1170 and 20 May 1202 (Poirier et al.; Ambraseys and Melville, An analysis), the second of which interrupted campaigning with a temporary truce (Lyons and Jackson, 39). In the early 15th century, a series of destructive shocks culminated in a severe earthquake on 29 December 1408 round Antioch (Ambraseys and Melville, Fauling) and again in the 18th century, a disastrous earthquake in the Beka‘ (Bekaa) Valley on 25 November 1759 killed between 10 and 40,000 people according to contemporary estimates (Taher, Texte; Ambraseys and Barazangi, 4011). The visual evidence for the damage in Baalbek has been investigated by Lewis. All these events were associated with surface faulting and, together with a series of similar events to the northeast during the 19th century, help to delimit an East Anatolian Fault zone that does not show up on the basis of instrumental
data (Ambraseys, Temporary quiescence). Details of other, smaller shocks in Syria and Palestine during the Ottoman period are presented by al-Hāfīz. One of the most severe earthquakes of this century, on 31 July 1927, caused widespread damage and about 500 casualties in the region north of the Dead Sea (Kallner-Amiran, 234-6), but was only of moderate magnitude (M = 6.2).

In Turkey, the North Anatolian Fault zone, delineated by a series of surface ruptures during the present century, has been more or less continuously active throughout record time. Indian-Pakistan border earthquakes of this century (M > 7.0) include those of 9 August 1911 (Saros-Marmara), 26 December 1939 (Erzincan, with more than 30,000 deaths), 18 March 1953 (Yenice Valley), 28 March 1970 (Gediz) and 24 November 1976 (Çaldır, all causing heavy loss of life (Ambraseys and Finkel, The Saros-Marmara earthquake; Ambraseys, Engineering seismology, 17-70). The largest historical event along this fault zone was the earthquake of 17 August 1668, felt throughout northern Anatolia, with an estimated magnitude between 7.8 and 8.0 (Ambraseys and Finkel, The Anatolian earthquake, eidem, The seismicity of Turkey). For earlier centuries, see Guidoboni et al.; Ambraseys and White; and for an assessment of risk in Turkey, Kolars.

The Alpide belt continuing east through northern Persia has been the focus of persistent heavy seismicity in both historical and modern times (Ambraseys and Melville, Persian earthquakes; de Planhol; Berberian, Historical records; idem, Natural hazards; Taher, Grand zones). As in the case of Turkey, most of the largest events have also been associated with faulting, and have caused heavy casualties. Among the most significant, from both viewpoints, are the earthquakes of 23 January 1909 (Sīfākhūr), 1 May 1929 (Kopot Dagh), 6 May 1930 (Salnās), 1 September 1962 (Buyrūn Zāhrā), 31 August 1968 (Dāhāt Bayād), 16 September 1978 (Tabās-i Gulsān) and the recent disaster of 20 June 1990, which killed around 40,000 people in the Rādār-Mangīl area of Gilān. Given the vulnerability of traditional Persian adobe brick dwellings, even relatively small earthquakes can cause devastation in rural areas.

Among historical events of particular importance are the Kūmis (Dāmghān) earthquake of 242/856, a series of destructive shocks in Aḥdārābād, which have ruined the historical monuments of Tabrīz, particularly in 1721 and 1780 (Melville, Tabrīz; Dhuqī; Berberian, Natural hazards, 172-96), and a series of earthquakes in Nīshpūr which destroyed the mediaeval city (Melville, Nīshpūr). Among the other important cities of Persia, Kāhīn was severely damaged by two earthquakes in the 18th century (in 1755 and 1778) (Rota) and Shīrāz suffered a series of damaging events in the 19th century (1812, 1824, 1853 and 1862). Isfahān, on the other hand, has seldom been affected by earthquakes, one of the reasons for the survival there of many historical structures, particularly minarets (cf. Mīhūd, 86). In contrast with north- ern and eastern Persia (for which see also the recent study of the 1349 earthquake by Szuppe), the Zagros belt, though clearly delineated by the instrumental record of earthquakes, has generated relatively few large events, much of the deformation occurring along this zone being taken up aseismically. Most of the moderate to large events in 'Irāk are associated with the Zagros folded belt; the pattern of historical seismicity (Alsamawi and Ghalib) is distorted by the influence of the chief cities, Mawsīl and Baghdad, on the survival of reported felt data.

Further east, significant activity has been observed on the west-east Herat fault and its extension into Badakhšān, and the north-south Chaman fault zones, the latter associated with historical events. One of the most notable recent events, with more than 30,000 deaths, occurred on 16 June 1819 in the Rann of Cutch caused the formation of the "Allah Bund" along a fault escarpment, with a total vertical displacement of 7-9 metres. The level change was associated with this event, extensively discussed by Lyell and later supported by Charles Darwin’s observations in Chile, were fundamental to the birth of the science of geology.


ZAMAKHSHARI, ABU 'L-KASIM MAHMUD b.

ZAMAKHSHAR, a small town of mediaeval Islamic Khorasan [q.v.]. It lay between the small town of Nūzār and Gurgandj [q.v.], the later mediaeval capital of the province. In the 8th/14th century Ibn Batūtā placed it as a village four miles from the "city of Khorāmz", i.e. New Urgenç [q.v.], the city which had grown up after the Mongols had in 618/1221 devastated Old Urgenç (= the later Kunya/Kuhna "Old" Urgenç). It never seems to have been of more than modest size. In 1636 it had 1500 inhabitants. Whether it was sacked by the Mongols is uncertain. Ibn Batūtā implies that it was still in existence when he visited the great scholar's tomb (kubbah) there in the first half of the 8th/14th century, but thereafter it fades from recorded history; Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 148-9, thought that the modern ruins of Zumakhshar almost certainly mark the site of mediaeval Zamakhshar. Bibliography: See also Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 454, 456.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)
ences he was, despite his own Iranian descent, a strong proponent of the Arab cause vis-à-vis the Persophile partisans of the Shu‘ubiyah [q.v.]; and second, in the field of theology and Kur‘anic exegesis, his approach to these being that of the Mu‘tazila [q.v.], of whom he may be considered as one of their last significant representatives. He was born at Zamakhshar [q.v. in Khtaramaz on 27 Ra‘djab 467/18 March 1075 and died at Durraniyay in Khtaramaz on 10 Dhu ‘l-Hijjah 538/14 June 1144, where Ibn Ba’ttuta, Ribba, iii, 6, tr. Gibb, iii, 543, was still able to view his tomb.

Al-Zamakhshari travelled extensively and stayed at least twice in Mecca to study grammar, theology and Kur‘anic exegesis, which gained him his tabak. Among his teachers were Abu ‘l-Hasan ‘Ali b. al-Mu‘aẓẓar al-Naysabûrî and Abû Mu‘âd Mahmûd b. Djal Tr al-Idzhâhan [d. after 507/1113-14; al-Suyutî, A1T b. al-Muzaffar al-Naysabun and Abu Mudar Mahmud b. DjarTr al-

Within the sections on the noun and the verb, he calls it the nisba, is the notion according to the three parts of speech (nouns, verbs and particles, with a fourth section about verbal measure differed in meaning in that both are similar: each chapter begins with a general definition and then deals with constructions involving the nominative or the genitive or the apocopate. Morphological questions such as the diminutive in the nouns or the quadrilateral in the verbs are dealt with after the syntactic questions.

For all topics in the Mufassal, the treatment is similar: each chapter begins with a general definition and a general rule; this is followed by a number of fìsûl, in which exceptions to the rule and special problems are dealt with, supported by quotations from poetry or the Kur‘an and including divergent opinions of other grammarians (Kurban grammarians, for instance, are quoted 18 times). The grammarians quoted most frequently is Sibawayhi [q.v.] (73 times); the only other grammarians quoted with any frequency are al-Akhwâsh al-Awsat (25 times), al-Khalîl (24 times) and al-Mubarrad (13 times) [q.v.]. Al-Zamakhshari does not very often express a personal opinion, at least not in the Mufassal; nevertheless, some of his divergent views are quoted by later grammarians (cf. Dāyf 1968, 286-7). In the often-discussed matter of the regent in a nominal sentence, he held that it is the inna which governs both the topic and the predicate (Mufassal, 12-13). With regard to declension, he held that the nominal cases represent grammatical functions or meanings, whereas the verbal cases do not (ibid., 109; cf. Sâmarrâ‘î 1970, 334-9; Ermers 1999, 174-5). His view that the second and the fourth verbal measure differed in meaning in that both are causative, but the former is iterative as well (Ibn Hishâm, Mushtarak, 578), is connected with his general idea that meaning should be reflected in sound and structure (cf. Sâmarrâ‘î 1970, 285-9; Leemhuis 1977, 9).

With regard to the gnilshât used by al-Zamakhshari, it may be noted that he accepted verses from modern poets (mukaddâmân, mawaddâtun), such as Bahshîb b. Burd and Abû Nuwâs (e.g. in Mufassal, 103), as testimony of the language of the Arabs. This is noted explicitly by al-Baghdâdi (Khâṣṣat al-adâb, ed. ‘Abd al-Salâm Muhammad Hârîn, Cairo 1979-86, i, 6-7).

The Mufassal was a popular work; the list in Brockelmann, I 344, S 1, 507, contains a total of 24 commentaries, of which the best-known is that by Ibn Ya‘shân [q.v.]. In spite of its elementary nature, the Mufassal has also exercised considerable influence on Western grammars of Arabic. It formed the basis for Caspari’s grammar (1848) and, through its English translation by Wright, for all subsequent grammars of Arabic.

Al-Zamakhshari occupied himself intensively with the Kitab Sibawaihi. He wrote a commentary on its poetical gnilshât (Sezgin, GÄS, ix, 60, quoted by al-Suyûtî, Bugdy, 388) and he played an important role in the reception of the Kitâb. Hambert (1995, 93-115) has shown that the Corûm manuscript of the Kitâb designated as Umumi Usûl 2562-5 (completed in 647/1250) is a copy of al-Zamakhshari’s recension of the Kitâb (one of the later copies of this manuscript served as a basis for Derenbourg’s edition under the sigla A). In this recension, al-Zamakhshari collated not several versions of the Kitâb, among them an Andalusian one, and added a large number of glosses from other grammarians, which are still unedited.

Among his other grammatical works (for a complete list with editions and manuscripts, see Brockelmann, I, 345-50, and EI 1 art. v.v. [Brockelmann]) are:


In lexicography, al-Zamakhshari wrote a thesaurus of the Arabic language, Aṣâs al-halâgha (Cairo 1299/
linked them to the Greeks. With the initial developments of Physics, iv, 10, setting forth aperus on the existence of time, the Arabic encyclopaedic tradition associates the definition of the idea of time appropriate to movements, to transfers of knowledge. In different ways, all assumed the representation of a cumulative and threatened science, of a durable culture whose fragile continuity enabled them to learn from their masters and to teach their disciples. All appealed equally for recognition of their right to be instructed by distant nations from which they were separated by history, geography, language and religion. See on this point, for al-Kindi (q.v.), the introduction to the Livre sur la philosophie première, in R. Rashed and J. Jolivet, Oeuvres philosophiques et scientifiques d’al-Kindi, ii, Métaphysique et cosmologie, Leiden 1998; Arabic text and Fr. tr., 10-14, and in the Risāla fī kummiyāt khitab Aristīṭīțūs (Rasā’īl al-Kindī, ed. Abū Rūḍa, Cairo 1950, i, 362-84) the distinction between a human science and a divine science, 372-3; for al-Fārābī, Taḥfīz al-‘adād, ed. al-‘Ālī, in al-Fārābī, al-‘amlāt fī-falasīfyya, i, Beirut 1992, 181-2, Eng. tr. M. Mahdi, Alfarabi’s philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, 3New York 1969, 43; see also how the Kitāb al-Harīfī, 2nd part, ed. M. Mahdi, Beirut 1970, gives an account of the “historical” development that has taken place since the invention of language, culminating in the perfecting of logic and philosophy, by way of the creation of religious and the caprices of their transmission. See also the account that Ibn Abī Usaybi‘a attributes to al-Fārābī (Uṣūn al-akhbār fī taḥkāk al-‘ahjībā, ed. Müller, Cairo 1882, ii, 134-5, repr. Frankfurt 1995) of the transference from Alexandria to Baghdād of the teaching of philosophy (cf. the recent treatment of this subject by D. Gutas, The “Alexandria to Baghdad” complex of narratives. A contribution to the study of the books of the transmission of the Arab to the question all or part of several of their works, or political philosophy. Al-Kindī and Ibn Rushd devote important considerations to it, while his dialectical tradition, and the latter to his Andalusian upbringing. Several of al-Kindī’s letters (see below) devote important considerations to it, while his dialectical monument, the Taḥfīz al-tahfīfūt, reserves for it the most vivid, in scale and extent, of its controversies. Between the two, all the falasīfā, from al-Fārābī to Ibn Ṭufayl (q.v.) by way of Ibn Sinā (q.v.) and Ibn Bāḏijā, have reflected aspects of their doctrines in a concept putting them into contact with the
mutakallimun, since this concept engaged, among other motifs of controversy, the question of eternity (al-
islam [q.v.]) or of the creation (huduth) of the world, but also the meaning of time and the providence of causality furthermore; it was necessary for the time of the philosophers to be determined in relation to that which separated, for Islam, the creation of the world from its end and which was punctuated by the revival of prophetic, the so-called "scandal" of miracles and the rhythm of prayers (see L. Massingon, Le temps dans la pensee islamique, in Opera minora, ii, Beirut 1963, 606-12; R. Brunschwig, L'âge de la poésie dans l'Islam classique, repr. in Etudes d'Islamologie, Paris 1976, i, 167-77).

Encyclopaedic Arabic surveys devote to zaman composite and similar treatments; see e.g. Sadr al-Din al-Shirazi (i.e. Mullâ Shadrâ [q.v.]), al-Hikma al-mutadilâya fi l-`asfîr al-dakhila al-arba'a, first safar, 3rd part, Tehran 1383 A.H., iii, 115-16; al-Idjî, al-Mawdûdî, gharb al-Qurdjûn wa-`l-harb, Istanbul 1296, iii, 45-70 (al-mâskad al-sâhi`), and al-mâskad al-`amîn); Fakhîr al-Dîn al-Râzî (d. 606/1204 [q.v.], al-Mabûthîq al-maghrîqyâ, Beirut 1990, i, 755-6 (the article by P. Kraus, Les controverse de Fakhîr al-dîn Râzî, repr. in his Alkhemie, Ketzerei. . ., 190-218); Abu l-Bakr al-Kulliyât, al-Kulliyât, Beirut 1993, 486-7; special mention should be made of the originality of the Fazl fi mâhidîyat al-zaman min aswâd al-dawr al-`asfîr, in al-Idjî, al-
idjî, al-
fu`r. . ., see l-khawâna l-Safât [q.v.], i, 13 fl., ed. al-Zirikli, Cairo 1347/1928.

Al-Tahânwî, Kashqâf inshâlakî âl-funun, opens the article that he devotes to time with the mention of the doctrine of "some ancient philosophers" (`udâdama al-falakina). He cites by name only Plato (Aflâîn [q.v.]) and Aristotle and begins by presenting definitions of time corresponding, with the exception of the first, to those evoked by Aristotle in the doxographical survey of Physics, iv, 10, 218a 18-21 (al-
Ta`bîrê, 411-13): "Some declare that it is a substance separated from nothing to which no body is attached, and which, by essence, does not accept that it is not (lâ yakhbîl al-
islam li-l-dâtthi) and which is thus necessary through itself [. . .] Some sages assert that it is the uppermost sphere [. . .]. Similarly, it is claimed that it is the movement of the uppermost sphere [. . .]. It is in the same tradition of the Physics since these remarks are followed immediately by the definition given by Aristotle himself: "He says: "It is the measure of the movement of the uppermost sphere." Instead and in place of the first of the definitions mentioned (time is a substance), Physics, iv, 10, reveals a notion concerning the existence of time. In fact, al-Tahânwî kills two birds with one stone: the substantiability of time makes it possible to refer allusively to the traditions of Arab Neoplatonism (see below) and, turning the first definition into a petitio principi—if time existed as a substance, it could certainly not do other than exist, but. . . does it really exist?—to link the beginning of the Aristotelian treatise to the positions of the mutakallimun: for them, time does not exist. It is valid only in the changing appreciation of discontinuous events, of "new events" (mutagadidadât) and recurrences with no connection between them other than the entirely imaginary one where judgement gathers them together as a convenient way of dating them. Al-Tahânwî recalls the definition given by it the Agi`arîs (see also al-
idjî, op. cit., 69 and al-Qurdjûnî, K. al-
Tâfîrîî, s.v.): "It is a well-known new event whereby an unknown new event is measured, as a means of dispelling obscurity (mutagadidad mu`allâm yakdallu bihi mutagadidad mu`allâm li-
izlâtât ibhâmîhî); thus in "I shall come to see you at sunrise!", it is well known that sunrise will occur and the ignorance of the moment of its visit is dispelled by its imagined aspect, and the expectation of the dawn. The unreality of time results from its wholly exterior determination (lâ yadhîyân), since two persons will date two events by reference to each other, interchangeably; thus it may be said "Zayd came when ‘Amr came" and "‘Amr came when Zayd came". The definition retains only atomic facts, insular occurrences between which judgement builds imaginary bridges. It accords therefore to the cosmological constitution, that "Way of instants" in which L. Massingon recognised the Muslim vision of time and on which the theologians based their occasionalism (see for a critique of this position, J. Berque, L'idée de temps dans le Coran, in Hommage al Professor Jacinto Bosch Vila, Granada 1991, i, 115-64; the position of al-Qhazall, as reported and discussed by Ibn Rushd in the Tahâfût al-tahâfût, ed. Bouyges, Beirut 1930, 517 fl., illustrates occasionalism).

On the identity of those who saw in time a substance and did not, as Aristotle, see in it an accident, Abu l-Bakr al-Fakhrî, who gives an indication when, in compiling the Kuliyât, he mentions Plato, attributing to him the opinion that there exists, in the world of commandment (al-
salam), a substance which has never begun to be, which modifies itself, changes, renews itself and wears itself out in accordance with things which change and not only with truth and essence. This substance, with regard to the relationship of its essence with fixed things, is called "eternal" (sarmadi); it is called "perpetuity" (dahr) when it is anterior to things and "time" when it is concurrent with them. It is only superficially paradoxical to attribute to Plato, of whom Aristotle says (Physics, vii, 251b, 11; al-
Tâbîrê, 810-11) that he is precisely the one never to have subscribed to it, the doctrine which holds that time, in its essence, is immaterial: the essence of time is indeed eternity, if in itself it is no more than "mobile image".

The identity mentioned by al-Tahânwî between time and the movement of the celestial sphere, or between time and the sphere itself can also claim the support of the Timaeus, which has the heavens and time born together with the setting in order of "that which was never to have subsisted without harmony and without order" (30a, tr. Robin; see de Boer, E., art. Zaman: the Ancients attributed one and the other thesis, respectively, to Plato and to Pythagoras). Abû Bakr b. Zakariyyâ al-Râzî avers very explicitly his Platonist allegiance: "That which Plato affirms on the subject of time is not in any way opposed to what I think" (in Abû Hâkim al-Râzî, K. al-
`Adâm al-nabaween, in P. Kraus, Alkhemie, Ketzerei. . ., 269). He does not believe that he is at odds with the Timaeus when he affirms the existence of two quite distinct times: al-
islam al-
lâbîqîth (lâbîqîth for "delay"), a number of movement of bodies, is concomitant with them, but it has, like the life of a man or the duration of a reign, a beginning and an end, i.e. it is mâyûr. It takes place in a limitless flux of "now" which, for its part, never stops, an "absolute time" which is extension and perpetuity, and has never begun: zaman mutâfâl . . . huwa al-mudda wa-
huwa al-kadîm wa-huwa mutâhabarik ghâyir lâbîqîth (op. cit., 268; see for a synthetic presentation of the five principles of al-Râzî, M. Mahdi, Remarks on al-Râzî's principles, in BEO, xlvi [1996], 145-53).

It is in the same tradition of the Timaeus, but subject to monothestic modifications and taken in terms of an entirely different inspiration, that the Neo-
Platonist speculations of pseudo-Aristotle belong (see
the recent study by G. Endress, L'Aristote arabe. Reception, autorité et transformation du Premier Maitre, in Médioévrere, xiii [1997], 1-42; C. D'Ancona Costa, Recherches sur le Liber de causis, Paris 1995, and the art of Maroun Aouad in Theology, in R. Goulet (ed.), Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques, i, Paris 1989, 541-90. The Theology (ed. 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi, in Aflâtûn 'ind al-'arab, Kuwait 1977) and The De Causi (K. al-Idâh fi l-khayr al-mahd, ed. idem in Aflâtûnasya al-mudâlaga 'ind al-'arab, Kuwait 1977) develop an emanatist cosmosogy which sets out the first principle as "the cause of time" (al-sâmâr al-sâmârâ). The former of these approaches opens with the following declaration: the intention of the treatise is "to discuss sovereignty, to make appear that which is, what is the first cause, and show that perpetuity and time are subordinate to it..." (ed. Badawi, 6). The fifth mîmar, devoted to creation (ibid.) denies to the "Creator" any form of temporality; whether they are temporal or not, things are accomplished in Him, complete and perpetual. It is only when they are expressed outside Him that those among them which are temporal "are extended" and "unfold" (intadaduwa-nsâhâsat), that they admit the before and the after and become, to one another, causes of generation (ibid., 67). In his commentary on the treatise, Ibn Sînâ distinguishes between the "domains" which keep the first principle away from generality and corruption. In the realm of eternity (hayyâz) of eternity (sarmad) and of perpetuity (dahr); it is a fixed world. It is not an innovating (muta^addid) world like that in which deliberation and remembrance supervene (al-fâhir we l-^Âkhîr). The world of innovation (al-sâm al-ta^dâjîdâ) is the world of movement and time" (Aristu 'ind al-'arab, ed. Badawi, Cairo 1947, 46; see also al-Sârâfî fi l-muâd, 4-3; the first cause is "superior to perpetuity and is anterior to it" (al-âr al-dahr we l-sarmad), the Intellect is in perpetuity and the Soul is in the inferior domain of perpetuity and above time).

The heritage of the Tâma'us placed in the first rank of philosophical preoccupations the question of eternity or of the creation of the world and of time. The work supported both interpretations, since according to Plotin, Proclus (see Muharrâs) and John Philoponous could, as they claimed, lay claim to the former, or to the latter. Thus the God, henceforward the sole God, Who one day took the free decision to create the world (see K. Verrycken, Philoponous' interpretation of Plato's cosmogony, in Documenti e studi sulla tradizione filosofica medievale, vii [1997], 269-318). From Proclus, Hunayn b. Ishâk had translated the proofs favouring the eternity of the world (see G. Endress, Proclus Arabus. Zwanzig Abschnitte aus der Instituto Theologica in arabischer Übersetzung, Beirut 1973); the De Aeternitate Mundi contra Proclum by Philoponous, which is only a fragment of this translation has been preserved. The history of the transmission of the Greek heritage to the Arabs gave rise to bizarre attributions: Proclus finds himself credited with propositions deriving from Philoponous, which is also the case for Alexander of Aphrodisias (see R. Goulet and M. Aouad, art. Alexandros d'Aphrodisias, in Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques, 125-39 and 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi, Alexander d'Aphrodisie vs. Jean Philopon. Notes sur quelques traités d'Alexandre "perdus" en grec, converses en arabe, in Arabic Science and Philosophy, iv/1 [1994], 53-109). Alexander himself is reputed to be the author of texts that are in fact based on the Elements of Theology of Proclus (see F. Zimmerman, Proclus Arabus rides again, in ibid., 9-51).

Against Philoponous, 'Abî Naṣr al-Fârâbi aimed a riposte: al-Rûd 'alâ 'l-Ilahi al-Nabî (ed. M. Mahdi), The Arabic text of Alfarabi's work against John the Grammarian, in Medieval and Middle Eastern studies in honor of A.Z. S. Atiya, Leiden 1972, 235-90, Fouad 'Abd al-Muhsin Mahdi (ibid., 236), it is possible to identify succinctly two camps in this dialectical morass of arguments and attributions. On the side of Philoponous, to varying degrees were: al-Kindî, 'Abî Bakr b. Zakariyâ al-Râzî, the school of Christian philosophers of Baghâd in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries, al-Ghazâlî and 'Abî l-Barâkât al-Baghdâdî; confronting them in the opposing camp were al-Fârîbî, Ibn Sînâ, Ibn Bâdâja and Ibn Rushd. Shlomo Pinses has expressed some reservations regarding this division (An Arabic summary of a lost work of John Philoponus, in IOS, ii [1972], 320-52, repr. in The collected works of Shlomo Pinses, i, Jerusalem-Leiden 1986, 294-326, 312-13 n. 266). Certainly, real affinites exist between the arguments of al-Ghazâlî (Tabâhût al-falâsifa) and those of Philoponous, but al-Bayhaqî is perhaps exaggerating when he suggests that "the majority of points evoked by al-Ghazâlî (...) are a re-affirmation of the arguments of Yahyâ al-Nabî!" (Tatimmat Siwâân al-Hikma, ed. Shâkî, Lahore 1953, 24, cited in Pinses, ibid., 339). In any case, the belief of 'Abî Bakr al-Râzî in a creation of the world and his critique of Aristotle are surely inspired by the religious motifs which al-Kindî and al-Ghazâlî direct towards comparable themes.

'Abî l-Barâkât al-Baghdâdî (q.v.), called 'Abîl-Muťâbîr fi l-Hikma, Haydârâbâd 1356, reviews in two instances, in pages marked by the seal of his throwing off all authority, the question of time (2nd part, 69-70 and 3rd part, 35-6). Instructive in this regard is the critique that he delivers of the distinctions between sarmad, dahr and zamân which Avicenna, glossing Plotinian texts, insists should insulate the Ailâlî from the world of innovation; believes that it is the measure (muddâl kulli mawâd) which is time; that it is impossible for a being that is not in time to be represented. Those who, seeking to rescue the being of their Creator from time, affirm that He is in 'perpetuity' and in 'eternity' (al-dahr we l-sarmad), even that His very being is perpetuity and eternity, may indeed have changed the names of time, but not its meaning (op. cit., 3rd part, 41). 'Abî l-Barâkât has recourse to the first certitude: the soul seizes time at the same time that it seize itself and seizes being, before any other thing. It is a primary notion co-extensive with being: "It would be much better to say that it is the measure of being (muddâl kulli mawâd) than declare that it is the measure of movement" (ibid., 39). It follows that the Creator is, just as we are, in time.

Finally, if Ibn Tufayl is absent from this roll-call of the opposing camps, it is no doubt because Hayy b. Yakzan (q.v.), the protagonist of his narration, expounds both theses as a spectator but declines to take sides. The author furthermore professes externally equal allegiance to al-Ghazâlî and to Ibn Sînâ (Hayy ben Yakzan, roman philosophique d'Ibn Tufayl, Arabic text and Fr. tr. L. Gauthier, 3Beirut 1936, 61-5 of the tr., 80-6 of the text) and, according to the deductions of Hayy, the two positions lead to the same.
consequences. Al-Tahanawi speaks as the echo of equivalence: “Know, according to what we have mentioned, that it is the same whether we say ‘the world has been successively created by a temporal creation’ (ḥudūd al-ʿamānī), or by an ‘essential creation’ (bi ʿl-ḥudūd al-ghāṭī), as is the opinion of the mutakallimin, or by an ‘essential creation’ (bi ʿl-ḥudūd al-ghāṭī), as is the opinion of the mutakallimin, or by an ‘essential creation’ (bi ʿl-ḥudūd al-ghāṭī), as is the opinion of the mutakallimin, or by an ‘essential creation’ (bi ʿl-ḥudūd al-ghāṭī), as is the opinion of the mutakallimin, or by an ‘essential creation’ (bi ʿl-ḥudūd al-ghāṭī), as is the opinion of the mutakallimin, or by an ‘essential creation’ (bi ʿl-ḥudūd al-ghāṭī), as is the opinion of the mutakallimin, or by an ‘essential creation’ (bi ʿl-ḥudūd al-ghāṭī), as is the opinion of the mutakallimin.

Al-Kindī often returns to the question of time (see Oeuvres philosophiques et scientifiques d’al-Kindī, ch. 2, Philosophie première, 26-38; on L’unité de Dieu et la finitude du corps du monde, 135-47; on La quiddité de ce qui ne peut être enfin et que l’on appelle infini, 149-53; Pour expliquer la finitude du corps du monde, 157-65, texts to which should be added the Sermo de tempore from the Liber de quinque essentiis [Latin text and Arabic tr. by Ābu ʿRida], in the second volume of this same scholar’s edition of the Rasāʾīl al-Kindī, Cairo 1953, 33-5). For the sake of simplicity, his position reverts to the extension to time of the Aristotelian considerations of the Physica, iii, 5, 204a, 8-206a, 9, on the finitude of place. Furthermore, the Arabic translation of this last text is matched by a commentary of Philoponus which purports to prove by a mathematical argument the impossibility of an infinite in action and, in particular, that of an infinite time. For Philoponus as for al-Kindī, time must have a beginning and an end (see P. Lettinck, Aristote’s “Physics”..., 235-6). Doubtless the arguments of Philoponus would have inspired al-Kindī, who developed some very similar concepts.

This heritage takes in his thinking the form of a definition of time which favours the transference to it of the finitude of the body; time is an interval, an extension, an extent measured by movement, mudda taʾudduḥī al-ḥarsa, ghayar ṣabāḥat al-aqūz (Risāla fi ḥudūd al-aqūz, ed. Ābu ʿRida, Rasāʾīl...i, 1, 167). The letter of the definition is not Aristotelian, but its spirit is not so far removed from that continuous quantity which, according to Aristotle, renders time interchangeable with movement in terms of measure (Physica, iv, 220b, 14-32). There appears, in any case, a genuine ambiguity in the writings of Aristotle, in the definition of the “now” (is it a simple mathematical limit or plenum, totality? See on this subject, V. Goldschmidt, Temps physique et temps tragique chez Aristote, Paris 1982, 147-48). This alternative approach is also to be found in a letter attributed to Alexander (Makāla li-Ikṣandar al-Afrādī, ed. Badawi, in Commentaires sur Aristote perdus en grec et autres écrits, Beirut 1971, 19-24; see in this regard the article by Aouad in Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques, 135). Its stated object is to disclose “the opinion of Aristotle on the nature of time and the demonstration of its quiddity, of its essence [...], without contradicting it in any respect. It is the number of the movement of the uppermost sphere [...], according to another definition, it is an extension numbered by movement”.

When al-Kindī specifies the sense that he gives to mudda, sc. “extension is that in which there is existence (mā ḥawā fihī huwwaṣṣ), meaning that in which a being is what it is” (Philosophie première, tr. Jolivet, 34-5), he transfers to time the limit of space: “The existence of the body of the universe is necessarily finite; it is thus impossible that the body of the universe be eternal” (ibid.). For al-Kindī, the world began and it will have an ending (see J. Jolivet, Al-Kindī, vues sur le temps, in Arabic Sciences and Philosophy, iii [1993], 53-75; “We have shown that body, movement and time did not precede one another in existence; therefore neither body nor movement nor time is eternal, but there is an eternal essence at the beginning of existence” (Philosophie première, tr. Jolivet, art. cit., 66).

The position evidently contradicts the Aristotelian deduction of an infinite time and of an eternal movement (see Physica, iii, 205b, 13-7; viii, 1, 250b, 11-252b, 7, see respectively Al-Ṭabṭūb, 212-4 and 801-2; Lettinck, op. cit., 217-18 and 563-4, and the arguments of Yaqṣī and of Abu l-Faradj). What may be retained from this “demonstration” is the formulation attributed to Alexander in the letter cited above: ‘The demonstrative proof (burḥān) that time has neither generation nor beginning nor end is that generation supervenes only in time. We do not say ‘he was’, he shall be’, ‘he is’, ‘he was’ except in terms of time, and the same applies when we say ‘before’, ‘after’, ‘when’, etc. If somebody declares: ‘previously, this time was not, but it is now’ or ‘it is now but afterwards it will not be’, it follows necessarily that there is a time before time, and a time after the end of time. If the ‘before’ and the ‘after’, the ‘was’ and the ‘will not be’ did not require time, then the hour, the day and the month would not require it either. In itself, time is one. It does not multiply itself except according to our imagination. In it is distinct, permanent (daʾʾīm, continuous (mutassil), in a single state (ʿīlā hīl waḥīhdī).’ (op. cit., 24; cf. the Makāla attributed to Alexander, fi nuḥādī al-kull bi-haṣab raʾy Aristiḏīlis al-ḥayālatīfī, in Badawi, Aristī...i, 264, 1, 8: time is exempt from generation and corruption; on this treatise, cf. Aouad’s art. in Dictionnaire des philosophes antiques, 135-6). The rest may be presented as the dialectical avatars of this simple argument in favour of the infinitude of time. Reduced to itself and invariably taken up by the encyclopaedias (e.g. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, Mabbīthī, i, 772-3), it amounts to this paradox: saying that time has an origin or an end amounts to denying that it has an end or an origin.

In the judgement of al-Ḥarābī, it could be in order to avoid the fate of Socrates (ḥattā lā yakhlaḫu [...] mā nāla Sukūr) and to reassure his co-religionists as to his orthodoxy that Philoponus undertook to contradict Aristotle on this point (al-Radd ʿalā Yaqṣī al-Nuḥayṣ, “The Arabic text”, 227, Eng. tr. in Alfarabi against Philoponus, 236-7). But in doing this, he would have chosen to take inspiration from opinions institutionalised in religions, however remote they might be from the nature of things: for example, the absence of the divine without sacrificing the Physics of Aristotle, could have been the objective pursued by al-Ḥarābī himself in the treatment of time in his treatise on L’harmonie entre les opinions de Platon et d’Aristote (Arabic text and Fr. tr. Fawzi Mitri Nadjiḏar and D. Mallet, Damascus 1999, 128-9; of al-Ḥarābī’s commentary on the Physics, only the extracts quoted by Ibn Badjdja and Ibn Rushd have been preserved: “Time results from the movement of the sphere and it is thus impossible that the creation of the latter should have a beginning in time. It thus becomes certain that [the sphere] results from a creation ex nihilo on the part of the Creator on a single occasion without duration in time and that, from its movement, time results.” Al-Ḥarābī would thus preserve the Aristotelian analyses, sc. that, taken as a whole, the world has neither beginning nor end, and render them reconcilable with a Creator-God Who would be, of the world and of time, simultaneously the final and efficient cause (Mahdī, Alfarabi against Philoponus, 236; Pines, An Arabic summary, loc. cit.). Whatever reservations the Neo-Platonist texts of al-Ḥarābī may have inspired in him (see e.g. Tahāfūṯ al-tahāfūṯ, 179), Ibn Rushd rallies to this position in the Fasl al-makālī (ed. Houriān, 19-20; see also Tahāfūṯ al-tahāfūṯ, 124, Eng. tr. S. Van Den Bergh, Aemenes’ Tahāfūṯ al-Tahāfūṯ, London 1994, i, 73) when he accepts
that there exist three classes of beings. The first comprises which is apprehended by the senses, brought into being by an efficient cause and preceded by time; the second comprises that which is apprehended by demonstration, which derives from nothing and which time does not precede (God); the third comprises the world taken as a whole (al-'ilm bi-asrīhī) which no time precedes but which derives from an efficient cause. It does no violence to the text to draw the conclusion that, according to Ibn Rushd, there is strictly speaking no connection between the "creation" of the world which philosophy conceives and the "creation" which the theologians, and the Ancients stand out, imagine on the basis of a kiyya al-ghabib 'alā l-ghibāb. The reproach addressed to the former, of not giving credence to the erroneous results of their own analogies with generation, turns to the advantage of philosophy. It is in the same fashion that Ibn Rushd repels another of the three principal indictments issued by al-Ghazālī, that of not belonging to the divine sphere and of which He is the author (im bihdī) and of which He is the author (ism al-ilm al-makul).

This is why the mystical masters (waṣā'il al-sāfiyya) say: 'He is that which He is' (la huwa ụlụ huwa). But only those who are rooted in knowledge know this. It does not need to be written, nor should it be required to make of it an article of faith. This is why the Law does not teach it. He who fails to do so, he could be removed from a role in tax-collection, but then an allowance known as mdlikdna. This seems to be a term of exclusively Indian origin; it does not appear in pre-modern lexicons compiled in Persia, while, on the other hand, it occurs in fairly early Persian texts and in lexicons compiled in India. It is defined in an 8th/14th-century dictionary, the Fāhlang-i kawdās as "controller of a territory". The historians Dīvā' Barānī (d. 758/1357 [q.v.]) and Maqam Sirājī 'Alīf (d. ca. 1003/16/1605 [q.v.]) employ it generally for Hindu chiefs outside, as well as within, the limits of the Dihlī Sultanate. But by the second half of the 8th/14th century, the term seems to have been extended to cover all holders of superior rights over land: in 754/1353, in a royal proclamation, village headmen (mukaddās, land holders appointed by the administration (mustafāʾdīn) and landowners (mālikān) are all put under the general denomination of zamindārs. Yet until the reign of the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 964-1013/1556-1605 [q.v.]), the term does not seem to have obtained wide currency. It does not, for example, appear in Bābur's Memoirs.

The term seems to spring into wider use in texts written after 980/1570. The Aʿīn-i Akbarī, the great official manual and statistical record compiled by Abu 'l-Fadl 'Allāmī (in 1003/1595 [q.v.]), adopted it together with what was deemed to be its synonym, a freshly-coined term, bmi, as a blanket term for all rural superiors holding rights over land, in whatever varied ways the right might have originated, whether by its holder being the descendant of earlier chieftains, or having risen to local eminence through subordinating peasants to himself, or obtaining the land or any kind of right over it by purchase. Generally, however, the zamindār was not part of the state apparatus, and his rights or jurisdiction did not derive from the Emperor's own nomination. But from Awarangīzīs reign (1068-1119/1659-1707), grants or temporary assignments of zamindārī rights begin to appear.

Moreland's assumption that the term was exclusively used for chieftains, and that zamindārs were not present in directly-administered areas of the Mughal empire, no longer holds when considered in the light of the tabulation of zamindārī castes in the Aʿīn-i Akbarī and the extensive documentation from the 11th/17th century that is now available.

The universalisation of the term zamindār in Mughal administrative use was brought about by its replacing various local terms for corresponding agrarian rights, such as satārākhi and biṣī/kārī in Awadh, bham in Raḍjabān, bān/kānth in Gujdarāt and vartana in Mahārāstrā (whence the sōtan of 12th/18th-century Mahārāstrā). The actual features of the right became subject to some general imperial regulations. It was held to be a proprietary right (bakī-ka mūlēkāt) and of which such could be freely sold and purchased (except in case of chieftaincies), and was inheritable according to Hindu and Muslim laws. Women could also accordingly be zamindārs. It entitled the holder to certain customary claims over the peasant's land (a particular charge or fee on harvest) together with levies on jungle and water produce. He was also paid an allowance (mānār) out of the land-revenue (māl/kharāq), it being expected that he would collect the land revenue due from peasants within his jurisdiction. Should he fail to do so, he could be removed from a role in tax-collection, but then an allowance known as mūlēkān.
"proprietor's allowance" [see Malikane] was still held to be due to him; this amounted generally to a tenth of the land revenue, except for Gujjarat, where it amounted to a quarter. There is some evidence that the zamindar was entitled to allot uncultivated land to peasants and the kadi Muhammad A'lla (early 12th/18th century) would even allow him the right to evict peasants, though in conditions of land abundance the right was not of much consequence.

The zamindars' territories were paralleled by those known as nizyati or purely peasant-held, which theoretically had no zamindars. Such villages might by sale or even by imposition of zamindars by the state, get converted into zamindari villages; conversely, zamindar villages might become nizyati by the decline or dispersal of the original zamindar.

The zamindars were of use to Mughal administration primarily as revenue-payers and revenue-gatherers. Zamindars who paid revenue not only on their own jurisdictions but also on those of other zamindars, began to be called talukdars, from the late 11th/17th century onwards. Inevitably, in many cases, the zamindars came to be treated almost on a par with other revenue officials, as in Awrangzib's farmān to Rasīkdās (1075/1666).

An essential attribute of zamindar was the maintenance of armed retainers by the zamindār, a right fully recognised by the Mughal administration, as is evident from the testimony of the Āt'īr-i Akbari, which gives the number of zamindars' retainers in the entire empire as exceeding 4.4 million and then goes on to give a detailed breakdown of these figures by localities. These retainers were mainly foot soldiers (4,277,000) but also included 385,000 cavalry; zamindar in some localities are also shown as possessing elephants, guns and boats. The larger zamindārs could also maintain their castles (kila'as and gharis). The maintenance of an armed force was an essential means for enforcing their rights; and however much the Mughal authorities felt irritated by this presumption and potential for sedition, they themselves often needed the zamindars' assistance to collect the revenue.

The British in the beginning tended to treat the zamindār in the same manner as their Mughal predecessors. But the East India Company's drive for maximum revenue led to a financial crisis in Bengal, for which the system of Permanent Settlement was proposed as a solution. Proclaimed in 1203/1789 and confirmed in 1206/1792, this decreed the zamindār to be proprietors of the land but fixed a perpetual tax on them, which was theoretically set at \( \frac{1}{12} \) of the rental, thus leaving only one-eleventh for the zamindār. It took time for zamindars to grow into landowners, helped partly by a slow expansion of cultivation and the 13th/19th-century inflation. A modified, short-term (and harsh) settlement was made with zamindar in upper Gangetic areas (1237/1822) and a very liberal one with the Pāndāb zamindār later in the century. On the other hand, settlements in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies (1230s/1820s) were termed "ryotwari" (nizyati), the revenue being fixed on the fields, and theoretically (though not so much in practice) excluding the zamindār. Here, too, commercialisation often led to the growth of landlordism which, in popular ears, was seen to be a new form of zamindār.

In independent India, agrarian reform has especially been directed against the growth of landlordism; and the U.P. Zamindari Abolition Act of 1951 was the first important measure in this direction, followed by other laws of various degrees of radicalism in other states of the Indian Union.

Djuzdžâni mentions it several times. Bâbur campaigned there in ca. 928/1522 against the Arghuns (Bâbur-nâma, tr. A. S. Beveridge, London 1922, 27, 337-9; cf. also Mîrza Muhammad Ḥâvâd Dughlât, Târîkh-i Râghbî, tr. Elias and Ross, London 1895, 202); but in recent times the name seems to have dropped out of use.

**Bibliography** (in addition to references given in the article): Marquart, Erdnähr, 37 and index s.v. Dâwar; Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 339, 343-5. (C. E. Bosworth)

ZAMZAM, a town on the left bank of the Oxus river (see also Darvâz) in medieval Islamic Central Asia.

It lay some 190 km/120 miles upstream from Āmul-i Ĥâšt (see Āmul. 2.) in the direction of Tirmîdî [q.v.], hence this Āmul was sometimes called “the Āmul of Zam”, from Zam’s being the next crossing-place along the river (see e.g. al-Balâdhûrî, Fathî, 410). Zam was significant as a crossing-place connecting Khurâsân with Mâ war’ī al-nahr [q.v.]. It figures in a chronology of the early Arab invasions of Transoxania as an entry-point for armies aiming at Paykand, Bûkhrâr, etc. (e.g. ibd., 420; al-Tabarî, ii, 1145-6, 1186, 1189, 1198, 1548, 1584-5). In the account of al-Hâdhâjî (q.v.)’s operations against the rebel Ibn al-Âshâr [q.v.] there is mentioned in Yazîd b. al-Muḥâlîr’s forces the šâhîk of Zam, Ĥâzîwân b. Iṣâkî, who had converted to Islam at al-Muḥâlîr’s hand (ibd., ii, 1078). The 4th/10th century geographers often group Zam administratively with Akhtâsak on the opposite bank of the river and say that it was the same size as Āmul; according to al-Muḍââdî, Zam was a considerable town with a covered market and a congregational mosque. Al-Sanî, Anâbî, ed. Hâydarâbîd, vi, 321-2, and Yâkût, Buldan, ed. Beirut, iii, 151, mention various “ulâmâ” from the town.

Ancient Zam is marked by the modern town of Kerkî (lat. 37° 53’ N., long. 65° 10’ E.), now within the Turkmenistan Republic.

**Bibliography:** See also Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 403-4; Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 80-1; idem, An historical geography of Iraq, Princeton 1984, 19. (C. E. Bosworth)

ZAMZAM (A.), the sacred well located at the perimeter of the sacred complex of Mecca. It is situated to the east of the Ka’ba [q.v.] alongside the wall where the “Black Stone”, at-ḥâdîr al-awwâd, is ensnared, a little further from the centre than the makâm İbrâhîm [q.v.], the “station of Abraham”. The well is currently a subterranean arrangement, also opening towards the east. The sacred water is distributed through taps (on earlier architectural features since the beginning of the ‘Abbâsîd era, see M. Guelfroy-Demombynes, Pèlerinage, 77-80, where there is found information concerning the kubba [q.v.], the basin for ablutions and the circular basin around the curb-stone of the well where water for drinking was collected in buckets and lifted with the aid of a system of pulleys, to be subsequently transferred to pitchers or earthenware casks).

The noun zamzam is of onomatopoeic type. It is apparently to be associated with the qualifications zamzam or zu’māzim which denote, according to mediæval Arabic dictionaries, an “abundant supply of water”, mā’ zu’māzim = kâhyr or, reverting to a regular sense of mā’ in ancient contexts, a “water-point” regarded as “never drying up”.

In the Islamic textual sources of the ‘Abbâsîd period, the Meccan well is integrated into a mythic discourse on the past which goes far beyond what seems to be authorised by the Kur’ânic text, which does not refer directly to the well. This mythic discourse can no longer be regarded as relating historical facts. A brief list of the numerous versions of accounts relating to the sacred well is to be found in Yâkût, Mu‘jam al-buldân, which reviews earlier data (s.v. Zamzam). The modern survey which, in the most thorough fashion, provides traditional information as well as references from the classical era to the administration of the well and the rituals associated with it, is that of M. Guelfroy-Demombynes in *Le pèlerinage à la Mekke*, Paris 1923, 71-101; for the caliphal period, he relies especially on accounts relayed by Abu l-Wâlîd al-Âzra’îl (d. 249/858) in his Akhkhâr Mâkka, ii, 39-61; he also quotes important visual evidence which the Andalusian pilgrim of the second half of the 6th/12th century, Ibn Dhibayr, conveys in his Ribât on the administration of the well and the veneration with which it was treated, a text expertly annotated by Demombynes in Ibn Johar, Voyages, Paris 1949, introd. 15, tr. 103-4, 154, 162-6.

Explanations given in these mythic accounts are mostly constructed according to the sense—also of onomatopoeic type—which associates the qualifications zamzam and zu’mâzim with a dull sound. This sound can apply equally well to a distant roll of thunder presaging rain, or to any guttural sound with closed mouth emitted by an animal (camel or horse, etc.) or by a man. In the last-mentioned case, it refers to a murmuring perceived as unintelligible and therefore ultimately as the vehicle for sacredness and for mystery. The abundant water of the water source could also be associated with this basic notion of sound.

The mediæval Arabic sources generally attribute the murmuring of the zamzama to the sayings or to the prayer of the Zoroastrians [see al-Madjus; Zamzama]. Their association with the well of Zamzam is described in the following fashion: they made regular pilgrimages to Mecca on account of “their kinship with Abraham” (sic), and are said to have prayed, according to their own custom, over the sacred well. This account is relayed by the polygraph al-Mas‘ûdî (whom Yâkût quotes by name; a passage effectively attested in the Murâdî, in the chapter ǧabr anâbî fârî), in another version relayed by Yâkût (who is content to pass on successive explanations without expressing a preference for any of them), it is the angel Gabriel, Ǧibrîl, himself who is said to have murmured thus over the well, bearing in mind the fact that, in the sacred but non-Kur’ânic accounts relating the legend of Hâgar and her son Ismâ’îl, brought by Abraham to Mecca, it is the angel who makes an inexhaustible supply of water spring up for the woman and the child who are on the verge of dying of thirst (Ibn Ḥâjîmh, al-Adra al-naḥawwiyâ, i, ǧâbr ḥâfî zamzam). Another account that is definitely later is even further from any context of origin. It is relayed by al-‘Aynî, the annotator of al-Bukhârî (quoted by Guelfroy-Demombynes, 73) in his Umdât al-kârîn. This account, which does not feature in the work of Yâkût, loses all etymological association with the word. According to al-‘Aynî, the noun zamzam is to be understood as deriving from zamâzima, the precious “bridles” that the eponymous ancestor of the Sâsâns is supposed to have donated to the well.

However, it is apparent that not all of these accounts are of the same period or of the same provenance or purpose. An attempt to establish a chronology would be a worthwhile project. Thus the accounts relayed by Ibn Ḥâjîmh and, in part, those of al-
Azraki, seem to belong to a more ancient stratum than those of al-Mas'ūdī. The account of the pilgrimage of the Zoroastrians is not mentioned before the latter. On the other hand, there is very early reference to the story of Hagar and the discovery of the source of water (which was to be embellished and amplified in the later versions such as that of Yākūt) as well as the rediscovery of the source, accompanied by miraculous signs, attributed to 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the grandfather of Muhammad. In the latter case, it is a typical revelational story. This is taken to justify the function of giving water to pilgrims, ṣāḥīya, which was to remain in the lineage of al-'Abbās, one of the sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, uncle of Muhammad and ancestors of the 'Abbāsid dynasty (on the ṣāḥīya and the composition of the beverage known as ḍarbūt, nabūṭh or saʿāṭh, prepared by macerating raisins and subsequently-dates—ingredients which could be pressed by hand, yielding a fermented liquor which was radically transformed by the heat into vinegar—doubtless to improve the taste of the water, see Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Pèlerinage, 90-4).

Before its revival by the family of Muhammad, the water source which had sprung up "in the time of Hagar" was dried up by God on account of the misconduct of the Djjurhum [q.v.]. This tribe, supposedly of the Nestorian origin, is associated with Abd al-Muttalib, who is said to have married into the tribe once he had settled in Meccan territory. Various accounts tell of this alliance, which is said to have been blessed by Abraham himself in the course of his visits to Mecca with the intention of finding his son.

The grandfather of Muhammad is supposed to have found in the well that he had just rediscovered offerings consisting primarily of gazelles cast in gold and precious swords. Al-Mas'ūdī sees this as proof of the coming of the "Pisans" to Mecca since, according to him, the local tribes would have been incapable of contributing such luxuries (Mūrādī, ed. Pellat, Paris 1962, i, 215, 216; tr. and commentary on numerous accounts relating to Zamzam and to this episode, J. Chabbi, Le Seigneur des tribus, Paris 1997, 163-9, and 34-5 on Kur'ān, XIV, 35, 37). The last representative of the "Magians" is said to have been Sāsān, ancestor of the dynasty of the same name. The Sāsānids (destined to be vanquished by the Muslims) would subsequently turn away from this cult. According to this vision, which could be described as opportunistic, converted Iranians are said thus to have rediscovered, through Islam, the lost religion of their forebears, making a form of return to sources. Wellhausen, Reste arabischen Heidentums, Berlin 1897, reckoned that, if offerings were brought to the Meccan site (without commenting on their nature, since the precious objects evoked is more than problematical), they would have been destined for the dry well located in the sacred enclosure of the Ka'ba rather than for the well of Zamzam with its plentiful water, even if it is the latter which seems to monopolise the accounts. The former, adjacent to the functioning-well and situated in a place infused with sanctity, could have played the role of a simulacrum in a ritual of donation.

However, it does not appear that any of these accounts is associated with a Kur'ānic theme. On the contrary, in the vulgate, Abraham leads his family to Mecca for their safety (XIV, 35, 37). All of these narratives seem to derive from the exegetical imagination emanating from various milieux of the early 'Abbāsid period. The models then constructed were clearly directed towards the quest for foundation-stories, intended to establish a new Muslim identity which would become common to populations of different origin and traditions. The Persiansation of the account, as presented by al-Mas'ūdī, is utterly foreign to the Kur'ān. It therefore appears, in this respect, particularly significant.

Even if these sacral accounts attributing a supernatural origin to the discovery of the water are left aside, it appears that the presence, and probably the consecration, of the well must have been considerably anterior to the Muslim period. In the absence of archaeological elements which have long been inaccessible, a hypothesis of historical topography should be proposed. It could be thought that the presence of this probably perennial water (Wellhausen describes it as a Quelle, a spring which is said to have been the only Meccan water, Reste, 76, n. 2; Gaudefroy-Demombynes relays the information given by medieval Arab geographers, according to which the well was allegedly supplied by three springs, Pèlerinage, 81; given the orientation of these springs, "towards the Black Stone", for example, it might be thought that myth is already beginning to dictate the narrative), in a place which is the confluence of numerous dry valleys in the lowest part (vulnerable to occasional flooding by pluvial streams; dates of devastating floods of the Muslim era are supplied by Gaudefroy-Demombynes, op. cit., with Isma'il, who is said to have married into the tribe once he had settled in Meccan territory. Various accounts tell of this alliance, which is said to have been the only Meccan water. In the Meccan site (called al-Batūţa", the "hollow" or batū Makka "the belly of Mecca" (in the sense of cavity or basin for the retention of water).

It is on the basis of this singularity of terrain that the installation came about of the betylic complex which probably constituted the original perimeter of the Ka'ba and its adjacent sacred stones (al-Ṣafā and al-Marwā). This sacred complex would have taken precedence over the water-point, relegating it to second place in ritual and in representation.

Wellhausen had already proposed the hypothesis of the origin of the site on the basis of the water-point in his Reste, 76-7. The complex would then have pursued what was most likely to be a local development (there is no case, in fact, for adhering to the notion, all too evocative of an Islamic ideal, of the sacred Meccan site radiating its influence over the whole of Arabia, culminating in the "visit", 'umma, to the sacred places of the city. The 'umma [q.v.], often known as "Lesser Pilgrimage", probably attracted other citizens of western Arabia, Yaḥyās and people of the neighbouring city of al-Ta'īl, but certainly not the prosperous Bedouin herdsman of Najdī. The Meccan visitation was apparently characterised by circumambulations (tawāf [q.v.]), still practised today, but also by sacrifices on various sacred rocks. That of al-Marwa is said to have been named, significantly, the "feeder of vultures", mu'tīm al-fayr. Such sacrifices are well attested before Islam (Wellhausen, Reste, 78) and even in ancient Muslim tradition (Chabbi, Seigneur, 322-4, 327-9). But this intra-muros sacrifice was subsequently to disappear, as did all the other Meccan sacrifices, to the benefit of the exterior site of Minā. The specifically Meccan pilgrimage of the 'umma was thus to be distinguished from the unified pilgrimage with departure from the site towards 'Arafāt which was to become the Muslim pilgrimage (a combination of a pilgrimage of herdsmen, the hasijī, with that of the 'umma specific to Mecca). The instituting of the larger pilgrimage should thus be placed at the extreme end of the Medinan period with the "pilgrimage of farewell", hasijī al-wālidī, in the tenth year of the Hīdjra, shortly before the death of Muhammad.

Gaudefroy-Demombynes (Pèlerinage, 81) writes with
justification that "the cult of Zemzem... has not taken its place (in the pilgrimage) in the form of an obligatory rite"; he also draws attention (74-5) to doubts regarding "the sovereignty of Zemzem" under the Umayyads, who are said to have consecrated a spring on Mount Ḥabbār and to have used it to improve the supply of water to the lower city of Mecca. This aroused the hostility of the inhabitants, even though the water thus provided was more pure and more pleasant to drink than that of the sacred well.

Despite this downgrading of this cult at Mecca, the fervent faith of pilgrims, from early Islamic times to this day, has not ceased to lend outstanding qualities to the water of the well of Zamzam, which is perceived as bearer of baraka and as a "curative source" (ibid., 81-2). It is stressed that Muhammad drank this water and used it regularly for various purposes (prophetic traditions are to be found in Wensinck, Concordance, index of places, viii. In his article on Zamzam, Yākūt attributes to Muqālibb, taken to be a habitual transmitter of Ibn 'Abbas, the following words: "If you drink at Zamzam in the hope of a cure, God will cure you; if you are thirsty, God will quench your thirst; if you are hungry, God will satisfy you!" This fervour has led to modes of conduct which can be described as being of a magical type (e.g. linen dipped in the holy water to serve later as a shroud, calculated to avert the anger of certain jurists, Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Pèlerinage, 85; the question of ablutions, and which parts of the body may be sprinkled with the water of Zamzam is also posed, ibid., 86). Zamzamiyya, small phials (of clay or metal) sealed and sold as containing water from the sacred well, are still today highly-prized by pilgrims and taken back by them to their own countries (on the role of accredited and licensed drawers of water, the zamzim, pl. of zamzam, since mediaeval times, see ibid., 87, 88).

There are also popular traditions that other holy wells, e.g. the one in the Great Mosque at al-Kayrawān, are subterraneously connected with Zamzam. Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): see the geographers for the elements concerning the well of Zamzam in the description given by each author of the Meccan stage of the Pilgrimage: Iṣṭāqābi, i, 15, 16; Ibn Ḥawkal, ii, 28; Mukaddast, iii, 72; Ibn Rusta, vii, 40-2 (the most detailed account); Ibn al-Ḵafṣī al-Hamadānī, v, 18, 19, supplies a description drawn with mythical allusions (he mentions the curative properties of the water of Zamzam). Yākūt, curiously, does not mention the well of Zamzam, but notes that the Meccans are watered by a system of canals supplied by wells dug on the order of a princess, daughter of the caliph al-Ḥaḍrā, vii, 316. Nor is there any mention in the works of caliphal functionaries such as Ibn Khurraḍākhbih, vi, 132, or Khudāma b. Dq̲aṭar, vi, 187. See also Ibn Ḥabīb (d. 245/860), al-Munammat fi ṣīkkh ḫuraysh, 133 (the part played by Zamzam in a conversion), 333, 334 (the rediscovery of the well by 'Abd al-Muṣṭalib and the exclusive right of šajūy awarded to him: all other members of the tribe fall ill); T. Fahd, Le panthéon de VArabie centrale, Paris 1968, 208-12, presents pan-Semitic speculations regarding the sacred Meccan site and the well of Zamzam which appear difficult to sustain. See also on the development of the cult of Zamzam, G.R. Hawting, The disappearance and rediscovery of Zamzam and the "well of Mecca", in BSOAS, xlii (1980), 44-54. (Jacqueline Chabbi

**ZAMZAMA** (蓮), in early Arabic "the confused noise of distant thunder" (Lane, 1249b), but widely used in the sources for early Islamic history for the priests of the Magians reciting and intoning the Zoroastrian prayers and scriptures, producing (to the Arabs' ears) an indistinct, droning sound. Thus in al-Ṭabarī, i, 1042, we have the zamzama of the Herbadhs, in 2874 the mużamzam or adherent of Zoroastrianism, and in 2870 zamzama for the Zoroastrian rites and zamzima for the Magians in general.

The term may have passed into Christian Sogdian texts, probably in the early Islamic period, as zmzm, see M. Dresden, in Camb. hist. Iran, iii/2, 1225.

**Bibliography** Given in the article. (Ed.)

**ZANÀNA (P.), conventionally Zenana, lit. “female, womanly”, whence the particular use of the term especially in Muslim India for the private quarters of the womenfolk in a house, the equivalent of Arabic ḥārīm (q.v.), haram and Turkish hanimlik. See Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases, 2London 1903, 980; and HARM.

**ZANÀTA, the name in Arabic sources of one of the major groups of the Berber population which dominated the greater part of the Maghrib in the 4th/10th and then in the 7th-9th/13th-15th centuries.**

Al-Mas'ūdī was one of the first to compile an inventory of the nomads (baṣūdʿ) of his time, including a list of the names of Berber groups, twenty-seven in number, among which he located, in second place, the Zanàta. A century later, al-Bakrī supplies information regarding the geo-political characteristics of the group, with particular reference to the situation existing at the end of the 4th/10th century: the Zanàta were the masters of the central Maghrib; the seat of their political power was located at Tlemcen; they were most numerous between Tahart and Tlemcen, but they were encountered as far away as Constantine and beyond, and to the south they held Sidjilmassa from 366/976-7 onward; and they were firmly established at Awdaghost at the end of the trans-Saharan route.

Transhumant stock-breeders (kaum rāḥkāla) as they certainly were, the Zanàta were also cultivators, and sedentary (mataḥaddīrin), al-Idrīsī was to say, describing their major rural settlement of Ibn Muğjabār. They were also beyond any doubt traders, as is shown by their long-range activity on the western trans-Saharan route or indeed by the foundation, by one of their members, an Ifrīn, of the old market of Fakkān. Finally, as a politico-military power, the Zanàta asserted themselves by means of their cavalry (ākhār Zanàta farās, according to al-Idrīsī).

In the 4th/10th century, their confidence effectively came to dominate a shifting Maghribī political landscape, benefitting from the diplomatic support, the politico-religious legitimacy and the state wealth of the Umayyad caliphs of Cordova from the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥmān III onwards. At this time, the Maghrībī (q.v.) imposed their leadership over the Zanàta as a whole, with their tribal chief's Muḥammad b. Khazar or Zīrī b. 'Aliyya superseded by the chieflain of the Banṭ Ifrīn, among whom was Abū Yazīd (q.v.) "the man on the donkey", instigator of a revolt against the Shāhādja Fātimids of Ifrīkiya. Restoring their relations with al-Andalus, many of the Zanàta came to settle there and were recruited, especially under al-Ḥaḍrā, in the caliphal armies. In the 5th/11th century they played their own game amid the struggles for power in Cordova and contributed
considerably, with the Şanşâda of the eastern regions, to the hastening of the end of the Umayyad caliphal régime.

Subsequently, as domination passed into the hands of two other major Berber groups, the Şanşâda Almoravids (422-541/1050-1147) and the Masmûda Almohads (525-667/1130-1269), the Żanâta were dispersed and, as minority groups, concluded alliances sometimes with the Almoravids, constituting, for example, an entire corps of the army of ‘Alî b. Yusuf, and at others with the Almohads, to whom they contributed administrative personnel (in the case of ‘Abd Allâh al-Zanâšt or of the Żanâta of Tif‘st) and military elements (the squadrons of Abû Hafs, according to al-Bayyâhak, “are composed of Almohads as well as of Żanâta”). The Kümiya, the tribe of ‘Abd al-Mu‘min himself, was also an offshoot of the Żanâta.

The collapse of the Almohads gave the Żanâta of the Banû Wasín branch the opportunity to regain the political initiative and to assume power in the central and the western Maghrib with the dynasty of the ‘Abd al-Wâdids at Tîlimân/Tlemcen (646-962/1248-1554) and that of the Banû Marîn at Fâs (633-861/1235-1465 [see Mermindis]). Although genealogically close, the two dynasties opposed each other in a cyclical fashion, and with the decline of the Marînids, a third grouping appeared on the scene, the Banû Wattâs [see Wattats], who were to mark the final phase of the political power of the Żanâta in the Maghrib.

The second wave of the Żanâta was differentiated from the first by the development of alliances which had become inevitable with the Arab tribal chieftâms which with their powerful contingents dominated the regions outside the city states. Arabisation became definitive under the reign of the Żanâta. This is clearly seen in the debate on the subject of their origins. It was not only authors such as al-Ifrîdîfî who insisted on endowing them with a Mu‘âtîf Arab ancestry (“‘Dîna, the father of the Żanâta of the Maghrib is the son of Luwâ, son of Barr, son of Kays, son of Yâs, son of Mu‘âtî”), but there is also the fact that all reasoning depended on the framework of Arab genealogical science, based on patrilineal descent, incompatible with the social and political organisation of Berber kinships. Ibn Khaldûn, who is the leading informant on the subject of the Żanâta, contributed extensively to an Arab reading of their history. At one point, however, he revives the question, when he credits them with “a language of their own among the Berbers, with a specific nature that is recognised as such and is distinct from other Berber dialects” (‘Ibr, viii/2). In another domain, al-Ifrîdîfî holds that the Żanâta of his time are specialists in “the science of the omoplate”, i.e. a form of divination, and following him Ibn Khaldûn adds (Mukaddîma, Fr. tr. Monteil, Eng. tr. Rosenthal, i, 229) that “among the people who have practised geomancy . . . and have written books on the principles of this art is Abî ‘Abd Allâh al-Zanâšt”. The writings of this author deserve scrutiny, since they have for some time constituted the obligatory reference for everything involving geomancy in Muslim Africa.


C. Hambs

ZAND, an Iranian pastoral tribe of the eastern central Zagros, from which sprang a dynasty that ruled western Persia 1164-1209/1751-94.

The Zand belonged to the Lakk group of Lurs [see Lart], centred on the villages of Parî and Kamâzân near Malâyîr. In 1144/1732 Nâdîr Shah [q.v.] launched punitive raids on several Zands tribes and deported thousands of Bakhîyâry and a number of Zand families to northern Khurâsân. After Nâdîr’s assassination in 1160/1747, they made their way home, the Bakhîyâry under ‘Alî Mârdîn Khân and the Zands under Muhammad Karîm Beg [also called Tûshmîl Karîm, and later Karîm Khân [q.v.]]. When Nâdîr’s successors were unable to reassert Asafír hegemony over Isfâhân, these two chieftâms in alliance occupied the former Safavid capital in 1163/1750 in the name of a Safavid prince, whom they styled Ismâ’îl III. ‘Alî Mârdîn made an unsuccessful bid for sole power, but was defeated in battle and later (1167/1764) assassinated. Karîm Khân adopted his title of wakîl al-dawla or regent. Having defeated three other contestants for power by 1176/1762, he pacified most of western Iran from the Caspian littoral and Aşhârâbâd-dân to Kirmâneh and Lâr, and took up residence in Shirâz from 2 Safar 1179/21 July 1765 until his death on 13 Safar 1193/1 March 1779.

Karîm Khân did not assume the title of shâh, being content with that of wakîtî, this, moreover, he reinterpretated as wakîl al-râdîyî “representative of the subjects”, the designation of a local official appointed by the Shâh to investigate crimes and complaints of administrative abuse (Perry, Justice for the underprivileged). “Ismâ’îl III” predeceased him in 1187/1773, and the fiction of a Safavid revival was finally dropped. Karîm Khân himself never claimed the title of shâh, but claimed intermittently to the orbit of the Afghan monarch Ahmad Shâh Durrânî [q.v.], but devoted his efforts to reviving trade and agriculture in Fâs and western Persia. He remodelled Shirâz, adding a covered bazaar and other fine buildings that are still standing. He concluded commercial agreements with the East India Company at Bûshâr (Bushire), the natural port of Shirâz. His control over the outlying provinces (where he generally appointed local leaders as governors) was enhanced by marriage alliances and hostages kept at court, though these were never subjected to reprisals. One of them, Aghâ Muhammadd Khân Kâdzâr, escaped from Shirâz on Karîm Khân’s death and began to consolidate Kâdzâr power at Astarâbâd.

The wakîtî had neglected to make provision for his succession, and his four incompetent sons immediately became pawns in a power struggle between his brothers and cousins. Zakî Khân slaughtered most of his rivals even before the funeral, and ruled in Shirâz in the name of Muhammadd ‘Alî; ‘Alî Murâd Khân, of the Hazâra branch of the Zand, seized Isfâhân in the name of Abu l-Fâth. When Zakî marched on Isfâhân, his own men, outraged by the atrocities which he committed in the village of Izâd-hâst, mutinied and killed him. ‘Alî Murâd was distracted by a Kâdzâr threat, enabling Karîm’s brother Nâdîr Khân to seize
**Simplified Genealogical Table of the Zand Dynasty**

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<tr>
<th>Rulers</th>
<th>Regnal Dates</th>
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<td>Zand-i Bagala</td>
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<td>Inak</td>
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<td>1. Muh. Karim</td>
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<td>2. Zakri</td>
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<td>3. Muh. Sadik</td>
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<td>4. 'Ali Murad</td>
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<td>6. Sayid Murad</td>
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<td>7. Lutf 'Ali</td>
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<td>Muh. Rahim</td>
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Shiraz as effective ruler in 1195/1780. 'Ali Murad captured Shiraz the following year, killing Sadik and all his sons, but was again forced to march north against the Kadjars. His half-brother (and Sadik's son) Dja'far Khan marched on Isfahan, and 'Ali Murad died on his way back to defend the city in Rabii I 1199/February 1785. From this time forth, Zand control of northern Persia was relinquished to the Kadjars. Dja'far was twice driven from Isfahan to Shiraz by the forces of Agha Muhammad Khan Kadjar, and was poisoned and beheaded in 1203/1789 in a palace coup led by Sayid-i Murad Khan. Dja'far's eldest son, Lutf 'Ali Khan [q.v.], then at Kirman, sought refuge and reinforcements from Shaykh Naser of Bushahr and, aided from within Shiraz by the kalantar (mayor), Hadjji Ibrahim, secured the Zand capital.

Lutf 'Ali's youth and courage appeared to have won him the support of the populace. He held Shiraz against a Kadjar assault, recaptured Kirman in 1205/1789 and so forfeited the Zand mandate to the Kadjars.

Turkmen Kadjars at Astarabadd were never completely subdued. The waqfit took advantage of Ottoman weakness to occupy the rich port of Basra in 1190/1776, but his subsequent death forced a withdrawal and negated any commercial advantage. His shrewd economic policies and notable humanity (by the standards of the time) are recorded in many popular anecdotes. His successors, none of whom aspired to the title of waqfit, devoted their energies to internecine warfare; they were unable to inspire confidence in the urban establishment, as typified by Hadjji Ibrahim, and so forfeited the Zand mandate to the Kadjars.


(J.R. PERRY)

**ZANDAKA** [see ZINDAK].

**AL-ZAND** (a.), a term found in Arabic literature,
but apparently of non-Arabic origin, denoting the peoples of Black Africa, and especially those with whom the Arabs came into contact through their voyages and trade in the western part of the Indian Ocean and living in the eastern parts of Africa. For the territories in question, the term bilād al-Zanj was used.

1. As a territorial term.

Here, it forms the second of al-Idrīsī's four divisions of the eastern coast of Africa. The term first occurs in Strabo (A.D. 64), who uses a Greek form Azania; in Latin, Pliny (A.D. 79) writes of Azyma as north of Adulis on the Ethiopian coast, and of a people whom he calls Zanganea, of uncertain location. In agreement with al-Idrīsī, 1, 100 years later, the anonymous Alexandrine Periplus of the Erythisean Sea (ca. A.D. 50) describes Azania as the area of the coast from Ras Hafun in modern Somalia as far as Rhapta, a trading station of greatly disputed location. Claudius Ptolemy, whose present text on eastern Africa represents a revision probably edited ca. 400, places "Rhapta metropolis" on a river, possibly the Rufiji. Cosmos Indicopleustes, an Alexandrine merchant who travelled down the Red Sea in 524, and wrote his account in a monastery in 547, writes of an area called Zingion and of a Cape Zingion. All of these terms seem transitional to forms used by the Arab authors and in Swahili. The Bilād al-Zanj, peopled by the Zandjī, is an area whose name is cognate with the Swahili Unguja, still used in current speech for Zanzibar and for the ancient, deserted site of the former capital, Unguja Kuu. It is first attested by the poet Dājirr (d. 110/728-9), and by al-Dījābī. Buzurg b. Shahrīyār of Rāhmūrz (d. 342/953) speaks of trading visits to Zandjī; the traveller al-Maṣrīdī visited Zandjī in 305/916, and gives an account of its government and its trade. It was known to the geographers Ibn Hawkal (4th/10th century) and al-Idrīsī (549/1154), and to Yākūt al-Hamawī, whose geographical encyclopaedia was completed in 625/1228. Marco Polo did not visit Zanjī; his description seems rather to have derived from ill-informed gossip in India ca. 1295. His statement that Zanzibar is an island 2,000 miles round suggests confusion in his mind between this island and the island of Zanzibar. The pharmacological writer Ibn al-Baytar says that black rhabur bar is called zandjī from its colour and not from its provenance, but zandj and zanjūd mostly mean "black people" in Arabic literature, see 2. below. Likewise, the use of "Azania" by some southern African political movements is anomalous. In 1964, when the former Tanganyika united with the Republic of Zanzibar, it was thought necessary to find a new name for the political union. After discussion, the name Tanzania (< Tan[ganyika] + Zanj[abar] + ia) was decided upon, thus approximately recalling a history of the term already some 2,000 years old.

Before the colonial period there were no unitary states in the modern political sense but rather a series of coastal merchant states, self-governing as separate entities. For these individual states, see the articles listed below in the Bibl., including those concerning trading relations.

The history of Islam in the region has not yet been written. The earliest reference is in al-Dījābī, and the second one to conversion to Islam of a mainland indigenous sovereign in Buzurg b. Shahrīyār. So far only one ancient mosque, occupied for worship until the 19th century, has been excavated. At Shanga, in the Lamu Archipelago, it was the ninth successive mosque on the same site, each successor mosque becoming slightly more elaborate than its predecessor: the most ancient of all has been ascribed by M.C. Horton on ceramic grounds to the 9th/16th century, that is, to the period of Dājirr. The earliest mosque was a simple enclosure of reeds adorned towards Mecca, its successors constructed first in mud and wattle and finally, as the community became more prosperous, in stone, with a carved mihrāb. There is no literary history of the mosques of the region, and inscriptions recording dates of foundation hardly occur before the 10th century. The earliest such inscription, however, is that of the Friday Mosque at Kūzīmka, Zanzibar, 500/1106-7.


(G.S.P. Freeman-Greenville)

2. The Zanjī revolts in 'Irāk.

The Zanjī, like many other black slaves originally from the East African coastlands (whether obtained by capture, purchased or received as tribute from tributary powers), were imported into 'Abbāsid 'Irāk in large numbers from an undetermined date onwards. Their living conditions must have been extremely harsh, since they rebelled three times within a space of two centuries.

(a) The first rising was in 70/689-90 during the time of Khālid b. 'Abd Allāh, the successor to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr. It seems to have been of small significance, since it apparently involved small bands of rebels engaged in trade which were dispersed without great effort by the caliphal forces. The prisoners were beheaded and their corpses gibbeted (see references in Popovic, La revolte des esclaves en Iraq au III/IVe siècle, 63).

(b) The second revolt took place five years later, in 75/694. It seems to have been more important and, above all, better prepared. The Zanjī had a leader, one Rabah (or Ryah?), called Shir Zanjī "the Lion of the Zanjī", and the authorities had to march against him twice in order to crush the rebels. The character of this revolt seems to have been more complex, but our information about it is scanty: "The information we possess on this movement does not allow us to uncover its true character; but one has to believe that it did not break out spontaneously and that the Zanjī had been worked upon by a certain amount of propaganda" (Ch. Pellat, Le milieu basrī et la formation de Ġāzī, Paris 1953, 41-2).

(c) The third revolt of the Zanjī is best known, for it caused a violent disturbance over fifteen years (255-70/869-83) in Lower 'Irāk and Khūzistān, causing innumerable material losses and tens of thousands of lives lost. It was the work of a remarkable person, apparently without scruples, 'Alī b. Muḥammad, called Sīḥāb al-Zanjī [see al-Ṭ. B. MUHAMMAD AL-ZANJĪ]. A revolutionary character, of obscure origins— but one able to approach the highest levels of power, such as...
court circles of his period—he was a talented poet, educated, well-versed in the occult sciences, follower of various doctrines and instigator of several previous risings (notably in Bahrain) and he succeeded in stirring up the greatest servile insurrection in the history of the Islamic world.

Four reasons underlie his success and the long duration of his revolt. These were, first, the extreme misery of these bands of slaves. The rebels were employed, according to our main source, al-Ṭabarî, iii, 1742-87, 1835-2103, Eng. tr. D. Waines, *The History of al-Ṭabarî*. An annotated translation. XXXVI. *The revolt of the Zanj*, Albany 1992, 29-67, 108-207, tr. P. M. Field, *XXXVII*. *The Abbâsid recovery*, Albany 1987, 1-43, as workers on the soil, *kassābīn*, cultivating the earth of Lower Mesopotamia, removing the nitrous topsoil (*ṣiḥāb*) and putting it into small piles in order to render cultivable the ground of the *Shāṭ al-ʿArab* [*q.v.*] region; in the words of Massignon, El art. Zanj, "they were penned up in working gangs of 500 to 5,000 men, and dumped there permanently with only a few handfuls of meal, semolina and dates". Second, the region was suitable for guerilla warfare [*see AL-BATIHA*]. Third, there was the precarious nature of the central authority in *Bahgād* at this time (anarchy in the central lands, and severe problems in more distant provinces). Fourth, there were the personal qualities—as organiser, warrior and politician—of *ʿAlī b. Muḥammad*.

Two periods of the revolt can be clearly distinguished. The first (255-66/869-79) was one of expansion and success for the rebels; the central power was unable, for internal and external reasons, to combat them efficaciously. The rebels organised themselves, procured arms and fortified themselves within camps in inaccessible places, from where they launched their raids. After many ambushes and battles that went in their favour (for the "army" of the rebels was continuously being strengthened by freed slaves), they seized temporary control of the main cities of Lower *Īrāq* and Khūzistān (al-Ūlulla, ʿAbbādān, Başra, Wāṣīt, Djiţbābā, Aḩwāz, etc.). The ʿAbbāsid forces reoccupied, without much difficulty, the towns that the Zanj had taken, sacked and abandoned, but were unable to extinguish the outbreak or to inflict a decisive defeat on an enemy everywhere present and virtually invincible. The government in Bahgād had other more urgent problems to solve, for several years the rebellion of the Zanj was relegated to the second rank of importance. During this time, the "Master of the Zanj" was solidly installed in the canal region, where he had his "capital" [*see AL-MUṢḌĪṬĀRA*], minting his own coins, organising his "state" and attempting, with varying degrees of success, to establish links with other anti-caliphal movements of the time (e.g. those of Ḥamdān Karmāt [*see KARMĀT*] and of Yāṣīb b. al-Lāyḥ [*q.v.*]).

The second period (266-70/879-83) was just a drawn-out agony before the final crushing of the movement. The suppression of the Zanj now became the prime consideration for the caliphate, which moved methodically, cleansing the territories before it and driving the rebels out of inaccessible places, from where they launched their raids. For the "army" of the rebels was continuously being strengthened by freed slaves. They were subjected to a methodical siege directed by the regent al-Muwaṭṭāfāk [*q.v.*] and his son Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās (the future caliph al-Muʿtadīl [*q.v.*]). Finally, ʿAlī b. Muḥammad was killed and his close companions and commanders taken as prisoners to Bahgād, where they were beheaded two years later, whilst some members of his family ended their days in prison.

One may conclude by saying that the Zanj revolt was both a political one, in its aim at securing power, and also a social one, aiming at relieving the harsh living conditions of one class of the population; but several important points involved in this remarkable episode merit an extended consideration (the personality of the revolter's leader, his alleged genealogy, his credo and ideology, the political and social organisation of the new "state", and its relations with the various classes of the population and with other movements of the time) which cannot be gone into here. One may nevertheless stress one essential aspect, sc. that if the movement has a unique place amongst various insurrections in the history of mediaeval Islam, it is because it put paid to a unique attempt, in the Islamic world, at transforming domestic slavery into a colonial-type slavery.


**ZANDJAN**, a town of northwestern Persia, situated on the Zandjan Rūd, a right-bank affluent of the Safāfī Rūd [*q.v.*]. It lies on the highway from Tehran and Kazwīn to Tabriz at a distance of 314 km/195 miles from Tehran and 302 km/188 miles from Tabriz, and at an altitude of 1,625 m/5,330 feet (lat. 35° 40' N., long. 48° 30' E.).

The mediaeval geographers mostly placed Zandjan in Djiţbāl province, usually linking it with Abhār [*q.v.*] or Awhār some 80 km/50 miles to its south-east, but they usually stated that it was on the frontier with Ādhbarbāyjān, and some authorities attributed it to Daylam or to Ravy. According to legend, it had been founded, as Ṣāḥīn, by the first Sasanid Ardashīr b. Pāpākīn (*Mustawfi, Nuzha*, 61, tr. 67). It was conquered "awara" in 944/1535 by Ārābī b. ʿAzīb after Abhār and Kazwīn, and al-Baladhūrī further narrates that, in the late 2nd/early 9th century, the people of Zandjan, weary of the depredations of bands (*ṣāḥāb* [*see NĪʿOK*] and the oppression of local governors, placed themselves under the protection of the governor of northern Persia, Ḥārūn al-Raḍīd's son al-Ḵāsim so that Zandjan and its region became part of the caliphal estates (*al-dīya* al-ḵāsimī) (*Putha*, 322-3). In the 4th/10th century, it came within the sphere of local Daylamī dynasties like the Musāfīrīds [*q.v.*]. The Arab traveller Abū Ḫulaf [*q.v.*] visited it, noting mines of iron sulphate, borax and alum in the adjacent mountains; the manuscript of his *Ṣawīra* records the name as spelt with initial ẓ, sc. Zandjan (Abū-Ḥulaf Miṣrī ibn Mūsaḥīlī's *tawās* in Iran (corr. A.D. 750), ed. and tr. Minorsky, Cairo 1935, § 11, tr. 34, comm. 71).

In the early 7th/13th century, Zandjan was held by the Khārazm-Ṣāḥī's son Djiţāl al-Dīn (*Djuywainī-Boyle, ii, 702*), but then devastated by the Mongols and its extensive walls demolished. For the Mongols, the upland pastures between the region of Zandjan and Tabrīz were favoured grazing grounds, and the name of the district Üryād preserves the name of the Oyrat Mongols. Not far south of Zandjan was the Îl-Khanīd capital Sulţānīyya [*q.v.*], and the Îl-Khanīd
Argun was buried at nearby Sudjas (the koruk-i Arghun, Mustawfi, 64, tr. 69). Zandjan shared in the general prosperity of northwestern Persia at this time, and Mustawfi fixed its revenues at 12,000 dinars plus another 8,000 from the hundred or so villages around it, and also stated that the inhabitants spoke "pure Pahlavi", i.e. a Median or northern form of Persian (Nizâhî, 61-2, tr. 67).

In later times, fighting between the Ottomans and the Safawids and their successors extended as far as Zandjan, but the town became best known in the 19th century as a centre of the Bahá'ís, being the birthplace of one of the Bahá'í's leading supporters, Mullá Muhammad 'Alí Hudjdjat al-Islâm Zandjání. The Zandjan rising of 1266/1850 by the Bábís of the town, numbering only a few hundreds, caused a crisis for the Kádjar state, since government troops were for several months unable to quell the rebels, and the resistance of Zandjan may have influenced the decision to execute the Báb himself in 'Aân bân 1267/July 1850 (see E.G. Browne, Personal reminiscences of the Báb insurrection at Zandjan in 1850 ... in JRAS [1897], 761-827; Abbas Amanat, Resurrection and renewal. The making of the Bāb movement in Iran, 1844-1850, Ithaca and London 1989, 101-2, 397 and index; J. Walbridge, The Báb rising in Zanján: causes and issues, in Iranian Studies, xxix/3-4 [1996], 339-62). Despite the bloody suppression of the insurrection, Zandjan continued to produce some of the leading Bäbi and Baha'i figureheads. (see Browne, Materials for the study of the Bâbi religion, Cambridge 1918, 36).

Zandjan was formerly the chef-lieu of a shahristân of the province of Gilân, but is now the markaz of an independent province of Zandjan. In the late 1930s it became a station on the Tehran-Tabriz railway. Its population in 1950 was 48,000, which had risen by the 1996 census to 286,295. Although somewhat detached geographically from the main Azeri speech area, the population of Zandjan is ethnically Turkish and essentially Turkish-speaking.

**Bibliography:** See also the older bibl. in Minorsky, El' art. s.v.; Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 221-2; Schwarze, Iran im Mittelalter, 729-31; Rázmará (ed.), Farhang-i dângâh-i Frâns-zamânii, ii, 140-1; Sayyid Musawl Zandjání, Tárz-e Zandjan, Tehran 1351/1972; L.W. Adamec (ed.), Historical gazetteer of Iran. i. Tehran and northwestern Iran, Graz 1976, 709-10; D. Krawulskey, Iran—das Reich der Ïlhâne. Eine topographisch-historische Studie, Wiesbaden 1978, 325-6. (C.E. Bosworth)

**Al-Zânđjání** [see Suppl.]

**Zandjibar** (or al-Zandjâbar), officially spelt Zanzibar, is an island in lat. 6° S, with a capital of the same name. It is about 53 miles in length and 24 miles at its broadest. The area is about 640 sq miles. A channel about 20 miles wide separates it from the Tanzanian mainland. Its history and economy are bound up with the prevailing winds, the south-west and north-east monsoons, which set in with clockwork regularity. The south-west monsoon begins in March, bringing the Masika, or Long Rains, which last with decreasing vigour for about three months. The Maudi, or Short Rains, fall in October and November. Until the coming of the steamship, the whole economy of eastern Africa depended on these monsoons.

Although linked with the mainland United Republic of Tanzania, Zanzibar is a self-governing territory, together with the island of Pemba [q.v.] and some small islands of trilling importance. Except for Tumbatu [q.v.], they are uninhabited, and visited only by fishermen and tourists.

1. The island and town of Zanzibar up to 1890.

(a) *In Antiquity and prehistoric times*

Before the coming of Islam to eastern Africa, certainly up to the 8th century A.D., there are only some scattered and casual allusions in Greek and Roman writers, for which see záŋg. One major source, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, refers to it in ca. A.D. 50. It is an account of trading voyages down the eastern African coasts, along southern Arabia and as far as India, if not to China. It has links with Egypt and the western Indian Ocean. Scholars have disputed endlessly whether its reference to a single island, Menuthias, off the eastern African coast, is to Pemba or to Zanzibar or to Mafia. Polo even thought the island to be Madagascar. Menuthias is said to have numerous rivers: Zanzibar has one only; Pemba has some streams, but also numerous deep inlets which, seen from the sea, resemble estuaries. It is low and wooded. Pemba reaches a maximum of 130 m above sea level, Zanzibar 100 m. Again, Pemba's deep inlets with hilly sides give the impression of a hilly island when seen from the sea, whereas Zanzibar is more uniformly level. Both islands are wooded. The inhabitants are said to be fishermen who employ fish traps, dug-outs and also "sewn boats", that is, with their timbers sewn together with coconut coir. The "sewn boats" are no longer constructed and Bâbi lighter practices are given. The balance of probability could swing either way.

Two of the sites so far excavated have pre-Islamic occupation levels, Fukuchani in the north and Unguja Ukuu in the south of the island. From these are imported sherds from the Perisan Gulf and from Roman North Africa, at occupation levels dating probably from the 5th to 8th centuries A.D. The most recent excavations at Unguja Ukuu (1999) show that it was a major exporter of ivory to Egypt, whence to Constantinople and through the Mediterranean, via Pelusium. The evidence is based on the existence of sherds of Byzantine pottery and on carbon dating. In Unguja Ukuu there are found in middens of the same period bones of *rattus rattus*, the black rat, which is not indigenous of Africa but whose fleas are the vectors of bubonic plague. The first recorded outbreak of the Great Plague of 541-7, in which more than a quarter of a million people died in Constantinople alone, was at Pelusium, which makes it logical to ascribe the source to Zanzibar. Local pottery suggests that the inhabitants belonged to the Early Iron Age communities of East Africa, whose working of shells and iron formed part of the economy of the time.

Pending further investigation it can be said that the claims of W.H. Ingrams (Zanzibar, London 1931) and others, of the existence of a "Helolithic Culture", or of the presence of Sumerians, Assyrians, Akkadians, Chaldaeans, Medes, Persians, Ancient Egyptians or Phoenicians, rest on no historical or archaeological foundation. There are Palaeolithic remains at Kilwa [q.v.] and of the Early Iron Age in Mafia [q.v.].

The Swahili *History of Pate* [see Pate] whose redaction in its present state cannot be dated before 1810, claims that the fifth Umayyad caliph, 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwân (695-705), heard of East Africa "and that his soul desired to found a new kingdom". He sent Syrians, who founded "the cities of Pate, Malindi, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Lamu and Kilwa". Other towns are mentioned in oral traditions, in Mogadishu as far as the Comoros.

Next, Hârûn al-Rashîd (r. 786-801) is alleged to have founded many coastal towns, but not in Pemba.
or Zanzibar. He is said to have sent Persians. There is no evidence to support these claims; they could well be 19th-century embroidery upon what could be known from 16th-century sources, such as al-Mas'udī and Buzurg b. Shahrīyār. Neither of these refer to Zanzibar, but mention Kanbali, most likely Ras Mkumbu in Pemba. There, recent excavation has disclosed a mosque capable of accommodating seventy worshipers; it rested upon the remains of two earlier mosques, one of stone and the other of timber. The topmost building is possibly 10th century, the structure from the 9th and 10th centuries, the earliest Islamic structures yet found in sub-Saharan Africa. It seems clear that Pemba, and particularly Ras Mkumbu, had an importance that Zanzibar lacked.

Nevertheless, history is not entirely mute. The Arabic History of Kilwa, redacted as we have it perhaps ca. 1550, claims that Zanzibar gave refuge to a deposed sultan of Kilwa in ca. 1035, and then reinstated him on the throne. Not long afterwards, a mosque was built at Kizimkazi in Zanzibar, of which original sections still survive; it has an elaborate mihrāb, with a carved foundation inscription dated 500/1107. This last is in a Kūfic script similar to a number of inscriptions excavated in Strāf. The stone, however, is of Zanzibar coral and so could only have been carved on Zanzibar. Local traditions assert that there was a local sultanate based on Kizimkazi, where a number of later stone buildings survive.

João de Barros preserves a second History of Kilwa, originally written in Arabic, in a Portuguese translation. It was redacted perhaps in 1505. It asserts that Sulaymān b. al-Hasan of Kilwa (r. 1170-89) made himself "lord of the commerce of Sofāla" [q.v.], and of the islands of Pemba, Mafía and Zanzibar, and a great part of the mainland shore". In 1224 Yākūt's Mufrad al-baladān reports that Languja was the residence of the King of the Zanjīdī. Languja is a corruption of al-Unguja, still the ordinary Swahili name for Zanzibar. If not independent, he may have been a subject of Kilwa.

In 1865 a hoard of dinārs was "discovered" in a mound in the centre of Unguja Ukuu, which was turned over in the hope of finding further treasure. One piece survived, dated to A.D. 797. There are now no standing structures dating to the 9th century. A mosque was noted in 1920; its well is still in use. There are local traditions of a Portuguese fētoria ("factory" or trading agency) but nothing survives. Recent excavations conducted by the Zanzibar Director of Antiquities have disclosed buildings believed to date to the 10th century, with quantities of imported pottery, chiefly from the Persian Gulf, of the 8th to 10th centuries. Some sherds from there of African Red Slip pottery have been dated by radiocarbon dating to the 6th century. Occupation ceased in the 10th/11th century, with some reoccupation in the 16th. This site would certainly appear to be the Languja of al-Dmajī. Its abandonment may be linked to a decline in the market for zanjīdī slaves following the Zanjīdī revolt. So far, it can be said that very many pieces of what is a jig-saw puzzle have been found; how to fit them together is another question.

Of possible relevance is the limited excavation that has taken place at Mkokotoni, in the northwest of the island and opposite Tumbatu. The first phase covers the 8th-10th centuries but is much eroded by the sea. Its stone buildings have been entirely robbed but cover an area extending 500 m along a low cliff. There is a hiatus until the 14th century, which is very rich in deposits. Particularly striking are the bead finds, in huge quantities that suggest either a huge store or their manufacture. Locals searching for beads have also found quantities of coins, both Chinese and Indian, but none of any local currency. It was here that a major coin hoard was found in 1984 and smuggled out of the country. It may have included three gold coins of al-Hasan b. Sulaymān of Kilwa III (r. 1310-33), which were brought to London and of which casts were made in the British Museum. They were reported to have been "found at Tumbatu".

Returning to the historical record, the History of Pate alludes to the story that the Pate ruler Yūmar b. Muhammad (r. 1332-48) gained possession of all the Swahili towns from Pate as far as the Kerimba Islands but failed to take Zanzibar. There is no evidence elsewhere for this alleged event, which perhaps was no more than a raid.

In 1442, when there was a dispute about the succession to the throne in Kilwa, the Amir of Zanzibar is said to have intervened but was bought off by a bribe of 100 gold māqāsūs. At this time, Zanzibar had its own copper currency.

There are many minor traditions and legends associated with smaller sites. There are numerous traditions of people known in Swahili as Wa-debuli and Wa-diba (sea- being a prefix denoting the class). They had no fixed settlements but moved from place to place; the Wa-debuli could well have been inérent Indian traders from the port of Daybul [q.v.] and the Wa-diba from the Maldives, which the Arab geographers term Diba.

Midden excavations at Unguja Ukuu and Fukuchani have shown evidence of the diet of the people in the form of bone remains. Cattle, goat and sheep are not unexpected. Pig also are included. Chicken and pigeon, too, were eaten; the nearby ocean abounded, as it still does, in fish. Bone remains also included the Zanzibar Pouched Rat (erictomys gambianus Coensii) known locally as buku. They are reported to be nearly three feet long from snout to the end of the tail. It is unknown today for them to be eaten in Zanzibar but some non-Islamic groups on the mainland like them. Monkeys were also eaten in some quantity.

As to religion, al-Mas'udī reports (ca. 920) that the kings of the Zanjīdī and their subjects were pagan. By the time of al-Nawrūz (1154), the inhabitants of Unguja, Swahili speakers, although mixed, were mostly Muslims. The excavated evidence from mosques suggests that al-Mas'udī was not well informed. Certainly, Islam was not the official religion of the kings whom he describes, but the process of Islamisation would have been a slow one, which, it may safely be assumed, had begun by the 8th century A.D. This is not to say that ancient beliefs did not linger on, as they still do today, notably in the Nairobi ceremonies [see Nawrūz, 2.] and those connected with rītēs de passage.

(c) Under Portuguese hegemony 1505-1698

For the Portuguese period local sources are silent, and we are dependent upon Portuguese historians and writers. Local traditions allege two fortified houses or farms to have belonged to the Portuguese, at Myveni and at Fukuchani, the latter built over an earlier pre-Islamic site.

In 1499 Vasco da Gama, returning from India, anchored off Zanzibar to take on provisions and water. It was for one night only; he and his men were eager to return home. Next, in 1503, a single vessel commanded by Rui Lourenço Ravasco arrived and cruised off the island, blockading it and capturing twenty local vessels laden with provisions. These, says Damião de Goes, he ransomed for money. It is alleged that the
locals opened hostilities with “many guns and arrows”, to which Ravasco replied with a bombardment. Both sides accused the other, and subsequently Ravasco was censured in Lisbon. Nevertheless, Zanzibar paid a tribute of 130 gold *mitkika*—a sum compared with 1,000 paid at Kilwa and 100 at Pate.

In 1528 Nuno da Cunha’s fleet lost its bearings and was driven up a creek in southwestern Zanzibar. A captive pilot conducted them to a safe anchorage.

A report of 1606 speaks of Augustinian “vicars” at Lamu, Pate and Faza on the mainland, in addition to their convent at Mombasa, but not at Zanzibar.

An Augustinian stationed in Zanzibar with a chapel is not mentioned until a Papal Bull of 1612. The two dates would seem to bracket the foundation of the chapel, as being an adjunct of the *feitoria*. Recent excavations in the centre of what eventually was reconstructed as an *Umáni* fort suggest that it was on the site of a 12th-century fishing and trading village. Sgrafiato, Chinese celadon and monochrome porcelain, as well as local red wares have been found. The foreign connection was not just casual. A large hoard of copper coins, locally minted, has been found, and ascribed to the 14th or the 15th century.

Parts of the church still exist. It was cruciform. In 1710 the *Umáni* fortified it, rebuilding it completely in 1760. Nevertheless, in a strange way it has kept its name. In Swahili the fort is spoken of as gereza, a corruption of Portuguese *igreja* “church”. In the 19th century, when the *Umáni* had ceased to use the fort as a residence, it was made into a prison. The name gereza remained, to become the name for a prison wherever Swahili is spoken. In the 1920s it had a new twist of fortune. It was partly demolished to provide a railway station for the seven-mile line from the town to the plantations at Bububu. By 1946 it was derelict, and restored for use as a purdah Ladies’ Club. In the 1990s it became an open-air theatre.

There is little trace today of the Portuguese period. The principal cultural legacy was of the slightest, some 120 words which passed from Portuguese to Swahili. It is intelligible that a quarter of them concern the sea and shipping. A second large group are of useful fruit, trees and vegetables, some of which—cashew, cucumber, lime, pawpaw, avocado and plantain, potatoes, cassava (maniou), tobacco, and most usefully, *mibuko* “manure”—have taken permanent root. There is a small domestic vocabulary, and one for the games of dice and picquet. The Swahili word for a tavern or brothel, *dangelo*, derives from *dancedador*. These are only a few examples. In the Torre do Tombo National Archives in Lisbon, and in the National Library, there is evidence of another kind, of Portuguese written in Arabic script, and of Swahili also. It would seem that for a time Portuguese was a *lingua franca* in the Indian Ocean until it was superseded by English.

The expulsion of the Portuguese from Fort Jesus, Mombasa, in 1698, does not seem to have had any immediate repercussions in Zanzibar. No appointment was made as successor to Fr. Manoel de Conceição, O.S.A. as Vicar of Zanzibar, who had been murdered by tribemen in 1694. A queen of Zanzibar, Fatuma or Fatima, gained peaceful possession, only to be subject to new overlords. The site of her palace is pointed out near the Gereza.

(d) Under the *Umáni* Arabs ca. 1700-1890

Now for more than a century history is almost silent. In 1712 a spy employed by the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa reported that the “Arabs” had constructed “a ridiculous fort” out of the *feitoria* and a stone house built by João Nunes at the end of the 17th century. The Swahili royalty remained in office, but control was in the hands of the Mazrūf [q.v.] rulers of Mombasa until their final eviction by Sultan Sayyid Sa’id [q.v.] in 1837.

A. Sheriff’s *History and conservation of Zanzibar Stone Town* gives valuable details of its expansion. The Portuguese *feitoria* and church may have had no more than palm-thatched huts around them. They lay on a peninsula connected to the mainland by a narrow isthmus. Two maps published by him, of 1846 and 1896, provide an instructive summary for the period. The peninsular buildings are almost exclusively from the 19th and 20th centuries; a creek separates the Stone Town from the mainland, on which, in 1846, very few constructions, all apparently huts, were to be found. The town thus consists, as now, of two parts, the Stone Town, the older part; and the opposite side of the creek known in Swahili as Ngambo, meaning “the other side”. The creek, when kept clean, provided a sheltered harbour for Portuguese vessels; the shallow draught of the almost flat-bottomed Swahili vessels and boats meant that they were generally drawn up on shelving beaches, any larger vessels being propped up on stilts at low tide. By 1896 Ngambo had grown to four times the size of the Stone Town, a clear indication of mercantile prosperity.

Inscriptions and other evidence for the foundation dates of mosques are likewise instructive. The earliest mosque in the Stone Town is dated 1766; one other was built in the 18th century. Sayyid Sa’id first visited Zanzibar in 1828, removing his court to Zanzibar only in 1842. Three mosques were erected in 1830 and one more in 1840. From 1850 to 1890, no less than twenty-seven mosques were erected, with five more in the present century. Scholarship was not deficient, and Sir Richard Burton, never slow to criticise, particularly admired the eminent knowledge of Shaykh Muhyi al-Din b. Shaykh b. ‘Abd Allah al-Khaytānī, kādhār of Zanzibar from 1841 to 1870. He wrote works of history and *fikḥ*, and was a poet. The greater number of mosques reflects population growth and the flourishing economy, of which C.S. Nicholls
has given a portrait in depth up to Sayyid Sa’id’s death in 1856. It is carried forward by M.R. Bhacker up to the proclamation of the British Protectorate in 1890. Traders were attracted from all quarters; Arabs from ‘Ummân and Hadramawt, Indians (the majority), and American, British, French, German and Portuguese entrepreneurs. Sayyid Sa’id said modestly “I am only a merchant”, but truly he made Zanzibar a “metropolis of the Indian Ocean”.

European immigrants and officials formed a more or less homogeneous society, the easterners deeply divided by race and sect. The Arabs and Swahili were of the Shâfi’î legal school, said to have come from the Ilâdî branch of the Kâhidjîtes. They had few differences with the Shâfi’îs and were tolerant. Among Indians, Hindus were wholly apart, as were Parsis; among Indian Muslims were Sunnis, Twelver Shî‘a and Khôdja Ismā‘îlis, who predominated over the Da’ûdd Bohorât and smaller sects. In addition, there were Sikhs and Baluch, these last providing the Sultanic guard. Few of them mixed with the local population. Whereas in former times Africans had brought their products to the coast, under Sayyid Sa’id’s Indian-financed caravans now journeyed into the African interior as far as Uganda and Kinshasa. Islamic religious brotherhoods had members among them and set up pockets of their adherents along the trade routes. By the 20th century, substantial areas were Islamised. The Swahili, both in the town and countryside, still reflect syncretistic practices as part of their local traditions.

Sayyid Sa’id had sixty or seventy concubines, in accordance with the regal dignity of the age. A number of palaces survive, of which many are mentioned in Princess Salme’s (Emily Sa’id Ruete) memoirs (An Arabian princess between two worlds, tr. E. van Donzel, Leiden 1993, originally published as Memoirs of an Arabian princess, New York 1888). They provided homes for his numerous surviving children. His principal residence was at Mtoni, enlarged with Persian baths, a more spacious banîn and stores as well as reception rooms, from a former private house. A short way away was a private mosque, a square musalî, the roof supported by a single column, and the mudrâb set in the thickness of the wall in the Ilâdî fashion. There was a separate palace at Dunga, near the Mwinyi Mkuu, the last of the indigenous rulers, with a room for the royal sinâra (horn) and drums.


2. Since 1964. The Zanzibar revolution in January 1964 brought a sudden end to the newly-independent sultanate. The revolution was organised by John Okello (b. 1937), a Ugandan worker who came to Zanzibar in 1959 and who believed that he had a God-given mission to lead a revolution of African liberation (J. Okello, Revolution in Zanzibar, Nairobi 1967, 72-3). Okello named established opposition figures as leaders of the new régime, with Abeid Karume (1905-1972), head of the Afro-Shirazi Party (ASP), as president. Karume soon consolidated his position by securing the exclusion of Okello from Zanzibar in March 1964, and, in April, led Zanzibar into union with Tanganyika.

Karume established a radical, one-party régime similar to many in the Africa of the 1960s. During the revolution, Zanzibarians of Asian and Arab origin, who had been part of the old political and economic élite, were harassed and many were killed or fled. Karume continued these policies, with the result that the traditional Muslim scholarly and devotional leadership was weakened. Established lines of transmission of both Sufi piety and Islamic studies were disrupted (Allyson Purpura, Knowledge and agency: The social relations of Islamic expertise in Zanzibar Town, Ph.D. diss., City University of New York 1997, unpubl., 136-9). During Karume’s rule, the activities of Islamic organisations like the Şûfû orders were severely limited and Islamic scholarship restricted.

Karume was murdered in 1972, but the ASP one-party régime continued under his successor Aboud Jumbe (b. 1920). However, Jumbe moved away from the authoritarianism of Karume, reduced the commitment to leftist economic policies, and relaxed restrictions on Islamic organisations. In an attempt to gain religious support, he established BAMITA (Baraza la Miskiika wa Tanzania, Council of Tanzanian Mosques). In the early 1980s, support for Zanzibari separatism grew, and in 1984 Jumbe was forced to resign because he was unable to control these tendencies. His successor as president of Zanzibar (and Vice-President of Tanzania) was Ali Hassan Mwinyi, a close associate of Julius Nyerere, who succeeded Nyerere as national president when the latter retired in 1985. The next presidents of Zanzibar were Idris Abdul Wakil (1985-90) and Salim Amour who won the last one-party elections in 1990 but, by a bare 50.2% of the votes, the first multiparty election in 1995.

During the final two decades of the 20th century, Islamic activist sentiments have increased in Zanzibar. With the end of the authoritarianism of Karume, Muslim teachers and scholars began to reassert their position as intellectual and devotional leaders. Older Şûfî tarîkats had survived the times of suppression, and new groups of scholars inspired by Islamist movements in other parts of the Muslim world became more visible. By the 1990s, strict purist teachers such as Sayykh Khamisi Jafari were popular among the students and younger professionals, advocating a style of Islamic interpretation similar to that articulated by the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East.

Two incidents illustrate the revival of Muslim activism. In 1988, Sophia Kawawa, the wife of the then-secretary-general of the Tanzanian ruling party, made disparaging remarks about the situation of women under Islamic law. This sparked major demonstrations in Zanzibar, reflecting both resentment against mainland control of island affairs and Islamic sensibilities. In 1993, it was announced that Zanzibar had joined the Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC). While this was popular in Zanzibar, a parliamentary commission declared the association to be unconstitutional and Zanzibar withdrew. It was clear by the late 1990s
that Muslim sentiments in Zanzibar had been significantly influenced by the global resurgence of Islam. This was expressed locally by increased demands for Zanzibar to maintain Islam and by more visible expressions of Islamist sentiments similar to those in other parts of the Muslim world.


Early youth. Born in Aleppo in 480/1087-8, he was the last surviving son of the Saldjik commander Aksunkur [g.e.], who became governor of Aleppo 480-7/1087-94. After his father's death in 487/1094, Zangī was raised at the court of the governors of al-Mawsil [g.e.] and distinguished himself in the internal warfare of rival Saldjik princes and the wars against the Crusaders.

**Governor in Īrāk 516-21/1122-7.** In 516/1122-3 Zangī led a successful expedition against the Muzzafarids in the remote area of the west, in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, at the expense of the Būrids, the Crusaders and the Artuksids. In 520/1126 appointed by force and went on to besiege Damascus in 529/1139, he took Ba'labakk [g.e.] by force and went on to besiege Damascus in 534/1139-40. Later in that year, Akṣunkur al-Bursukī [g.e.], governor of Īrāk and Zangī's protector, was given his first appointment as governor of Wāsit and al-Ṭār. In 519/1125 he crushed an army of the caliph al-Mustarshid [g.e.], who was trying to conquer southern Īrāk and expel the Saldjiks. On 18 Dhū 'l-Hijādja 519/4 January 1126 sultan Mahmūd b. Malīk Shāh [g.e.] appeared on the outskirts of Baghdād attacking the caliph. Reinforcing Mahmūd, Zangī moved with a powerful army with surprising rapidity up the Tigris valley and decided the battle in favour of the sultan, who in Rabīʿ I 520/November 1126 appointed him governor (dīnār) [g.e.] of Baghdād and Īrāk.

**Establishing the amirate 521-2/1127-8.** Later in that year, Akṣunkur al-Bursukī, then governor of al-Mawsil, Dīyār Rabiʿa, Dīyār Muṣṭafā, parts of the Dīyār Bakr and Aleppo, was assassinated. Mahmūd finally made Zangī governor of al-Bursukī's provinces in exchange for his Īrākī ones. He placed two sons, Alp Arslān and Farrukhānāsh (Elisseeff, ii, 381, argued that they were the same person) under Zangī's tutelage and in the next year the Crusader stronghold of Aṭārīb near Antioch. In 525/1131 Zangī and the caliph al-Mustarshid became estranged over the issue of Dubays. After a meeting with Zangī in 525/1131, Mahmūd was drawn into the wars of succession amongst the Saldjiks. In retaliation for an attack on Baghdād by Zangī and Dubays in the previous year, the caliph besieged al-Mawsil for three months in 527/1133, during which the Būrid of Damascus, Shams al-Mu'lūk Ismāʿīl, took the title of amir of al-Mawsil and in Dīyār Bakr at the expense of the Artuksids and the Kurds, who had supported the caliph previously. After the murder of al-Mustarshid in Dhu 'l-Ka'da 529/August-September 1135, Zangī allied himself with the new caliph al-Raḍīsh [g.e.] and the Saldjik pretender Dāwūd in order to fight sultan Mas'ūd. In 530/1135-6 Mas'ūd conquered Īrāk and Baghdād, with Zangī and al-Raḍīsh fleeing to al-Mawsil. Mas'ūd in turn set up a new caliph al-Muktaff [g.e.], who was acknowledged throughout the empire except by Zangī; only later that year did he acknowledge Mas'ūd, Sāndjār and al-Muktaff as his overlords, receiving in return the territories he already possessed.

**Period of expansion 529-38/1135-44.** The only possibility of further expansion, without the risk of conflicts with the Saldjiks in Īrāk, lay in campaigns in the west, in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, at the expense of the Būrids, the Crusaders and the Artuksids. In Djuāmādī I 529/February 1135, he laid siege to Būrid Damascus. Unexpectedly, the city was well defended, and Zangī only achieved recognition as overlord in Damascus. On his way back to Aleppo he regained Hamāt, then attacked outposts of the principality of Antioch, but at the end of the year, after an unsuccessful attack on Himṣ, had to return to al-Mawsil for affairs in Īrāk. However, in 531/1137 he resumed his military campaigns in Syria, and gained the strategic Crusader castle of Ba'īrin (Monsferrandus) between Tripolī and Hamāt.

In 531-2/1136-4 Byzantine emperor John II invaded Cilicia and northern Syria. After allying himself with Raymond of Antioch, he attacked Aleppo, but unable to take it by force, he besieged Shayzar [g.e.] instead; after accepting ransom money he returned to Antioch in Ramāḍān 532/May-June 1138. Later that year, Zangī obtained Himṣ by diplomacy as a dowry from the Būrids, and re-occupied the lost strongholds between Antioch and Aleppo. In 533-4/1139-40 Zangī made his last attempt to reach his ultimate strategic goal, Damascus, in order to complete his supremacy over the western parts of the Saldjik empire. In 535/1139 he took Ba'labakk [g.e.] by force and went on to besiege Damascus in Rabīʿ II 534/December 1139. He had to lift the siege five months later in order to fight the Crusaders, who had overrun the Hawrān, but returned for a sudden attack on Damascus on 7 Dhu 'l-Ka'da/22 June, only to withdraw in the end to al-Mawsil. He had achieved two aims, the capture of the strategic fortress of Ba'labakk dominating the fertile Bika' valley [g.e.] and suzerainty over Damascus. In the following years, Zangī had to check numerous raids by the northern Crusader states Antioch and Edessa as well as by the Artuksids and the Kurds.

At the zenith of his power; the fall of Edessa. In 538/1143-4 sultan Mas'ūd tried again to remove the overmighty Zangī, whom he held responsible for the continuous unrest within his realm, but Zangī came to an agreement with the sultan and promised an indemnity. He turned his attention to the Arūkād Dīyār
Bakr, and utilised the absence of Joscelin II from his capital to seize Edessa after a 28 days' siege, on Saturday 26 Djumâdâ II 539/23 December 1144. This was the first Muslim reconquest of a major capital of the Crusaders. The Victory led western Christi¬anity to undertake the Second Crusade and earned Zangi an outstanding reputation as hero of djihâd among the Muslims.

Zangi's death. In the following years Zangi faced many troubles and setbacks. After an unsuccessful siege of al-Bira [q.v.], at the strategic crossing of the Euphrates, the Crusaders abandoned it to the Artukid ruler Husân al-Dîn Timurâtâsh, a vigorous opponent of Zangi. In Dhu 'l-Ka'da 539/May 1145 the Saldjuk prince Alp Arslân ( Ibn al-Athîr) or Farroschînâsh ( Ibn al-Kalânîsi and Ibn al-Adîm) (see above) made an unsuccessful rebellion in al-Mawsîl. In 541/1146 Zangi set out to attack the 'Ukaylid stronghold of Ka'ât al-Dîb'bar [q.v.], but some of his own mamlûks murdered him in the night of Sunday 6 Rabî' II 541/14-15 September 1146. He was succeeded by his sons Sayf al-Dîn Ghâzî in al-Mawsîl and Nur al-Dîn Mahmûd in Aleppo.

The historians, in particular Ibn al-Athîr, have bestowed the highest praise on Zangi for his political and military qualities and his achievements, especially with regard to the war against the Crusaders; nevertheless, they were aware of his unscrupulousness. Zangi was the first Muslim ruler who fought the Crusader states effectively; however, he never fought them with the same vigour as he did in the case of the strategically much more important Damascus. Ibn al-Athîr also praises him for the return of prosperity to al-Mawsîl and all his lands after the period of Bedouin domination and of continuous warfare amongst the Saldjuks, his main political aim to carve out an autonomous amirate within the framework of the Saldjuk empire.


ZANGÎ ĀTÂ or ZANGÎ BABBÂ, ŞÛFİ saint of Central Asia, d. 657/1259.

He was a sheikh from Taškent, with swarthy colouring from his Arab origins, whence his name (zangi “black”). His father Tâsh Ātâ was a descendant of Arslân Bâb, the master of the great saint of Central Asia, Ahmad Yasawi [q.v.]. Zangi Ātâ was first of all initiated by his own father into the mystical way, and then, after his father’s death he became the disciple of Ḥâkîm Ātâ, Ahmad Yasawi’s famous ḥâlifâ.

At Ḥâkîm Ātâ’s death, he went on pilgrimage to his tomb in Kûrâzim, and married Anbâr Bîbir, the saint’s widow. The Nâkhshbandî ‘Ubayd Allah Abru [see Anbâr, in Suppl.] held Zangi Ātâ in high regard, and claimed to have heard God’s voice when he was at the saint’s tomb in Taškent. Zangi Ātâ also cultivated the practice of “dhîk of the saw” (dhîk-î-’âra).

Amongst his four main khalîfâs—Uzûn Ḥâsan Ātâ, Sayyid Ātâ, Ṣâdîr Ātâ and Bādît Ātâ—the second of these was sent into the Daşqûj Kîplak to spread Islam and to convert the ruler Ozbeg Khân to that faith. In the 19th century, oral tradition attached Zangi Ātâ to the Kâdîrî tarîkh (“Khodrie”, see Schuyler), which was, in reality, simply the Nâkhshbandiyya-Dhîbriyya. Built on Timûr’s orders, the ensemble around his mausoleum (16 km/10 miles from Taškent) is one of the finest architectural works in Central Asia and one of the oldest pilgrimage places in the region. It comprises the saint’s tomb, a nabhâs dating from the 18th-19th centuries, a hostel for pilgrims, a mosque (1870), a minaret (1914-15) and a monumental portal. There is a great basin stretching out in front of the ensemble and a vast cemetery on one of its sides. Nearby is the tomb of his wife, Anbâr Bîbir. Each year, at the beginning of September, there was a religious festival in Zangi Ātâ’s honour, he having become the patron saint of Taškent. The festival lasted two or three days, gathering together the whole population of Taškent in prayers, communal meals and festivities. It was described in the second half of the 19th century by the American traveller Eugene Schuyler (Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja, London 1876, i, 138-40), and several traditions linked with the saint’s mausoleum were collected by J. Castagnié in his study of the saints of Central Asia (Le culte des saints de l’Islam au Turkestan, in L’Ethnographie, Paris 1951, 53-4). Since the break-up of the USSR, the pilgrimage has taken on a new life, and practices linked with popular Islam (healing sessions by bakhshîs [q.v.], amongst others) have taken place at the approaches to the funerary ensemble and a vast cemetery on one of its sides. Nearby the tomb of his wife, Anbâr Bîbir. Each year, at the beginning of September, there was a religious festival in Zangi Ātâ’s honour, he having become the patron saint of Taškent. The festival lasted two or three days, gathering together the whole population of Taškent in prayers, communal meals and festivities. It was described in the second half of the 19th century by the American traveller Eugene Schuyler (Turkistan. Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara, and Kuldja, London 1876, i, 138-40), and several traditions linked with the saint’s mausoleum were collected by J. Castagnié in his study of the saints of Central Asia (Le culte des saints de l’Islam au Turkestan, in L’Ethnographie, Paris 1951, 53-4). Since the break-up of the USSR, the pilgrimage has taken on a new life, and practices linked with popular Islam (healing sessions by bakhshîs [q.v.], amongst others) have taken place at the approaches to the funerary complex of Zangi Ātâ. The saint’s name further appeared in incantations put together by bakhshîs in the last century (see the text of a Kazakh bakhshî collected by Castagnié).


ZANGIDS, a Turkmen dynasty which reigned over Syria, Diyar Mûdar and Diyar Râbî’a [q.v.] from 521-2/1127-8 onwards, in the tradition of Turkmen-Saldjuk collective familial sovereignty: in Aleppo until 579/1183, in al-Mawsîl until 631/1233, and with minor branches in Şindjâr, Dižirat Ibn ‘Umar and in Şahrazûr.
The progenitor Aksunkur [q.v.], a Turkish mamluk commander in the service of the Seldjuk sultan Malik Shah, was appointed governor of Aleppo in 480/1087-8. During the wars of succession following the sultan's assassination, Aksunkur was executed in 487/1094.

His eldest son and eponym of the dynasty, Zangī [q.v.], was raised and trained at the court of the governors of al-Mawsil. In Rabī‘ II 520/April 1126 the sultan entrusted him with the military governorship of Baghdād and 'Irāk. After the assassination of his protector Aksunkur al-Bursukī [q.v.], the sultan gave Zangī the former possession of al-Bursukī, al-Mawsil, Aleppo and parts of the Djazīra. He placed one or two of his sons [see Zangī] under Zangī's tutelage and bestowed on him the title of an alībak [q.v.], which became almost synonymous for the rulers of al-Mawsil. During 521-2/1127-8 Zangī took possession of his realm, which had been rent by internal strife and had been annexed partially by the Artūkīds.

Zangī's policy encompassed four main directions.

First, he consolidated his amīrat within the Seldjuk empire and made it almost autonomous. He took part in the continuous power struggles of the Seldjuk sultans, pretenders and the caliphs. In 523/1129 he acknowledged as king of the west (malik al-gharb) by sultan Mahmūd [q.v.]. In the wars of succession after the murder of the caliph al-Mustarshid [q.v.], Zangī sided with the short-reigning caliph al-Rashd [q.v.], but was forced to acknowledge the new caliph al-Musta‘īn and the sultans Mas‘ūd and Sandjar as overlords.

The persisting political instability in Mas‘ūd’s realm allowed Zangī to turn his attention to matters in Syria, the second direction. He launched four campaigns into the autonomous realm of the Būrids [q.v.], with the ultimate goal of conquering Damascus between 523/1129 and 533-4/1139-40. He never succeeded in this, though, he gained Hamāt and Himṣ [q.v.], and eventually had to be content with the nominal overlordship.

The third direction of expansion was towards the Artūkī and Kurdish principalities in Diyar Bakr. In various campaigns, raids and intrigues with the Artūkī houses of Mār dīn and Ḥīṣn Kayfā he gained several strongholds there.

The fourth direction was towards the Crusader principalities. He seized fortresses mainly in the region between Antioch and Aleppo, and at the zenith of his power in 539/1144 conquered al-Ruhā [q.v.], the capital of the Crusader County of Edessa. This caused the Second Crusade and earned Zangī his outstanding reputation among Muslim historians as a hero of the dhūhdā.

The succession of Zangī after his death in 541/1146 was disputed between his sons, but it resulted in practice in a division of territories between two of them, Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī in al-Mawsil with the territories in the Djazira, and Nur al-Dīn Mahmūd [q.v.] in Syria and al-Ruhā. Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī first became the head of the family, and then later Nur al-Dīn.

The principality of Aleppo. After the murder of his father, Nur al-Dīn Mahmūd achieved control in Aleppo. He spent the first year of his reign in consolidating his territory, threatened by an unsuccessful attempt of Joscelin of Edessa to retake his capital with the help of the resident Armenians. He reached a conciliation with his brother Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī, acknowledging the latter's suzerainty. In the south, Mu‘īn al-Dīn Unur of Damascus, together with the Crusaders of Jerusalem, tried to regain territory and independence.

The first eight years were occupied with the unification of Syria under his rule. In July 1148 the leaders of the Second Crusade in Jerusalem made the ill-fated decision to attack Damascus, although the Būrids had been the allies of Jerusalem for years against Zangī's ambitions. Unur of Damascus had to call in Nur al-Dīn. On his advance, the Crusaders lifted the siege. The year 544/1149-50 saw four major events favourable for Nur al-Dīn. In Safar 544/April 1149 he won a decisive battle against the Crusaders near Ināb, where Raymond of Antioch and Aníco was killed. He then took Al-Akka, Ka‘b b. Mū ḫāl, and Ḥārdūn. In Rabī‘ II 544/August 1149 his opponent Unur of Damascus died. In Dhu‘dīdā II 544/November 1149 his brother in al-Mawsil died and was succeeded by his third and younger brother Kuṯb al-Dīn Mawdūd. The supremacy within the family confederation was disputed, but eventually it was agreed that Nur al-Dīn should get the rich family treasure, which had been deposited in Sīndjār, for financing the dhūhdā, as well as the major cities in Diyar Muḍar and also Ḥimṣ. In Dhu‘l-Hijja 544/April 1150 Joscelin of Edessa was captured by Turkmens, which provided an opportunity for Nur al-Dīn to seize the remaining strongholds of the former county of Edessa. In Safar 549/April 1154 he finally conquered Damascus and extended his realm as far as Bāṣrā and Sa‘īdīdah. In 550/1154-55 the already-weakened Fatimid caliphate in 558/1163 resulted in a competition between Amāric of Jerusalem and Nur al-Dīn over political and military domination of Egypt as the key to hegemony in the region. Three times between 559/1164 and 564/1168, their armies both penetrated into Egypt. Finally, in Rabī‘ II 564/January 1169 Shīrkūh, the commander of Nur al-Dīn’s army, became master of Egypt as wāṣir of the Fāṭimid caliph. After the death of the last Fāṭimid, al-Asd, on 10 Muḥarram 567/12-13 September 1171, Sa‘īd al-Dīn [q.v.], who had succeeded his uncle Shīrkūh as wāṣir, changed the khutba and sīkka in favour of Nur al-Dīn Mahmūd and the ‘Abbāsid caliph, thus re-establishing Sunni supremacy in Egypt.

Two years before, Kuṯb al-Dīn Mawdūd had died in Dhu‘l-Hijja 565/September 1170. Sayf al-Dīn Ghāzī II, the leader of a faction hostile to Nur al-Dīn, became the lord of al-Mawsil. The question of supremacy within the Zangī family was raised again. In 566/1170-1 Nur al-Dīn conquered the Dżāzira in order to restructure the Zangī realm. Ghāzī II remained in al-Mawsil but acknowledged Nur al-Dīn’s suzerainty. Nur al-Dīn’s candidate for al-Mawsil, Imād al-Dīn Zangī II, the younger son of Mawdūd, was compensated with Sandjār, but had to acknowledge the suzerainty of his brother in al-Mawsil. With a united Syria, Diyar Muḍar and the rich province of Egypt, as well as the overlordship of al-Mawsil and Diyar Muḍar, Nur al-Dīn was at the zenith of his power in order to fight the Crusaders. In the following years, he tried to gain the Crusader castles Karak and Shawbak [q.v.], but Sa‘īd al-Dīn’s increasing tendency to build up Egypt as his independent power base hindered these ambitions. Nur al-Dīn Mahmūd died on 11 Shawwāl 560/15 May 1174. He founded several urban institutions, madrasas and hospitals and restored the fortifications of the cities and citadels in Aleppo, Damascus and al-Mawsil. He was the patron of Sunni orthodoxy, to the detriment of the Shi‘ī population and institutions.

He was succeeded by his son al-Sa‘īd Isma‘īl, an eleven-year-old boy. His uncle Sayf al-Dīn of al-Mawsil immediately challenged his position and in 560/1174
reconquered the Zangid Djazira for al-Mawsil. In the south, Salah al-Din advanced from Egypt, taking Damascus and Hamat in 570/1174. After a victory over the combined Zangid forces in Shawwal 571/ April 1176, he revoked the fiction of al-Salih Ismail's overlordship, thus creating a formally independent principality. When al-Salih died in Radjab 577/1181 he left a principality threatened by Salah al-Din and bequeathed to 'Izz al-Din Mas'ud of the Almohads. However, instead of fighting Salah al-Din, in Shawwal 577/February 1182 Mas'ud exchanged Aleppo for Sindjar in order to expel Zangid II from the immediate neighbourhood of al-Mawsil. During his first Djazira campaign in Safar 579/June 1183, Salah al-Din took Aleppo from Zangid II in exchange for Sindjar.

_The principality of al-Mawsil._ After the death of Zangid Sayf al-Din Ghazf became head of the family. The politics of the Mawsil branch were intent on maintaining a balance of power and concentrated on the economic and cultural development of the principality. Ghazf, his successors and the elite of al-Mawsil became patrons of architecture and art, benefactors of religious institutions and scholars. When Ghazf died in 544/1159, the amir of al-Mawsil transferred the government to his younger brother Kutb al-Din Mawdud. An intervention by Nur al-Din reduced the principality considerably (see above). Al-Mawsil at that time was run by the powerful regent al-Djawad and his deputy, al-Adil in 554/1160. Following Nur al-Din's death in 565/1170, al-Adil succeeded in subjugating the Zangid principalities. At the beginning of 601/1204, a treaty was arranged on the basis of the status quo ante. In 606/1209 al-Adil attempted to annex the Zangid states, beginning with Nasf ibn Asad, but Al-Dawla and Asad ibn Shu'ayb joined forces in order to thwart al-Adil's ambitions. A reconciliation was achieved, but Asad, the Khabir, and al-Dawla remained in the hands of al-Adil, and the Zangids had to send provisions for his campaigns. In Radjab 607/January 1211 'Izz al-Din Mas'ud II succeeded his father. Asad ibn Shu'ayb had chosen his nephew Al-Dawla to be his successor, but 'Ali of al-Mawsil as immediate overlord. The death of al-Adil in Djumada II 615/August 1218 encouraged rulers in the Djazira to revolt and expand their territory. Zangid III took the fortunes of al-Imadiyya that were dependent on al-Mawsil, which remained loyal to the Ayyubids. He became master of the Kurdish mountain region north and northeast of the city, supported by Al-Dawla and Al-Adil, who were content to remain on the periphery of the Zangid state. Al-Imad al-Din was compensated with the fortresses of al-Akr al-Hamaydiyya and al-Shuh as 'Adil's. In Radjab II 615/August 1218 Al-Imad declared the principality of Sindjar and took the title of amir. In Rabia II 620/July 1221 Al-Imad made some territorial acquisitions in the Djazira, which strengthened Lu'lu's power as ally of Al-Adil. Ayyubid occupation of Sindjar continued until 624/1227 when an internal war broke out in the Ayyubid realm, which weakened Al-Imad's power as ally of Al-Adil. When in 630/1233 Al-Adil died, he had bequeathed his territory to the caliph in Baghdad. He had been the last powerful advocate of the Zangid cause, and Lu'lu', now at the zenith of his power, could get rid of the last Zangid of the Mawsil line. In Radja 1/631/December 1233 he received an investiture diploma for Al-Imad and the honorific of al-Malik al-Rahim as official recognition from the caliph. When Al-Imad died in 566/1170, his nephew Al-Imad was proclaimed amir of al-Mawsil. When in 567/1171 Al-Imad died, he had bequeathed his territory to the caliph in Baghdad. He had been the last powerful advocate of the Zangid cause, and Lu'lu', now at the zenith of his power, could get rid of the last Zangid of the Mawsil line. In Radja 1/631/December 1233 he received an investiture diploma for Al-Imad and the honorific of al-Malik al-Rahim as official recognition from the caliph.
together with Naṣībīn, the Kḥābīr valley, al-Rakka and Sarudj, to Zangī II in exchange for Aleppo ... above all in the 19th century. Slaves carried off from the Horn of Africa contributed to this expansion and, in

of the amir disputed between Sindjar and al-Mawsil. In Muharram 594/November 1197 Kutb al-Dīn Muhammad succeeded his father; in 595/1199 he joined the coalition against al-Adīl, but was the first to recognise him as overlord again in 600/1204. In 606/1209 al-Adīl captured the Kḥābīr valley and Naṣībīn and unsuccessfully besieged Sindjar. Kuṭb al-Dīn had a good reputation as a just ruler and a supporter of commerce. When he died in 598/1201, a violent dynastic crisis within the year his two sons fought and succeeded each other. Then in Dhuʾl-Qādāʾ I 1617/July 1220 the last Zangī ruler of Sindjar transferred his principality to al-Āṣfār Mīnā.

The principality of Ḍhārat Ibn ʿUmar. After the death of Ghāzī II in 576/1180, his son Muʿizz al-Dīn Sandjar Shāh obtained Ḍhārat Ibn ʿUmar as ikṭīb within the realm of al-Mawsil. It can be regarded as autonomous principality from 579/1183, when he acknowledged the overlordship of Saḥāf al-Dīn al-Mawsilī, and the deposition of Kaymaz. Following the death of the Ayyūbīd al-ʿAzīz al-ʿUthmānī, Sandjar Shāh took part in the rebellion against al-Adīl, but in 600/1204 changed sides, now fighting Arslān Shāh in al-Mawsil. Sandjar Shāh was murdered in 605/1208-9 and his son, al-Muʿazzam Māmūd, succeeded him. Like his father, the latter is described as tyrannical, but he managed to rule for over forty years with keeping good relations with the Ayyūbīs as well as with Luʿluʾ in al-Mawsil. When he died in 648/1251, he was succeeded by his son al-Malik al-Maṣʿūdī Shāhāngāhā, but Luʿluʾ absorbed this principality, too. With an investiture diploma from the Ayyūbīd al-Nāṣir Yūsūf al-Mawsilī, he conquered the city in 649/1251. The last ruling Zangī was drowned in captivity on the way to al-Mawsil.

The principality of Shahrazūr. [q.v.]. This was the final result of the succession regulations in 607/1211, ʿImād al-Dīn Zangī III received the fortresses of al-Akār al-Humaydiyya and al-Shāhīs as ikṭīb. In 615/1221, when Luʿluʾ placed Arslān Shāh II on the throne of al-Mawsil, Zangī III felt deprived of his claim and vainly attempted to displace Luʿluʾ with the support of Kuṭb al-Dīn. When al-Adīl died in the same year, Zangī III tried to extend his power into the northern region of al-Mawsil. In 617/1220 he lost his fortresses and all his territorial gain to Luʿluʾ and fled to Adharbāyjān, in 619/1222 attempting anew to regain his possessions but was compelled to abandon them in exchange for the distant Shahrazūr, acknowledging the overlordship of Kūtbūrī. In Ramaḍān 633/May 1236 he was succeeded by his son Nūr al-Dīn Arslān Shāh III. After his death in 14 Shābaʾ bīn 642/15 January 1245, Shahrazūr was given to an amīr of the caliph, and four months later it was conquered by the Mongols.

After one-and-a-half centuries of Bedouin domination and urban decline in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, the Zangīs, following the Saʿdījīk conquest, brought back an urban-based political structure to the region. They rebuilt the devastated cities, and founded numerous urban and religious institutions. They promoted Sunnī Islam where Shiʿīsm had earlier prevailed. They cared for scholarship, commerce and the development of an indigenous currency. Together with the Ṭuʾũkīs, they created at their courts a distinctive style of classical revival, and it may be said that the Zangīs laid the institutional foundation on which the Ayyūbīs and Mamluks could build.


Zār, the name for a popular cult of spirits found in northeastern Africa and such adjacent regions as the Arabian peninsula.

1. In the Horn of Africa and the Arabian peninsula.

The zār ritual or practice seems to have originated in the Horn of Africa and, especially, in Ethiopia. According to E. Cerulli, the word (Ar. zār, Amharic zar, Somali saar, etc.), may be said to derive from the name of the supreme god of the pagan Cushitic peoples, the Sky-God called in Agaw (Bilen) gār, and in the Sidamo languages (Kaffa) yara and (Buro) dāri. The Italian scholar further thought that, in the context of Ethiopian Christianity, this god must have been reduced to the role of an evil spirit, one which has been likewise retained among the Muslims and, probably, among the Falasha. These propositions do not provide answers to all the questions involved, but are still of value in so far as they have not been replaced by more information. Etymologies deriving zār from the Arabic verb zarar “to visit” seem fantastic, although current in Arab milieux.

An important Cushitic people, the Oromo, who entered Ethiopia from the 16th century onwards, could have played an important role in the formation of the ritual and its diffusion. Nevertheless, it spread (sometimes with changes of name and assimilating local practices and beliefs) throughout northeastern Africa, the Maghrib and the Arabian peninsula, above all in the 19th century. Slaves carried off from the Horn of Africa contributed to this expansion and, in
more recent times, the Ethiopian, Eritrean and Somali diasporas. Links with other similar rituals in West Africa and the Arab world are clear but remain to be clarified.

In Ethiopia itself the zar ritual assumes many forms, but it is possible to discern a basic structure. It is devoted to spirits capable of sparking off illnesses and all sorts of accidents of life among those possessed by them. The zar can fasten on any person, but in order to make that person openly ill, spontaneously invoke a trance or provoke an accident, the person in question must have been a "star" or "mount": he/she will receive a zar through heredity or find him or herself in one of the circumstances or the places favourable to and attractive for the zar (seasons, places, odours, the victim's failure to fulfil various usages or his or her faults towards the zar, etc.).

In practice, the zar ritual is only found in urban centres. Those who are possessed—comprising mainly women—form a sort of fraternity or sorority under the power of a healing mammy woman (Amhar. balâzar) "superior possessed person", whom the very important zarrs allow to release sufferers from the less important zarrs who afflic them. The sick or possessed persons group themselves round the balâzar during the sessions (wiklid), during which spirits are evoked by clapping the hands or beating drums or by singing. The healer then proceeds to bring about peace between the zar and the possessed person. He makes the zar give his name and makes him "come down to" the sufferer, who then goes into a trance (gumn), and afterwards negotiates with him. The zar has to promise, after an exchange of sacrifices or presents (jewels, necklaces, etc., at the cost of the possessed person and which will be borne by him or her because he/she has become the incarnation of his or her zar or "mount"), not to trouble the sufferer any longer. In addition to propitiatory sacrifices of chickens, sheep, cows, etc., there are rites of expulsion (the sufferer is rubbed with the corpse of a slaughtered animal, into which the illness passes), ablutions in vegetable decoctions, the spitting out of quids of kät (q.v.) chewed by the balâzar over the patient, unctions of coffee grounds, etc.

The zarrs are not demons (they have a white face, whilst demons have black ones), nor budas, nor kolles, nor djinn, but sometimes they have complex relations with these other spirits. The invisible world of these spirits is the image of Ethiopian society and its members. The zar wear clothes, eat, have their own special character (they are delicate and sensitive), temperaments, origins and histories. They include both males and females, they marry, and can even become crossed with demons and djinn, producing a class of métis or halfbreeds. Hence they have their own genealogies, and all social groups are represented.

Islamic elements are present within the ritual as a whole (proper names given to the zar, the vocabulary of the rituals, use of kät which, in Ethiopia, is a "Muslim" plant, etc.), which leads one to think of a large involvement of the Ethiopian Muslim peoples—Oromo, Argobba, etc.—and a prominent role of the great Muslim centre of Harar. In the diffusion of the cult into Somaliland on the one hand, and to Aden and the Yemen on the other. The Somalis themselves have been able to relay or strengthen this diffusion from their centres of emigration within the Arabian peninsula, such as Aden and Sîr in ‘Umân. At the present time, the zar ritual is widespread in the Persian Gulf region, not only on the Arab coasts but also on the Persian ones, in ‘Umân and in Yemen, especially at Aden and in the Thâhâ. In this last region, introduction of the ritual is attributed to the Ahlîd, a people of African origin who have to endure a special status and who have made music and dancing their specialties. The importance of the zar ritual in Saudi Arabia, where it has long been attested, is difficult to estimate.

The zar ritual displays not only medico-magical aspects but also has religious, sexual, familial and societal, legal and moral, economic, aesthetic and artistic aspects which cannot be gone into here. It has been attacked (and its adepts sometimes persecuted) by religious authorities, Christian and Muslim, by the British colonial power, by the Marxists of the former P.D.S.Y., and now by Islamic fundamentalists. It is often recognised within Islamic countries that the zar is a mental affliction and a means for women to create a space of freedom for themselves.

Bibliography: This has over the years become especially abundant for the Sudan and Egypt (see 2, below), whereas the Arabian peninsula has had little treatment by scholars, probably because research on such subjects is frowned upon by the authorities. The bibli. given in the works below should be consulted, and in the work of Makris and Nakvog given below, there is reference to bibl. and analyses of 106 articles and books.

2. In Egypt.

The existence of the zar ritual has been recorded on the shores of the Red Sea from 1860 onward, then in the remainder of the country, especially in Upper Egypt, in Alexandria and in Cairo. Its introduction into the harems of Egyptian and Turkish pashas is attributed to Sudanese and Ethiopian slaves and concubines.

The ritual structure of the zar is very flexible, facilitating its adaptation to different social, cultural and religious circles. The adepts are mostly women—of any
age, civil or socio-economic status and education—and Muslim. Christians and men, primarily homosexuals, participate sporadically in the rites.

The Ẕar ritual has been transmitted and enriched the ancient belief in possession by jinni; these spirits, living in an invisible world and capable of anger and even of infatuation with a woman, enter her body and provoke a state of trance, a physical or mental illness, or various other problems. The spirits of the Ẕar, called “masters” (ayyûd), often grouped into families (of e.g. African, Egyptian, Turkish, European, Indian origin, etc.), are identified by name, sex, status or occupation (king, queen, soldier, physician, lawyer, schoolgirl, etc.), land of origin, place of residence (mountain, river, cemetery, mosque, the threshold of a house, etc.); religion (Muslim, Christian, Jewish, polytheist), clothing and ornamentation, colour, incense, an emotion or sentiment, and, finally, by songs and dances, foodstuffs and specific sacrificial animals (pigeon, chicken, sheep, calf, camel, etc.). These elements characterise and distinguish the spirits from one another and constitute the liturgy of the Ẕar.

Once possessed, the victim organises ceremonies for as long as she lives and in different places, with the aim of being reconciled with the spirits. The possessed person, called “bride” (‘arisa), under the guidance of the chief celebrant, known as kâdiya (a term of unknown origin) or tâhâ:dâ, concludes a pact of alliance with her “masters”, one after the other. The rite takes on the appearance of a marriage ceremony between the spirit and the adept, with the celebrant introducing at different times divination by dreams, called “discovery of traces” (kâdhi’ al-thâbir), the music and dance called “beating” (dakka) which accompany the trance, ablutions and fumigation with incense, the use of different ritual objects, the sacrifice of edible animals, and offerings of foodstuffs and ritual meals. Currently, the groupings of ritual music are “the Egyptian”, “the Sudanese” and a third which belongs to the Sûfî brotherhood of the master Abu l-Ghayth. The first is constituted by women who play drums and tambourines. The second is a mixed group that also includes dancers with a belt made from sheep-skin shoes (mandûra), and a leader who plays the lyre (mântûra), a sacred instrument, considered to be of African spirits. Finally, the Sûfî one is constituted by dancers with little castanets, long hair and the tān-nûra, a large swirling woman’s dress, and players of tambourines and flutes, who sing the praises of the Muslim saints.

The ritual structure reproduces the fundamental stages of a woman’s life such as marriage, maternity and birth. These are staged according to a process of transformation: the novice, starting as the spouse of the spirit, subsequently becomes a mother and then a newborn child: the animal changes from its position as substitute for the spirit to that of substitute for the novice; it is slaughtered and the different parts distributed between the novice, the celebrant and the persons invited (the blood is poured over the novice, the meat and the entrails are cooked and eaten). Furthermore, there are ceremonies which are part of an initiatory process whereby the adept can become a celebrant, by passing through various ritual stages which permit her to progress and which are underlined by the adoption of different titles.

The Egyptian Ẕar is not simply a therapeutic ritual; it is considered a religious ritual, and its celebrants and disciples are recognised as good Muslims. However, the spirituality of the Ẕar transcends religious, whether they be Muslim, Christian or Jewish, while recognising them and embracing them in its ritual. It is thus considered a ritual of actualisation and of manifestation of the “grace” (ba‘rak) of Allah.

The Ẕar, while presenting the syncratic elements of the recognised religions, is thus revealed to be a specific and uniquely feminine-orientated religious form. Hence, while popular and widely diffused among various countries, Ẕar is all too often misunderstood and opposed by men of religion, both orthodox and mystics, as well as by governments.

The religiosity of Ẕar is expressed in the form of the union, “of love”, between the “spouse of the Ẕar” (whether she be possessed or celebrant) and the spirits. This marital relationship is confined to the rites in the case of possessed, but becomes permanent in the case of celebrants. Renewal of the alliance pact takes place through the constant performance of the rites. Each one of the ensemble of rites comprises variations of the model ceremony according to the intervention of a different spirit linked to a specific place and demands the sacrifice of a particular animal. This initiatory process is the catalyst for the actualisation and organisation of the hierarchical universe of spirits and a particular cosmology, since Ẕar appeals not only to natural or zoomorphic spirits but also to other categories, including the Christian saints Jesus and Mary, the family of the Prophet, and Muslim saints or mystics.

The Egyptian Ẕar displays a complex structure comprising a series of repetitive ceremonies. The celebrant is the pivot of the system around which the ritual unfolds and without her the rites could not take place while, at the same time, as a former possessed initiate herself, she is the culmination of the ritual system.

The spirit of possession as thus defined shows that these ceremonies are only the links in a chain of initiation that leads from suffering to religious mastery. And this initiation is specifically feminine because any woman can, by successfully completing the ritual phases, become a kâdiya. The Ẕar is thus differentiated from other initiatory rites, such as the rites of Sûfî brotherhoods, where ascent to the highest ranks of the religious hierarchy is achieved by way of a hereditary, essentially masculine path.

known through its western type GiraIfa camelopardalis or cameleopard. In Antiquity, and according to all the ancient writers on natural history, the giraffe was considered as a hybrid coming from crossings of wild species of camels, bovines and felines, male or female, and because of its long front legs and short back ones, as involving a limping and jerky gait.

It is astonishing that al-Damiri makes no mention of the giraffe in his Hayat al-hayawan al-'ubrâ, nor does al-Kazwini in his 'Agâ'ib al-maghâli'dâtât; only al-Dîhîqî speaks of it, refuting and criticising all the beliefs assuming that this large, long-necked beast was a hybrid (Hayâsîn, Cairo 1947, i, 38, 241-3). In short, one may say that the Arabs hardly knew the giraffe and were uninterested in it; for them, its only asset was the beauty of its spotted coat, since they regarded it as stupid, and only localised it in Nubia.

In astronomy, the Giraffe is the name given to a secondary boreal constellation situated between that of the Waggoner (Munsik al-d'mn, Dhu 'l-`inân) and that of the Little Bear (al-Dubh al-zuhgr).


ZARAFSHÂN, conventionally ZARAFAST, a land-locked river of Central Asia, now coming within Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

In early Islamic times, it was known as “the river of Soghia”, Nahr Sughî [see OGHE] or “the river of Bukhârâ” (see al-Yâ'qûbî, Buldân, 293-34, tr. Wiet, 110-11; al-İşkârî, 319-21; Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramers, ii, 495-7; tr. Kramers and Wiet, i, 475-7; Hudîd al-dîlam, tr. Minorsky, 55, 73, comm. 198, 211). It flowed westwards from sources in what the geographers called the Buttâmân mountains, in fact, between what are now the east-west-lying ranges of the Turkistan mountains, separating the Zarafshân from the upper Sir Daryâ [p.v.] valley, and the Hissar mountains separating it from the rivers running southwards through Çağhânîyân [p.v.] to the upper Oxus. Its waters served a series of towns, from Pandjîkâh to Samarkand and Bukhârâ, and their agricultural areas, with a complex irrigation system for the Samarkand district beginning at the village of Waraghsar “head of the dam”; al-Yâ'qûbî says that the river was as important as the Euphrates. Ultimately, it petered out in marshes in the desert before it could reach the middle Oxus towards Khârazm.

The name Zarafshân “gold spreader” (the mountains around its headwaters being famed as auriferous and bearing many useful other metals in early Islamic times) only appears from the 18th century onwards. An earlier name corruptly given in the text of al-Yâ'qûbî, 293, tr. 111, was interpreted by Barthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion, 82, and then Marquart, Wehrot und Arang, 30, as Nîmik, to be compared with the Chinese rendering Na-mi, and Marquart went on to suggest an etymology from Iranian nîmik “faming”, citing the name for the river in Greek sources Νομίμης “highly honoured”; but all this remains speculation.

The mountain valleys where the Zarafshân rises have provided a refuge area for the Middle Iranian language, Yaghmobi [see IrAN, iii. Languages, in Suppl.].

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliph-
ZARANG — ZARF

mately, to Baghdad. But this period was short-lived, for the last Tahirid governor in Sistan, Ibrahim b. al-Hujayli-Khażr, had refounded Zarang in 239/854 to local qadhas, out of whom there emerged as amir in Zarang Ya’kūb b. al-Layth al-Saffār [q.v.].

For the next 150 years, till the Ghaznavid occupation of 393/1002, Zarang was the capital of the Safārids [q.v.], for the first part of this, of a vast empire in the Eastern Islamic world. In these years, Zarang reached a peak of prosperity. We have detailed descriptions of it from such 4th/10th century geographers as al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawkal and al-Mukaddadi, when the city was flourishing under the amirs Abū Dīja’far Ahmad and his son Khālaṣ. André Michel has used these to put together a picture of Zarang as a typical Islamic mir or provincial capital, having the institutions of government and commerce and being integrated with the agrarian economy of its hinterland; he estimates that the whole urban area may have been 10 km/6 miles across (La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu’au milieu du 11e siècle, iii, Le milieu naturel, Paris-The Hague 1980, 211-15). It appears to have been basically a concentric-patterned city on the Bagdād model, with the three-fold division of a rabād, suburb; a madīna or ḥashāṣṭān, town proper; and a kāla’ or arg, citadel. There were walls protecting both the rabād and the madīna, the latter one with five towers. The rabād was walled by Ya’kūb and Amr b. al-Layth respectively, and the madīna contained the citadel built by ‘Amr, housing his treasury, and also the Friday mosque and the government building or dār al-imāra. In a woodless and stoneless environment, the standard building material was sun-dried brick. There was a plentiful water supply brought by canals from the Hīlmand when that river had an adequate flow, and when its flow was small, it was possible to sail in a boat along the final stretch, the Sanārādh canal, up to the city itself. The surrounding agricultural area was rich, but the drawbacks were the scorching heat and the notorious “wind of 120 days” in spring and summer, which swept along the sand dunes so that barriers of brushwood, shrubs, etc., were necessary to protect the city’s buildings.

The city suffered considerably in the rising of 393/1003-4 aimed at the Ghaznavid conquerors of Sīstān, with the Friday mosque plundered by the Ghaznavid troops and many people slaughtered; but it revived to become the capital of the Nasrid mālik (421-622/1030-1225) and then of the Mihrahbānī dīnār (from 633/1236 onwards). The actual name Zarāng drops out of usage on coins and in literature around the mid-9th/11th century, to be replaced by locations like madīnat Sīstān and shahr-i Sīstān. It is assumed that the ancient Zarāng, whatever its current name, continued on the same site until Tūmīr’s sack of the Sīstān capital at the end of the 8th/14th century (see below). The Mongols had swept into Sīstān and reached Zarang in Dhū l-Qa’dā 619/December 1222, killing there the Nasrid mālik Nusrat al-Dīn b. Yāmīn al-Dīn Bahram Shāh, but it was Tūmīr’s devastations, in Shawwāl 789/November-December 1383, which finally finished Zarang/Shahr-i Sīstān; hence in 826/1422 the Mihrahbānī mālik Shams al-Dīn began the construction of a new capital, Shahr-i Sīstān, on a fresh site called ?B.rk or Mirāk “well away from the sand, and by the banks of the Hīlmand”, in the words of the local historian of Sīstān Malik Shāh ʿḤusayn.

Bibliography: See for the geographers, Marquart, Extrait, 37-9; Le Strange, The lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 353-8, and Husain al-Islam, tr. Minorsky, 110. For the general history of the city in both pre- and post-Islamic times, see C.E. Bosworth, Sīstān under the Arabs from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Safārids (30-250/651-864), Rome 1968, and idem, The history of the Safārids of Sīstān and the Malīks of Nīmruz (247/661 to 949/1542-3). Costa Mesa and New York 1994, indices, with full references; especially notable are Miguel, op. cit., and G.P. Tate, Sīstān, a memoir on the history, topography, races and people of the country, 4 parts, Calcutta 1910-12 (C.E. Bosworth).

ZARF [A., pl. zarif], lit. “vessel, container”, in grammar denotes a subset of nouns of place or time in the dependent (nāḥ, ʿulūg “accusative”) form indicating when or where the event occurs, e.g. ḡalastu yaṣṣam-ān waʿān-ān-hu “I sat one day behind him”. Because of their dependent form, the Arab grammarians classify them as objects of the verb, specifically as the “object of location”, ma’āṣī fīḥi, lit. “thing in which something is done”. Neither of the western terms “adverb” or “preposition” can properly be applied to these elements, whose noun status is confirmed by, amongst other things, the existence of diminutives such as ḥabaya and ṣuṣṣa “a little before”, “a little after”. The Greek origin of the term proposed by Merx in 1889 (angere “vessel” and Elamīnī-Jamal) is interesting but unconfident. Where zārīf in the technical sense can really be traced back to al-Khālī b. Ahmad (d. ca. 175/791 [q.v.]) likewise cannot be proved (cf. Talmon), though at least we can be certain that it was fully current by the time of Sībawayhī (d. ca. 180/796 [q.v.]).

There are two general limitations: (a) not all zārīf have the full range of nominal functions, e.g. mīdā “at”, ḡhāmā “there”, mēta “with” but none the indefinite form ma’an “together”), which makes them appear misleadingly similar to our adverbs and prepositions, and (b) nouns denoting a particular place (whether proper names or defined by the article) cannot normally function as zārīf: ḡalāṣṭu ʾl-bayta “I went [into] the house” or ḡhāmāh ḡhāmā “I went [to] Syria” are tolerated only as extensions of standard usage (ṣafāt al-kalām). This second limitation is probably universally arising, from the essential difference between what Sībawayhī calls a “point” in time (wakt fi ‘l-azmān) and a “point” in space (wakt fi ‘l-amkān) in his discussion of this topic (Kitāb, ed. Deroeis, i, 12, ed. Bułāk, 16). There was also considerable debate among the grammarians as to whether locative phrases can be predicates in verbless sentences, the consensus being that sentences of the type zaṭāḍa ʿinda “Zayd is with you” presuppose an elided verb or participle such as yasakir/mustakirin “is situated”.

ZARIF (A.), pi. zurafd', denotes in mediaeval Islamic social and literary life a person endowed with zarif "elegance", "refinement", also translatable as "man of the world", "dandy", or, in the plural, "refined people.

The zarif (or mutazarrif) is generally considered as a type of adab, indeed tazarrif is viewed as an intensification of certain features, intellectual, literary, social, and personal, that are held to characterise the man of adab [q.v.]. Interestingly, zarif was not deemed gender-specific. Ibn al-Washsha', ed. Brünnow, 42. The first exponent of zarif as an individual who combined the literary and social dictates of refinement is held to be al-`Abbas b. al-Ahnaf (d. in the first decade of the 9th century A.D. [q.v.]), although attempts to read his divān as a summa of tazarrif are inconclusive and unconvincing, as are attempts to identify an emergent concept of zarif in the early Islamic period. Ibn al-Washsha', op. cit., 30, for example, presents al-`Abbas in a negative and foolish light, which is not what one would expect from a supposedly anachronistic codification of a defunct socio-ethical ideal based on the character of al-`Abbas as paradigmatic of that ideal.

Ibn al-Washsha's work is to be viewed as part of the current that culminated in the Aristotelian ethics of the Tadhkhirah al-isgāt, an attempt to harmonise an 'Abbasid vision of pre-Islamic marwasa [q.v.], adab and zarif within an encompassing Islamic aesthetic; as such it is distinct from an exclusively and rigorously hadīth-summa-based ethic, such as that promoted, for example, by al-Bukhari. The K. al-zahra of Ibn Dāwūd endeavours to strike a balance between the two visions of an Islamic ethic. It is controversial to attempt to extrapolate theories of social stratification, class mobility, humanism or individuality from such texts, as they argue for and present visions of an Islamic order which are often in competition, but which were also often received in combination (see e.g. Bauer, Raffinement und Frömigkeit).


(J.E. Montgomery)

AL-ZARKA', conventionally Zarka or Zerka, a city of modern Jordan, situated 23 km/15 miles to the northeast of the capital 'Amman (lat. 32° 04' N., long. 36° 06' E., altitude 619 m/2,030 feet). It lies on a plateau between the desert and intersected by various small valleys which, in the winter, pour water into the Zarka river, the main east-bank tributary of the Jordan after the Yarmuk river. The site is also known for its underground water and springs, recognised by mediaeval geographers and travellers, and Pilgrimage caravans used to halt there to replenish their water supplies.

There does not seem to have been any settlement there in the Manūbī and early Ottoman periods, although a Kāṣr Shāhīb al-Tubba'ı (a person about whom nothing is known) is mentioned there, and this Kāṣr was restored and fortified by the Ottoman authorities in 1899 and garrisoned by their troops as protection against Bedouin marauders. In 1903, some 66 Čečen families, refugees from the Caucasus, were settled there, and subsequently, some Circassians. The small community was surrounded by a wall against Bedouin of the Hasan, Šakhir, Ruwala and Sharārt tribes. In 1910 nomads of the region took part in the rebellion against the Ottomans [see al-URDUUN. 2. History (b)]. The Hijāz railway passed through al-Zarka', with a station there. During the First World War, it was a communications and supply centre for the Ottoman army, but was occupied by the British in 1917. During 1918-20 it came within the Sharif Faysal b. al-Husayn's amirate based on Damascus, and from 1921 came within the new state of Transjordan under his elder brother Amīr, later King, 'Abd Allāh.

The new administration in 1926 chose al-Zarka' to be the headquarters of the border force, so that security was established in the region. Military and administrative personnel began to arrive there, together with people from outside the country, including some arriving after the 1925 Druze revolt against the French mandatory power in Syria, and in the wake of the discovery of phosphates in the region. Christian immigration included Armenians, and in 1949 there also arrived 800 Palestinians, so that al-Zarka' became a town of significance. It has continued to expand, with a population in 1996 of 585,000 and with several industries, including an oil refinery.


(M.A. AL-BAKHIT)

ZARKA AL-YAMAMA, lit. "the blue-eyed woman of Yamama", a semi-legendary figure of early Arabic lore. She was endowed with such piercing eyesight that she could descry an object some thirty miles away, hence the proverb ābūrū min Zarika al-Yamama.

She belonged to the tribe of Tasm [q.v.], but was married to a member of the sister tribe Dżadis. After the massacre of the former by the latter, a survivor, her brother, invoked the aid of the South Arabian king Ḥassān, who marched against Dżadis in Yamama. Although Ḥassān's army was camouflaged with leafy branches (cf. the march of Birnam Wood in Shakes-
peare's Macbeth, Zarka* caught sight of it and warned Djadfs, but they did not believe her, whereupon Hashân fell upon them unawares and massacred them. He captured Zarka*, gouged out her eyes, and found the veins of her eyes treated with antimony. He then crushed her on the gate of Djaww al-Yamama. The princess of al-Hilâ, Hind bt. al-Nu...
Tables, and Andalusi science, in D.A. King and G. Saliba (eds.), *From deferent to equant*, New York 1987, 373-401; R. Mercier, Astronomical tables in the twelfth century, in C. Burnett (ed.), *Adelard of Bath. An English scientist and Arabist of the early twelfth century*, London 1987, 104-12. In them, the mean motion tables are original and the result of observations, the parameter for the solar mean motion was not altered in Ibn al-Zarkallūh’s later works and it reappeared in the Andalusi-Maghribī school of *zhīg* which begins with Ibn Ishākh [see zhīg]. Šā’d does not mention these tables, although they had been completed before the writing of the *Tabakāt* (460/1070; Abū Mārwān al-İstiddījī quotes repeatedly “our corrected *zhīg* (*žīgāna al-musahhabh*) in his *Risāla fi li-tayyirāt wa-tadbirihā al-ghaḏāt* (ms. Escorial 939) dedicated to Šā’d from Cuenca.

(i) The *Almanac*, which has been preserved in Arabic, Latin and in an Alfonsine translation (Millas, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid-Granada 1943-50, 72-237; M. Boujou, *The Almanac of Azarquiel*, in *Centaurus*, xii [1967], 12-19, repr. in E.S. Kennedy et al., *Studies in the Islamic exact sciences*, Beirut 1983, 502-10), is based on a Greek work computed by a certain Awmātīyūs in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., although the solar tables seem to be the result of the Toledo observations, and its purpose is to simplify the computation of planetary longitudes; for that purpose, Babylonian planetary cycles (“goal years”) are used. After the completion of one of these cycles, the longitudes of a given planet will be the same on the same dates of the year as at the beginning of the cycle. Perpetual almanacs seem to be characteristic of Andalusian astronomy, and they were also used in the Maghrib and in medieval Spain.

3. Astronomical theory.

(a) A lost work in which he summarises his twenty-five years of solar observations and which was probably written between 467/1270-5. Its title was either *Fi sanat al-zāmāni* (“On the solar year”) or *al-Risāla al-dajmīma fi l-zāmānī* (“Comprehensive epistle on the Sun”). Its contents are known through secondary sources, both Arabic and Latin (Toomer, *The solar theory of az-Zarqālī*. A history of errors, in *Centaurus*, xiv [1969], 306-36; idem, *The solar theory of az-Zarqālī. An Epilogue*, in *King and Saliba* (eds.), *From deferent to equant*, 513-19; Samsō, *Iśl. astr.*, no. X). In it, Ibn al-Zarkallūh established that the solar apogee had its own motion of about \(1° \) in 279 Julian years, and he designed a solar model with variable eccentricity which became extremely influential both in the Maghrib and in Latin Europe until the time of Copernicus [see Šamsō].


(J. Samsō)

**AL-ZARKALLUH** [see AL-ZARKALI].

**AL-ZARNUDJI.** Burāq al-Dīn, Muslim scholar and traditionist, probably from eastern Persia, who in the late 6th/12th or early 7th/13th century composed a popular treatise on educational etiquette and ethics.

Very little is certain about him; not even his *īmān* is known, and his period can only be approximately stated. W. Ahlwardt in the *Berlin Catalogue* under no. 111 estimated that he compiled about 820/1223, but the correct date may be slightly earlier. The various authorities cited in his treatise *Ṭebīl al-maṭadālīm* suggest that al-Zarnūdji lived and wrote at the end of the 6th/12th or the beginning of the 7th/13th century. For example, he several times identifies Burhān al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Abī Bakr al-Farghānī al-Marghānī [q.v.], author of *Huḍaya*, an important Hāfiz textbook, as his teacher; his comments make it clear that he was writing after al-Marghānī’s death in 593/1197. He also names as his teacher Fāhr al-‘Iṣlām al-Ḥasan b. Mansūr al-Farghānī Kādirkhand [q.v.], who died in 592/1196. In another passage he records that the Shaykh Zahir al-Dīn al-Ḥasan b. ‘Alī al-Marghānī [q.v.] recited verses before him; al-Ḥasan had himself been the teacher of both Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghānī and Kādirkhand. He further tells us that he heard a story from Shaykh Fāhr al-Dīn al-Kāshānī; the reference is almost certainly to Abī Bakr Mas‘ūd b. Ahmad (d. 597/1191); see Bückelmann, *GAL*, p. 465). Finally, he tells us that Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, known as Imām Khāzhariqāda, recited something to him; this probably refers to a *mauff* of Būkhārī who died in 573/1177-8 (see von Gruenefeld and Abel, 60). If we take all these data together, we come to the conclusion that al-Zarnūdji may have flourished a little earlier than Ahlwardt thought, but his work was certainly composed after 593/1197.
Al-Zarnuji’s only known work, Təllîm al-mu'aṣṣallīm tarık al-təllîm “Teaching the learner the method/way of learning”, was one of the most popular examples concerning the physical and mental conditions necessary for successful study, the manner of instruction, attitudes to the written and spoken word, and especially the ideal character of the teacher-student relationship.

There were a number of late medieval commentaries on the Təllîm al-mu'aṣṣallīm; on them, see Brockelmann, GIL, I, 606, S 1, 837. The text itself was printed in Leipzig in 1838, in Cairo in 1311/1893-4, and in several modern editions. It was translated into English by G.E. von Grunebaum and Theodora M. Abel, Instruction of the student: the method of learning, New York 1947, and into Spanish by Olga Kattan, Instrucción del estudiante: el método de aprender, Madrid 1991.

**Bibliography:** In addition to the editions cited in the text, see M.A. Khan, *The Muslim theories of education during the Middle Ages*, Oxford 1944, 418-33; J. Berkey, *The transmission of knowledge in medieval Cairo*. A social history of Islamic education, *Princeton* 1992. (C.E. Bosworth-[J.P. Berkey])

**ZARWÊNYA** [see MAQDUŠ].

**ZÅTÅ** [see DAŞÅ].

**ZÅTLÅ (SULAYMÅNÅ)** [see SULAYMÅN DAŞÅ, in SUPPÅ].

**ZÅWA**, a district and town of Khûrsân. The town (modern Turbat-i Haydär or Haydariyya, see below) is some 140 km/88 miles south of Mashhad on the road to Gunâbâd and lies at an altitude of approximately 1,280/4,200 feet (lat. 35° 16' N., long. 59° 08' E.). Al-Mu'addasåti, 319 n. a, describes it as being just a rural district with no town, but Yaqût, *Balådår*, ed. Beirut, iii, 128, names its kasābah as Rûkhîk or Rûkâ. In the Khûrsânïd times, the town of Zâwa seems to have flourished, with 50 villages dependent on it, producing silk and fruits (Mustawfi, *Nûza*, ed. Le Strange, 154, tr. 152; Hâfiz-ı Âbrü, ed. D. Krawulsky, *Horâsdân zur Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1982, text 41). Its rise must have been at least in part connected with the haraka and the shrine of a local gūbâ, Kubâ al-Dîn Haydâr (d. 630/1232), founder of the Haydariyya dervish order. Ibn Bâjiya visited Zâwa and noted the ascetic practices of the Haydariyya, including loading their limbs with iron rings and infibilation of the penis (*Riḥḑa*, iii, 79-80, tr. Gibb, iii, 583; cf. J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 39). Presumably after this time dates the transformation of the town’s name to its contemporary one, Turbat-i Haydär, the shrine there—a brick-built mausoleum of the saint—being still venerated. In ca. 1950 it had a population of 2,354, which had risen by 1991 to 81,781.


**ZÅWÅKÅL** (v.), a shadowy group of Arab brigands and mercenaries active in al-Šâm and the al-Djazîrâ (see) during the ‘Abbâsid period (the etymology of the designation is unclear: the Arabic verb za’awâla means “to let the two ends of a turban hang down from one’s shoulders”).

Although most of the za’awâl known by name hail from Kaysî tribes (see), for example, with the famous Naṣr b. Shâbatâ (see). As one of the leaders of the za’awâl during the Fourth Civil War between al-Amm and al-Mawmûn (al-Tabârî, iii, 843). He began his career as an escaped convict—as a soldier he had murdered his commander—and then took to brigandage in southern al-Šâm (Michael the Syrian, 491/iii, 21). The ‘Abbâsid authorities certainly saw the za’awâl as social flotsam: al-Mawmûn’s letter to Naṣr derides the latter’s followers as coming “from the near and distant corners of the lands, with their scum and worst of thieves and mercenaries who have rallied to your side and those whose land has spewed forth, or whose tribe has expelled because of their bad reputation within it” (al-Tabârî, iii, 1070-1; tr. C.E. Bosworth, *The History of al-Tabârî*, xxxiii, The reunification of the ‘Abbâsid caliphate, Albany 1987, 141-2).

The za’awâl are first mentioned in connection with the revolt of the Kaysî notable Abu Zayd al-Murri in and around Damascus in 176/7/1792. In the Kaysî-Yamman factionalism preceding the revolt, a group of Kaysî tribesmen enlisted the aid of the za’awâl and “a group of mawwâlî of Kuraysh” to exact revenge for a slain kinsman. During the revolt itself, these za’awâl fought on the side of the Kaysîyya against the Yammanis and the ‘Abbâsid authorities (Ibn ‘Asakîr, *Ta’rîkh masdînî Dâmajî*, ed. ‘Arîwâ, Beirut 1995, xxvii, 66). One of their leaders was a Da’lama b. ‘Abd Allâh, who had been one of a triumvirate of bandit leaders in southern al-Šâm (ibid., vii, 162). Shortly after the revolt, za’awâl are mentioned in 180/796-7 as participants in another explosion of tribal factionalism in al-Šâm, which was summarily suppressed by Da’lama b. Yaqût-Îbîr b. ‘Abdîr-Îbîr al-Barmakî (al-Tabârî, iii, 639).

As might be expected, the collapse of central authority in al-Šâm and the west with the death of al-Raṣîld and the accession of al-Mawmûn in 193/809 provided an ideal context in which the za’awâl could achieve a degree of local autonomy or could otherwise derive profit. In the early years of al-Mawmûn’s reign, the za’awâl leaders Naṣr b. Shâbatâ and al-‘Abbâs b. Zafar terrorised the region around Kurus/ Cyrrhus and co-operated against mutual rivals. One of the latter was the Kaysî ‘Uthmân b. Thumâma from the region of Kinnarîn, who later joined Naṣr. At Aleppo, the descendants of the ‘Abbâsid noble Sâlih b. ‘Alî called upon Naṣr, al-‘Abbâs and their followers to put down a rebellion of Yammanî tribesmen of Tanûkh (al-Ya’kûbî, ii, 541; al-Balâdîrî, *Fâthîb*, 145-6; Michael the Syrian, 497/iii, 31).

Groups of za’awâl (under ‘Amr b. ‘Abd al-‘Azîz al-Sulâmî) turn up as mercenaries yet again in 195/811 during the revolt of the Umayyad pretender Abu al-‘Umayîr al-Sulâmî against the local governor in
Damascus (Michael the Syrian, 491/iii, 21-2; Ibn Manzur, Mukhtasar ta'rikh Dimashq, ed. A. Murâd, Damascus 1984, xviii, 111-12). In this conflict, the zawdkil or the other Syro-Djazfran troops, and, on the other, the Al-Ma'mûn's loyal troops from the Abnâ' [q.v.] and the al Khuräsan. According to the account of al-Taban, the fighting broke out because one of the Abnâ' had been among the 'Abbasîd troops defeated during Abu l-Imaytir's revolt in Damascus, and he recognised his horse among those of the zawakil assembled in al-Rakka. In the ensuing mêlée, the zawakil and their Syrian companions were routed; many fled back to their homes (al-Taban, iii, 842-5).

After the accession of al-Ma'mûn, the fate of the zawakil becomes more obscure, compounded by the tendency of some authors to use the name as a term for brigands and mercenaries in general. After the débâcle at al-Rakka, some of the zawakil stayed on with Nasr b. Shabath in his stronghold of Kaysum, all responding to al-Amîn's call for irregular troops to assist him in his conflict against his brother al-Ma'mûn. It was here that a conflict broke out between, on the one hand, the zawakil and the other Syro-Djazfran troops, and, on the other, the Al-Ma'mûn's loyal troops from the Abnâ' [q.v.] and the al Khuräsan. According to the account of al-Taban, the fighting broke out because one of the Abnâ' had been among the 'Abbasîd troops defeated during Abu l-Imaytir's revolt in Damascus, and he recognised his horse among those of the zawakil assembled in al-Rakka. In the ensuing mêlée, the zawakil and their Syrian companions were routed; many fled back to their homes (al-Taban, iii, 842-5).

The final fate of the Syro-Djazfran brigand group or the zawakil is not clear, though it is known that the zawakil were soon co-opted by the state, finding a niche in the 'Abbasîd military. Indeed, Nasr's defeated followers were absorbed into the army of the victorious general 'Abd Allâh b. Tâhir and accompanied him to Khuräsan, where they were decimated in battle in 213/828 (al-'Azmîf, Ta'nkh Halab, 384; 461/1068-9, i, 536-7), but the relationship of the latter to the Al-Ma'mûn's loyal troops from the Abnâ' is still unclear.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see I. 'Abbâs, Ta'rikh idâsal-Shâm fi l'tar al-'abbâsî, 'Ammân 1993; P.M. Cobb, White banners. Contention in Abbadid Syria, 750-880, Albany 2001, index at 221. (P.M. Conn)

ZAWARA, a small town in Persia lying some 15 km/9 miles to the northeast of Ardistan, on the southwestern edge of the central desert of the Daft-i Kawrâ (long 32° 25' E lat. 33° 30' N). It falls administratively within the uštân or province of Isfahan and is the chef-lieu of a canton or dâstân. In ca. 1951 it had a population of 5,400; and according to the census of 1375/1996-7, one at that time of 7,710, representing 1,911 households. This small and isolated place has played no role in wider Persian history, but is of significance for its surviving architecture. It clearly enjoyed prosperity and a local importance in Saljûq and Il-Khânîd times, attested by two monuments there. The Maşqûd-i Pâ (maxûd), or mosque, was restored, and a minaret built for it, according to a inscription, on the latter from 461/1068-9, the time of Alp Arslan, by a local patron. The Friday mosque, from 530/1135, i.e. the reign of Ma'sûd b. Muhammad, provides the first dated example of a mosque with a central courtyard and four iwâns [q.v.].


AL-ZAWÄWĪ [see Ibn Mu'tī']

ZAWDJ [a. pl. auszawdî], basically “two draught animals yoked together”, from which, in both literary and dialectal Arabic usage, a number of senses have developed, including “piece of land which a yoked pair of beasts can plough in a determined time”, “two things”, “pair, couple”, from which verbal forms have also developed. At the side of “one part of a pair”, “half of a couple” (especially “spouse”, and often with the fem. ending -at “wife”), the significance “couple, pair”, though rejected by the purists, is attested from mediaeval Islamic times onwards, and the co-existence of the two concepts is frequent in most varieties of Arabic.

1. Etymology and early usage.

Although the classical philologists and lexicographers were convinced that it was a pure Arabic word, no Semitic parallel forms exist, and there is no doubt that zuwaq stems from Grk. zeugos “yoke”, probably via Aramaic; from this last, the word passed also into Rabbinical Hebrew, Ethiopic and Syriac. The word is thus distantly cognate with Skr. jagam, Lat. jugum, Ger. Joch, Eng. yoke, Fr. joug, etc. It must have been an early entry into Arabic, since it appears in pre-Islamic poetry, e.g. in al-Harâbî’s Dhu ‘1-Rumma. In the Qur’an the word zuwaq/zawaja is clearly a later loan-word, but seems to have taken place by the end of the first century A.H., since zawaja “wife” is found in the poetry of al-Farazdak and Abu l-Rumma.


2. Usage in the dialects of the Muslim West.

Whilst in numerous Eastern dialects, the metathesised form ðawwâq (hence a homonym of the loan from Arabic zuwaq) occurs, it is attested in the Yamâni dialect of Yemen as Zawáwî, a word of southern origin (perhaps representing a local Arabic loan) which is used by the Bedouins of the Aal-Hashim. This small and isolated place has played no role in wider Persian history, but is of significance for its surviving architecture. It clearly enjoyed prosperity and a local importance in Saljûq and Il-Khânîd times, attested by two monuments there. The Maşqûd-i Pâ (maxûd), or mosque, was restored, and a minaret built for it, according to an inscription, on the latter from 461/1068-9, the time of Alp Arslan, by a local patron. The Friday mosque, from 530/1135, i.e. the reign of Ma’sûd b. Muhammad, provides the first dated example of a mosque with a central courtyard and four iwâns [q.v.].

Persian *gawz* ("nut") is used for "spouse" and "pair," in the Maghrib the form is without metathesis but often has assimilation of the voiced post-sibilant fricative and the voiced alveolar fricative, which may be regressive: *zialq* and variants (esp. in the west: Morocco), or progressive (*ziż* and variants (esp. in the east: Tunisia, Libya). In numerous dialects, especially the urban ones of Algeria and Morocco, and for a long time back (as attested in mediaeval Maghribi, Andalusí and Sicilian Arabic, and also in Maltese), this form serves as a cardinal number "two." But in none of these has it completely eliminated the old *thmaw*, the only word used when enumerating the cardinal numbers ("one, two, three . . .") and also the word appearing almost always in the composed numeral forms (a form like *juy u khamsin* "52" is rare, if not indeed exceptional). *zialq* "two" (sometimes in the diminutive, *zialqa*) is attested, either alone or at the side of *thmaw* in dialects which have kept alive usage of the dual (and where its use often therefore serves to reinforce the dual), and alone in those which have only a "pseudo-dual"; it seems that there is a linkage between the disappearance of the dual and the replacement of *thmaw* by *zialq*.

The syntagm associating the noun of the object counted with the cardinal number has two constructions (which may be mutually exclusive or co-exist, according to two different dialects): (a) *zialq* + pl. noun and (b) *zialq* + particle (d, yál, etc.) + def. article + pl. noun (each of these constructions has a variant where the noun is in the sing., for certain types of collectives, or for certain units of measure, of money, etc.). In Maltese, there is a third construction in which the cardinal number assumes a special form when standing in the construct state (*zialqi*). In all the dialects concerned, the sense of "pair" remains in general for "zialq"; it is sometimes distinguished from that of "two" by a special form in -a or by the diminutive *zialqa*, but the plural remains in that case that of *zialq*. The choice between collective or pl. in the noun of the object counted, or the use of the dual or pl. of *zialq*, in some cases allows one to get round the ambiguities of "two," "pair," "element of a pair." Thus in La Chebba, Tunisia, one finds *ziż klaṣt* or *ziż klaṣ* "a pair of socks." Finally, one should note that some dialects (mainly Algerian, it seems) have made an ordinal number out of *zialq*, sc. *zialq * (La Saoura), *zialqa* "second.*

**Bibliography:** For the forms, usages and constructions of *zialq* "two," this article has used the well-documented monograph of K. Morth, *Die Kardinalzahlwörter von eins bis zehn in den neuarabischen Dialekten*, Vienna 1997, 25, 33-5, 138-49, 212-13 and map 6, and 302 sections b and i. For older attestations, see J. Blau, The emergence and linguistic background of JudAO-Arabic, Jerusalem 1981, 117; F. Corriente, A grammatical sketch of the Spanish Arabic dialect bundle, Madrid 1977, 88. (J. Larmor 3. Usage in the dialects of the Muslim East [see Suppl.].

**ZAWI b. ZIRI** b. Manâd al-Sanâhâdi, the Berber founder of an independent taifa (*tâṣifa* [see MELK AL-TAWâ'IR, 2]) or principality in Granada at the time of the dismemberment of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova and its first ruler (403-10/1013-19).

The Zirids, who belonged to the Tâkalâta, the most important tribe of the Sanâhâdi [q.v.], had settled in the area between Irikiya and the central Maghrib. Zawi and his followers, including the two sons of his brother Mâksân, were among the prominent Berbers in North Africa who were invited by the 'Âmirid *hâdîb* of Cordova, 'Abd al-Malik al-Muẓaffar [q.v.], to join him in his perennial campaigns against the Christians of northern Spain. Al-Muẓaffar's father al-Mansûr, however, had his own misgivings about Zawi, who was reputed to be cunning, shrewd and troublesome.

After the fall of the 'Âmirids and the outbreak of civil strife in al-Andalus, Zawi is said to have contemplated returning to North Africa but changed his mind when the people of Elvira sought his protection. In fact, the Zirids played a decisive role in the course of events, and it was largely thanks to Zawi that the Umayyad Sulaymân al-Mustâ'în was proclaimed caliph (Rabî' I 400/November 1008). If Zawi had really intended to leave al-Andalus, one may well ask why he had stayed behind for eight years and taken such an active part (Ibn Hayyân describes Zawi as "the spark that kindled the civil war after the 'Âmirid dynasty") in events which secured for his people the rich province of Elvira.

It was the Berbers who had forced Sulaymân to divide between them the southern districts of al-Andalus and, consequently, the province of Elvira fell to Zawi and his kinsmen. It is most unlikely that Zawi's arrival in Elvira was, as claimed by the last Zirid amir of Granada (Tîhânî, 59, tr. 45), in response to an invitation from the Elvirans, who had recently suffered so much at his hands. The Elvirans probably had no say in the matter. It is more likely that, prior to Sulaymân's re-entry into Cordova (403/1013), Zawi had already established himself in Elvira and Sulaymân had to accept that as a fait accompli.

Aware of the bitter hostility of the Andalusians to the Berbers, Zawi suggested that the people of Elvira move to the nearby, and more defensible mountain fortress of Granada. Soon after, the Andalusians, led by the newly-proclaimed Umayyad caliph al-Murtada, launched an assault but were routed just outside Granada, almost six years after Zawi had settled there. The Zirids' victory was swift and decisive, thanks mainly to the defection from al-Murtada's ranks of the 'Âmirid Khayrân of Almeria and of al-Mundhir b. Yahya of Saragoge.

Shortly after his victory, however, Zawi surprisingly decided to return to Irikiya, prompted no doubt by his keen awareness of the Andalusians' hostility and their numerical superiority. Moreover, he aspired to the throne of Kayrawân, whose occupant at the time was an eight-year-old Zirid, al-Mu'izz b. Badîs [q.v.], a great grandson of Zawi's brother Balûqgîn. Ibn Hayyân also mentions Zawi's obsessive fear that the Zanâta Berbers, traditional foes of the Sanâhâdi, might join forces with the Andalusians against the Zirids, hence Zawi's description of the Zanâta as "the real enemies" (Ibn Basîm, *Dhakhira*, i/1, 402; Ibn al-Khatîb, *A'mâl*, 131).

Zawi, who was born and brought up in North Africa, must have felt isolated and insecure throughout his 18-year sojourn in al-Andalus, and it is not surprising that his thoughts should turn to his native land. Furthermore, the situation in North Africa had completely changed since his arrival in al-Andalus in 392/1002; the Fâṭimid caliphs had moved from Irikiya to Egypt; the Zanâta ruler of Fas, Ziri b. 'Aliyya, could no longer count on Umayyad support; and the internecine struggle, raging since 409/1014 between the Zirids of Irikiya [q.v.] and their kinsmen the Hammâdids of al-Kâl'a [q.v.], had exhausted both sides.

Zawi left Almûnakkab (al-Munakkab) for Irikiya some
time in 410/1019-20, with the consent of al-Mu'izz who is said to have come out in person to greet him. At least initially, Zawi's kinsmen in Kaysrawan seemed to welcome his return, since they badly needed someone of his age and calibre to head the Zirid house and fill the vacuum left by the death of al-Mu'izz's father. There were those amongst al-Mu'izz's ważūn, however, who regarded "the accession of the child al-Mu'izz... over whom they had not a scrap of authority.

Someone was therefore hired to administer poison to Mu'izz. . . ., over whom they had control, prefer-

able to surrendering power to a shrewd character like Zawi, over whom they had not a scrap of authority. Someone was therefore hired to administer poison to the sultan Abu '1-Hasan cAlf (r. 731-49/1331-48) ordered a zawiya in

nor does it does not give the date of his death; Zawf, who died in that country" (Tibydn, 64, tr. 51).

Ibn Hayyān says that Zawi died in Kayrawān of the plague but does not give the date of his death; nor does amīr 'Abd Allāh in the Tibyān.


ZWĀLĪA, the mediaeval Islamic capital of the Fazzān [q.v.], today south-western Libya (lat. 26° 17' N., long. 13° 06' E.). Zawila (Zuwayla) was established probably in the early 2nd/8th century. It did not yet exist in 46/666-7 when the Arab conqueror 'Ukba b. Nāfi' [q.v.] passed by the site, but had a century later become the centre of the region. It was then dominated by Hawwāra Berbers, predominantly Ibadīs.

After he had crushed the first Ibadī state in Tripoliitania, the 'Abbasīd general Muḥammad b. al-Aslām al-Kuwaytī sent a force to Zawila. It fell in 457/762-3 and its leader 'Abd Allāh b. Hayyān al-Ibadī was killed. However, Zawila remained an Ibadī centre. During the Rustamid period, it was partly under the control of Tāhār, but on the periphery of their influence. Thus both the Wahībī and other Ibadī currents (in particular the Kḥalāfiyya [q.v.]) coexisted in the town. In 306/918-19, after the fall of Tāhār [q.v.], the Banū Khaṭṭāb established an independent Ibadī dynasty that lasted until the 6th/12th century. During at least part of the mediaeval period, the Fazzān was divided into two. The western region was then a separate polity dominated by the older capital Dārra (Garama), while the eastern and probably the richest part had Zawila as its capital. Both followed the Ibadīyya [q.v.].

Zawila was a prosperous town, with ample irrigation producing dates and vegetables. It had in the 5th century inhabitants from Khafrān, Buraq and other remote regions, and a lively Ibadī scholarship. The basis of its economy was the trans-Saharan trade through Kawar to the Lake Chad region, in particular to Kanem. The main trade item was slaves, but also other goods contributed to its prosperity. Zawila also produced a special leather called zawila. Besides the Berber majority, there was a smaller free population of Sudanic origin, either Teda [see属] or (proto-)Kanuri speakers. The Fātimids recruited a corps of zawila soldiers from this group (hence the Bāb Zawyla in their capital al-Mahdiyya and later in Cairo).

From the 5th/11th century, raiders from the Sudanic state of Kanem [q.v.] started to appear. The Banū Khaṭṭāb dynasty was ended in 572/1176-7, when an Armenian manmālik, Şhārāf al-Dīn Kitārkhān [q.v.] came from Egypt and conquered Zawila and the Fazzān, passing on to Tripoliitania. In the chaotic period that followed, Kanem increased its hold, and had by the end of the century taken effective control of the Fazzān. The rulers of Kanem established their own capital in Trāghān a few miles west of Zawila.

Kanem retained control throughout the 7th/13th century, but later their governors broke free and established an independent dynasty, the Banū Nasūr. In the early 9th/15th century, the province came under the (perhaps fluctuating) domination of the Ḥafṣids of Tripoli, and the capital was probably returned to Zawila. At the same time, troubles in Kanem led to a reduction of the trans-Saharan trade that the town lived on. When trade later started to pick up, Zawila had lost its rank of capital and trade centre. In the first half of the 10th/16th century, the Awlīd Muḥammad dynasty took political power in Fazzān. They built a new capital at Murzuq [q.v.], slightly west of Zawila. Trade now went there, and Zawila soon thereafter declined into obscurity.


ZĂWIYA (pl. zăwāyā), lit. "corner, nook [of a building]", originally the cell of a Christian monk and then, in the Islamic context, a small mosque, oratory or prayer room. In late mediaeval times, particularly in North Africa (see 2. below), the term came to designate a building designed to house and feed travellers and members of a local Šūfī brotherhood.

1. Architecture.

In plan, these buildings often comprised cells arranged around a courtyard. Both form and decoration resemble those used in other communal institutions such as the madrasa, and without epigraphic or textual evidence, it can be difficult to distinguish a zăwīya from another type of building. For example, a ruined building discovered at 'Ayn Karwash in Morocco was first thought to be a house but then identified as either a madrasa or zăwīya.

Zăwīyas were often constructed around the tomb of the founder. As the number of disciples increased, the units were incorporated into larger complexes that not only provided space for teaching and accommodation for the devotees but also served as centres of pilgrimage, gathering, and retreat for the community at large. By nature agglomerative, these popular shrines were often restored and rebuilt.

Zăwīyas were introduced to Morocco under the Marinids (614/869-1217-1465 [q.v.]). The sultan Abu l-Hasan 'Alī (r. 751-49/1351-48) ordered a zăwīya in
the family necropolis known as Chella (Ar. Shalla), south of Rabat on the site of the Roman outpost of Sala Colonia. Now ruined, the complex was a rectangular block (44 x 29 m) comprising a mosque, minaret, and several tombs, as well as the za'wiya proper in the northern third. Reached down a flight of steps, the two-story za'wiya was set around a large pool with fountains. Galleries on the long sides gave access to cells. On the east, or kibla end, was a sanctuary; facing it on the west was another hall and a small tiled minaret. Although the building is commonly identified as a za'wiya, the term is not used epigraphically.

Minarets of za'wiyas were often included in a za'wiya, the terracedhypogea of Abu l-'Hasan's son and successor Abu 'Inan Fâris (r. 749-59/1348-58) built the za'wiyat al-nustâk outside Salé. Excavations have revealed an unusually spacious plan, but that remains is a door.

Za'wiyas became more common and more elaborate in Morocco under the patronage of the Sa'did (916-1069/1510-1659) and 'Alawi (1041-1631) sharifs, descendants of the Prophet who often allied themselves with local religious fraternities. The largest and finest za'wiyas were those endowed by rulers, such as the complex built in Marrakesh in the mid-16th/17th century for the shaikh al-Dâjjûli (d. 860/1456). His followers had been instrumental in bringing the Sa'did power, and al-Dâjjûli became one of the seven patron saints (sâhibû naflî [q.v.]) of the city. His za'wiya is a large, irregularly-shaped complex set around a court (Blair and Bloom, fig. 923). It includes a mosque, the saint's tomb, a cemetery for his followers, a school with a fountain, a residence for the superintendent who also served as leader of the order, a hospice for pilgrims and members of the order, ablution facilities and a bath across the street. These shrines were often recipients of lavish fittings and devotional objects including silken tomb covers and pilgrimage banners and illustrated prayer books (ibid., figs. 331, 332).

Za'wiyas appeared in Tunisia during the period of Hafsid rule (627-982/1229-1574). The oldest is thought to be in Kayrawân. The za'wiyas of Sidi Sahîb (also known as the Mosque of the Barber), for example, was founded in the 8th/14th century around the grave of the Prophet's companion Abu l-Balawf but reconstructed in the 11th/17th century (ibid., fig. 317), and the za'wiyas of Sidi 'Abîd al-Ghayrînâni was begun by a Hafsid prince before 724/1324 but only completed in 804/1402 when the present tomb was associated with it. The most celebrated in Tunisia are those of Sidi Ben 'Arûs (895/1490) and Sidi Kâsim al-Djûlizi (ca. 901/1496). The latter is elaborately decorated with tilework reflecting the occupation of the founder, a maker of tiles (zâlîbî [q.v.]) who had emigrated from Andalusia to Tunisia, where his spiritual merits brought him to the attention of the Hafsid princes.

Za'wiyas were also established in Mamlûk Egypt as institutions for popular Sûfis, distinct from the more formal khânâqâh [q.v.], and often built for foreign shaikhs. Many are mentioned in teks (al-Makrlî, for example, lists 26 in Cairo), but the only building epigraphically designated a za'wiya is the one for Zayn al-Dîn Yûsuf (d. 697/1298) in the southern cemetery of Cairo. Begun in 697/1297-8 as subsidiary rooms around the shaykh's domed tomb (kubba [q.v.]), the stone complex was enlarged to a cruciform plan in 725/1325-6. Later in 736/1335-6 a large portal was added on the street side of the complex, now called a za'wiyat in the foundation inscription. No patrons are mentioned, though the fine construction and lavish decoration bespeak significant funding. Texts suggest that there were many za'wiyas in 9th/10th-century Egypt, but the lack of surviving examples makes it difficult to say anything about their architectural form.

Turkish scholars also use the term zâwî to refer to a type of "Convent Mosque" with a domed or vaulted central hall flanked by side rooms or iwâns [q.v.]. This distinctive T-plan was common in the complexes built by the Ottoman sultans at Bursa, beginning with the one founded by Orkhan Gha'zi ca. 739/1339 (Blair and Bloom, fig. 171). The side rooms are thought to have been hostel for travelling devishes and the religious brotherhoods who provided much of the support for Ottoman expansion. The term za'wiyat, however, is not used in the foundation inscriptions for these constructions, which are called mosque (masjûd) or noble and blessed building (imâra qârîf ma'bûrâh).


2. In North Africa.

The term in North Africa denotes a social institution with a wide range of forms and functions. Sometimes rendered as "lodge" in English and "monsateri" in French, the za'wiyat is primarily a meeting place for spiritual pursuits and religious instruction. In this sense it is the Maghribi counterpart of the khânâqâh or the tekke [q.v.]. In the eastern Islamic world, the term za'wiyat was often specifically applied to a smaller mosque or Sûfi meeting place (D.B. Little, The nature of khânâqâhs, ribâts, and za'wiyas under the Mamlûks, in Islamic studies presented to Charles P. Adams, Leiden 1991, 91-105). In the Maghrib, a za'wiyat is typically associated with a religious lineage. Frequently housing a sâhib's kubba or tomb and sometimes a graveyard, it may be a shrine and a place of pilgrimage.

Beyond serving as the residence of the shaykh [q.v.] or head of the za'wiyat, as well as his family and retainers, some rural za'wiyas also provide lodging for pilgrims (funduk) and contain libraries, schools, mosques, workshops and granaries stockpiled for local relief in times of famine. In addition, a za'wiyat may function as an intellectual centre, a sanctuary offering asylum, and a political focus. In the past, za'wiyas often played an important commercial role by protecting trade routes and creating networks of exchange among its members. In contrast, a za'wiyat in an urban setting is often not much more than a room where local members of a wide-ranging or regional tarika [q.v.] meet to perform hadra or ghirir recitation. Finally, beyond referring to an actual building, the word za'wiyat in the Maghrib is also used to denote the tarika itself and is synonymous for the tarika's collective membership.

Historically, the za'wiyat's financial support derived from hubâs [see wara'] lands and the gifts of pilgrims or its members' dues in the case of a tarika, both sources of revenue are known as ziyâra or pilgrimage offerings. In theory, all revenues are charity and are thus considered divine gifts. Colonial governments
confiscated the waqf lands of zawiyas in the late 19th and early 20th centuries in an effort to reduce their political power. Some zawiyas continue to receive governmental stipends for their maintenance and preservation as part of the national patrimony. Over the past century zawiyas, which were also opposed by reformist Salafist Muslims [see SALAFIYYA], have suffered a reduction in prestige and a limitation in their social role.

The zawiya as an institution antedates the establishment of the Şafiite tarikas in North Africa. It finds its sources in the kašba shrine as well as the ribāta, a monastery to which a holy man retired and was surrounded by his followers, and the ribāt [g.v.], in the Maghrib an institution that had served inter alia as a centre for waging qihād [g.v.]. The zawiyas' administrative organisation is, however, fundamentally that of the tarīka. The Shaykh of the zawiya acts primarily as a spiritual guide to the zawiya's members, but in some instances he is the descendant of the holy personage buried in the shrine and thus an inheritor of his baraka [g.v.] or charisma. This distinction between zawiyas affiliated with Şafiite orders and zawiyas primarily associated either with a şarring or desert authority or a holy lineage led colonial-era French commentators to make a distinction between "conférence" or "brotherhood" zawiyas and "maraboutic" zawiyas.

Below the shaykh in the administrative hierarchy of the zawiya is his khalifa or deputy, sometimes also referred to as a nakib or nakib. The khalifa himself or an officer known in some instances as a waqil has responsibility for the day-to-day operation of the zawiya and oversees servants known as khuddam or shawābi. Administering individual local zawiyas is a delegate of the shaykh known as a mukaddam [g.v.], who initiates, instructs and supervises members. A mukaddam receives no official remuneration for his role. In some tarikas, couriers known as nakāb also served to link the local zawiyas with the "mother" zawiya.

Members of North African zawiyas can go by a variety of names: asbāb "companions", khuddam "servants", fukara' "poor men" and ikhwān "brothers". An individual seeking guidance from a shaykh is a murid or aspirant. Female members are known as khawātīm "sisters" and are placed under the supervision of a female deputy known as a mukaddam. While mukaddams and mukaddamas are appointed by the shaykh, they are named with the agreement of the majority of the members of a zawiya. Factors in their nomination include length of time in the tarīka, knowledge or ritual, moral character and personal qualities, piety, and an ability to maintain harmony among the zawiya's members. A family tie to the shaykh may be a positive factor but is not a requirement for being appointed a mukaddam.

Qubs recitation sessions known as hadra provide regular, most often weekly, occasions for zawiya members to gather. Presided over by the shaykh, the recitation is led by the shaykh al-hadra. In urban areas the character of the membership in the various zawiyas typically reflects the social stratification of the community. Certain professions or one social stratum predominate in one zawiya, with other professions predominating in another. On the occasion of anniversaries celebrations of a wali, known as ṣawāṣim [see MSWĀṢIM], thousands of pilgrims may attend festivities at a zawiya.

In rural areas, zawiyas often mediate in local tribal factional disputes or between the tribes and the central government. With the invasion of Libya and the eastern Sahara in the 19th century, the creation of scores of zawiyas led to the identification of a tribe with its zawiya. In periods of weak authority by the Moroccan maḥbūr or central government, such as the 16th-17th/16th-17th centuries, some zawiyas, like the Nasiriyah zawiya in Tunisia [see MAWSIM], were regional centres of power and operated almost as autonomous principalities. Other zawiyas contested and occasionally sought to supplant the central government. At other times, for example, under the Ḥafṣids and under the Husaynid Bey's in 19th-century Tunisia, zawiyas received governmental support and patronage.

In the 19th century, zawiyas membership was widespread; in 1880 Rinn estimated there to be over 550 zawiyas in Algeria, with a membership of 167,019 out of an Algerian Muslim population of slightly less than three million (Marabouts et khuwan). Estimates for Morocco put members in 1939 at between 5% and 10% of the population. While some zawiyas and tarikas took an active role in organizing opposition to colonial rule, others have been condemned as collaborationists. Although the zawiyas have generally been opposed by nationalists in North Africa, significantly the organisational model of the zawiya was employed in Morocco by the Istiqlal or Independence Party [see MAWSIM, i, at Vol. III, 525]. Its leader 'Allāl al-Fāsi [g.v. in Suppl.] was referred to as the shaykh, and party members, self-styled ikhwān, called themselves 'Allāliyyūn and 'Allāliyyūn, organised local chapters known as māṣūf and levied dues known as ẓāqān.


3. In sub-Saharan Africa.

The institution of the zawiya is linked, in Islamised black Africa, to the development of the network of Islamic brotherhoods (turkā) and is consequently a late phenomenon (12th-13th/18th-19th centuries). Saharan staging-posts played a capital role, as models for the
functioning of zawiya and as instruments of diffusion.

Such was the case with the zawiya of Shaykh Sidi Muhktar al-Kunti (d. 1226/1811) in the region of the Azawad (Mali). It was through his teachings, writings and disciples, but also through the commercial network of his tribe, the Kunta [q.v.], that settlements of the Kadiiriyya came into being in western Africa. Some Kunta zawiya were established at Timbuktu by one of the sons of the founder, Sid Ahmad al-Bakkay (d. 1281/1865), and at Talaya, in the Adrar of the Ifohgas, in Tuareg circles, by one of the grandsons, Sidi Bay (a. 1281-1348/1865-1929). To them is owed the adherence to the Kadiiriyya of the Dhahabiyya 'Uthman Dan Fodio (Sokoto) and of Shaykh Ahmad Al-Madina (Mansi).

A second Saharan staging-post was provided by the zawiya of Butilimit of the Ahl Shaykh Sidiiyya, the founder of which, Shaykh Sidiyya al-Kabir (1195-1286/1780-1869) was raised among the Kunta. From this zawiya was to emerge the Senegalese brotherhood of the Murid in Ahmadu Bamba Mbacke (1270-1357/1853-1937). Without doubt, the way of life of Shaykh Sidiyya al-Kabir (d. 1281/1865), and at Talaya, in the Adrar of the Ifohgas, in Tuareg circles, by one of the grandsons, Sidi Bay (a. 1281-1348/1865-1929). To them is owed the adherence to the Kadiiriyya of the Dhahabiyya 'Uthman Dan Fodio (Sokoto) and of Shaykh Ahmad Al-Madina (Mansi).

Shaykh Muhammad Fadil (1176-1286/1760-1870) and his numerous descendants constituted a third staging-post of the Kadiiriyya in the direction of black Africa. Located in the Mauritanian Hawd, his zawiya extended his influence beyond the river Senegal into Gambia and Guinea. His son, Shaykh Sa'id Buh (d. 1316/1901), established several tahtamiyya, including two leading Senegalese scholars, Shaykh Musa Kamara, the author of Zuhur al-hadith (1344/1925) and Siré-Abbas Süh, the author of Chroniques du Fouta Senegalais (1331/1913).

The Tidjaniyya [q.v.] have also evolved through Saharan intermediaries, in the case of Shaykh Muhammad al-Haïf (d. 1246/1830) and his tribe of the Idauali. However, the centres of this brotherhood developed directly in black Africa. The best known of these zawiya, on account of its colonial history and its network of subsidiaries, has been that of Shaykh Hamâlîlah (1301-63/1883-1943) [see Hamâlîlaya] at Nioro-du-Sahel (Mali). Some of its characteristics may be applied to the totality of African zawiya. Thus the fanyya, or zawiya, without exception, practise annual gatherings which attract considerable crowds, e.g. the Magal of the Murids at Touba, in honour of their founder, and the Guma of Tivaouane, marking the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet.

Attempts by the Sanûsiyya [q.v.] to migrate from Libya towards black Africa saw the creation of zawiya in Niger (Chemidour, 1279/1862) and especially in Chad (since 1318/1900: Bir Alali, Gouro, Ayn Galakka, etc.). These zawiya, political institutions in spite of themselves, were administered by Arabic-speaking foreigners and depended directly on the leading zawiya.

The same centralism has persisted in the Sudan, with the Mirghaniyya [q.v.] (or Khatmiyya) maintained by the descendants of the founder (al-Hasan al-Mirghani, 1235-86/1819-69, zawiya of the Khatmiyya, in the Sudan; Sayyid Hashim, 1265-1319/1849-1901, zawiya of Massala, in Eritrea). Conversely, the Kadiiriyya generated independent branches, such as the Maghribiyya (12th/13th century), with its commercial zawiya of al-Damir, or indeed the Khatmiyya (14th/early 19th centuries), and its village-zawiya of Shikanyaba.

While the African movement of the Murids in the late 14th/20th century has adopted the path of urbanisation, of concentration in capitals and the transfer of centres of brotherhoods from rural zones towards the cities, and especially towards the capitals, appears to be a gradual but radical evolution since zawiya have been often transformed into institutions subject to national legislation and have lost some of their independence. The Hamâlîlaya have also reached the ivory coast with the establishment, from 1537/1938 onwards, of the zawiya of Yaâinsic Sulla (d. 1408/1988), at Gagnoa, characterised as much by its commercial as by its religious activity. Also to be noted are branches in Niger (the zawiya of Shaykh 'Ali Gaty at Naimey-Karadjé, since 1356/1940), in Senegal, Mauritania, Nigeria and Chad.

The network of the Hamâlîlaya, broadly decentralised, has nonetheless retained a certain degree of coordination, both in regard to individuals and also in connection with religious considerations. This is much less the case with other centres of the Tidjaniyya, especially those in Senegal. Here, each zawiya represents an independent unit and tends to be concentrated around a religious dynastic line. Such is the case of the zawiya of Shaykhs Ya'qubu-Sâli (1340-1415/1922), founded at Tivaouane in 1326/1906; and it is still the case of the closed community that resided at Madina-Gounasse from 1355/1936 onwards, on a utopian model, under the leadership of the Peul Mamadou Saydu Ba, and only became open to the outside world in 1397/1977, when the founder was succeeded by his heir. The history of the branch of Shaykh Ibrahim Nyas (1320-95/1902-75) whose zawiya is at Kaolack, shows a break with the preceding model since from 1371/1951 onwards, it has been spreading in the north of Nigeria (Kano). Senegalese zawiya, without exception, practise annual gatherings which attract considerable crowds, e.g. the Magal of the Murids at Touba, in honour of their founder, and the Guma of Tivaouane, marking the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet. The same centralism has persisted in the Sudan, with the Mirghaniyya [q.v.] (or Khatmiyya) maintained by the descendants of the founder (al-Hasan al-Mirghani, 1235-86/1819-69, zawiya of the Khatmiyya, in the Sudan; Sayyid Hashim, 1265-1319/1849-1901, zawiya of Massala, in Eritrea). Conversely, the Kadiiriyya generated independent branches, such as the Maghribiyya (12th/13th century), with its commercial zawiya of al-Damir, or indeed the Khatmiyya (14th/early 19th centuries), and its village-zawiya of Shikanyaba.

While the African movement of the Murids in the late 14th/20th century has adopted the path of urbanisation, of concentration in capitals and the transfer of centres of brotherhoods from rural zones towards the cities, and especially towards the capitals, appears to be a gradual but radical evolution since zawiya have been often transformed into institutions subject to national legislation and have lost some of their independence. The Hamâlîlaya have also reached the ivory coast with the establishment, from 1537/1938 onwards, of the zawiya of Yaâinsic Sulla (d. 1408/1988), at Gagnoa, characterised as much by its commercial as by its religious activity. Also to be noted are branches in Niger (the zawiya of Shaykh 'Ali Gaty at Naimey-Karadjé, since 1356/1940), in Senegal, Mauritania, Nigeria and Chad.
of emigration out of Africa, past history indicates that the model of the zdwiya was rural and extremely diversified in its modes of organisation, its functions and material arrangements.


ZAWZAN (in local Persian pronunciation, Zuzan), a town of mediaeval Islamic Khurâsân, now only a village in the ghârâshân of Khâfî in the province of Khurâsân (lat. 59° 52' N., long. 34° 21' E.). It lies 35 km/22 miles to the southeast of Khâfî [q.v.] and 60 km/37 miles from the present Afghan frontier on a plain called the Džulga-i Zawzan.

The latest archaeological investigations on the site (2000) tend to show that colonisation of the then arid plain of Zawzan must have occurred after the introduction of kanâtâ [q.v.] to bring water for irrigation; Polybius, History, x. 26, mentions these for the Seleucid period in the neighbouring province of Kûs. The oldest archaeological layer at Zawzan itself seems to be Sâsânî, found beneath the ruins of the kâhîb-îdîn of the imposing mosque of Zawzan. An ancient tradition attributed the foundation of the Zawzan to the establishment there of a fire temple (Yâkût, ii, 958), and the prophet and Zoroastrian reformer Bihûrîfâ [q.v.], executed in 131/749 by Abû Muslim at the behest of the Zoroastrian priests, is said to have been a native Zawzanî (al-Birûnî, al-Áḏârâ al-kûbîya, 210; Gardizi, Žan al-âghârî, ed. Hâbihi, Tehran 1347/1968, 119). The date of the Arab conquest of Zawzan is unknown, but may have occurred ca. 31/651-2 when ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Amar [q.v.] marched on Nîshâpur (al-Tabârî, i, 2884-5; al-Baladhunî, Fûthi, 404).

In the first centuries of Islam, Zawzan was governed by local potentates with the title râsî, sufficiently independent and sometimes powerful enough to field rebellion, e.g. in 444/1052 (Nâsîr-i Khâse Khâshâbah, Safar-tâma, ed. Dâhîr-i Siyâkî, Tehran 1356/1977, 172, tr. W.M. Thackston, Albany 1986, 102). The countryside there was flourishing, and produced cotton cloth (kharbî), felt and possibly also silk and madder (al-Mukaddasî, 321; Hâdîd al-‘alam, tr. 103; Mustawfî, Nâzîîl al-kulîh, ed. Le Strange, 154, tr. 152).

Remains of round or polylobed columns of fired brick of the first mosque there, the ðâmê, bear witness to the town’s significance already in the 3rd/9th century, called by al-Mukaddasî in the next century a misr (47, 50, 321; see map and the monumental epigraphic remains in Adle, Mašîqid wa madrasa-i Zawzan, in Áḏârâ, xv-xvi [1367/1989], 231-48, at 245). However, this ðâmê and its iwdan became inadequate and were enlarged in the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries. One of the finest mîhrâbs of Persian mosques, made by one Abû Sa’d at the behest of the râsî Abû Muhammad to ward off the incursions of the Ghurid, this mosque, which has been understood as that ruler’s evil genius (see Bosworth, The Ghurids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040, Edinburgh 1963, 60-1); and slightly later, the adhâl al-Husayn b. Ahmad al-Zawzani [d. 486/1053], who composed a well-known commentary on the Maḏâlâyâkât, much used by early Western scholars writing on these poems, and on the famed bâtyya ode of Dîn ‘u-Rummâna (see Sezgin, GÂS, ii, 31, 397, lx, 256).

But it was on the eve of the Mongol invasions that Zawzan reached its apogee, when the mîhârî-i wâzzam of Zawzan, Abû Bakr b. ‘Âli al-Zawzani, controlled a principality stretching eastwards towards Kâbul and westwards to the frontiers of Fârs, and from near Nîshâpur to Hormuz and the shores of the Gulf of Oman; yet he retained his own sayyid and acknowledged ‘Alâ’-i Din Muhammad Khârâzm Shâh as his suzerain (see Adle, Une contrée redécouverte: le pays de Zawzan à la veille de l’invasion mongole, in Denise Agle (ed.), L’Iran face à l’invasion mongole, Tehran 1997, 23-36). His residence, the kârâ-i kâhîra, situated in the citadel (kandhibûz) of the east of the town, is described as imposing by contemporary historian(s), and the remains of its 15 m high walls still dominate the hidden town. The town at that time had a quasi-rectangular plan, but thinking its second mosque inadequate, its lord began to raze it and to start on a third, yet more magnificent one. This was left unfinished because of his assassination in Shâwâwîl 614/ January 1218, followed by the arrival of the Mongols three years later. The mosque (or madrasa, according to Sheila S. Blair, The madrasa at Zawzan. Islamic architecture in eastern Iran on the eve of the Mongol invasion, in Miqâmas, iii [1985], 75-9) comprised at that time an iwdan to the east and another towards the conventional kibâ, sc. to the west, vast and with a height of 30 m. It is dated Rabi‘ I 615/June 1218 on the façade, and inside has a great epigraphic frieze in kâdî [q.v.] in the name of Abû Hanîfâ and dated 616/1219. Terrified by the Mongols, the people of Zawzan prevented the last Khârâzm Shâh Djalâl al-Dîn from taking refuge in the kârâ-i kâhîra (Adle, op. cit., 35). Hence the town was spared but it was destroyed later by a violent earthquake that struck the region in 737/1336. The vault of the great kibâ was disintegrated and the palace and the madrasa, according to M. Farrukh, Tehran 1346/1948, 117; Fasfash, Muğmal, ed. Farrukh, 3 vols. Tehran 1339-40/1960-1, ii, 52-3; N.N. Ambrasays and C. Melville, A history of Persian earthquakes, Cambridge 1962, 44-5 and Fig. 3.7).
Zawiya for the ‘Adawiyya šaykh Zayn al-Dīn Yusuf (d. 697/1298) in the southern cemetery of Cairo, as seen from the east. Photo: Jonathan M. Bloom, April 1978.

The monumental mosque at Zawzan.

Zawzan never recovered. Its present inhabitants are not indigenous to the region, according to the accounts of elders, were largely brought from southwestern Persia—perhaps in the 18th century—in order to repopulate the cultivable land. Present family names there, e.g. the Arabic tribal name Khuza‘ī, may reflect this. The population of Zawzan was only 680 in the late 1940s (Farhang-i djamā‘ī-yi Irān-zamin, ix, 201) and 786 in 1966 (Farhang-i djamā‘ī-yi kishwar, iv, Ustān-i Khorāsān, Tehran 1347/1969, 16), but by the 1991 census it had reached 2,087 with the demographic explosion since the Islamic Revolution of 1969. Contrary to the people of the numerous neighboring villages who are Hanafis, the population of Zawzan has since its repopulation wholly Shī‘ī.


ZĀY, also, more rarely, ZĀ’, the eleventh letter of the Arabic alphabet, numerical value 8. The former variant of the letter name retains the /z/ of the original letter name (as in Hebrew zayin), while the latter has the innovative ending /t/, which occurred legitimately with ṣ (Hebr. sā) and hā’ (Hebr. hā’), then spread to bā’ (Hebr. bā’), tā’/bā’ (Hebr. tā’/bā’), hā’/kā’ (Hebr. hā’/kā’), tā’ (Hebr. ṭā’), ḫā’/zā’ (Hebr. ḫā’/zā’), and yā’ (Hebr. yā’), with loss of the final consonant of the original letter name.

The letter is transliterated /z/ and represents a voiced sibilant (hāf al-safir), which forms a triad with the unvoiced /s/ and the “emphatic” /zd/ unvoiced /ʃ/. A neighboring sound is the voiced interdental /d̪/. Minimal pairs are: zdā “he increased” vs. sādā “he ruled”, zdā “he hunted”, and ḫdā “he drove [s.o.] away”.

For the “emphatic” variant /zd/, see źk/. Arabic /zd/ appears as /z/ everywhere else in Semitic. However, Egyptian transliterations of Northwest Semitic words show that the sibilants were earlier on pronounced as dental affricates /tʃ/, /dʃ/, /t/ [or, more likely, an ejective /tˤ/], and this is usually posited for Proto-Semitic.

A number of roots in Arabic (and in other Semitic languages) show a variation between /zd/ and /s/, more rarely also between /zd/ and /ʃ/: za‘qa vs. zā’qa “he screamed”; baṣaqa vs. baṣaqa “he spat”.

For assimilations that either produce or replace a /zd/, both word-internally and in sandhi, see Cantineau, 47-8; Fleisch, 86-7. In the VIIIth form the infixed /zd/ becomes /d/ after /zd/: *ṭāzāna > ṭāzāna “it became adorned”, but the grammarians allow also total assimilation: ṭūzāna (cf. Fleisch, 97).

In loanwords and transliterations from Greek, /zd/ represents /z/, but a Syriac intermediary is likely in most cases: ζυζός > ṣūzūk (and variants, see P. Kunitzsch, Zeus in Bagdad, in W. Diem and S. Wild (eds.), Studien aus Arabistik und Semitistik Anton Spitaler zum siebzigsten Geburtstag, Wiesbaden 1980, 99-113), and ξυζός > Syr. ṣawād > sawād “one of a pair, spouse”. Pahlavi /zd/ is retained in Arabic: nāzgā “lance” > nayzak “lance, meteorite”. Several nisbas referring to Persian places have an intrusive /zd/ borrowed from Persian, as in Rāz (from al-Rāy), Mariwā (from Mary), Sīdzhī (from Sījadī, used alongside Sījāzī).

The dialects of Arabic have mostly preserved /zd/.
The mosque at Zawzan. Façade of the main iwan just before the beginning of the restoration works in 1988.
In some Jewish dialects in North Africa, /z/ and /s/ (< /dj/) coalesce and are pronounced either /z/ or /s/, depending on the environment (cf. Fischer and Jastrow, 253). In some dialects the interdentals have been shifted to sibilants (Kozluk-Sason group and some other dialects of Anatolian Arabic and Uzbekistan Arabic), thus /dh/ > /z/ /s/ (Jastrow, 34-9; Fischer and Jastrow, 50). The same shift is also typical for loans from the standard language into sedentary dialects that have not preserved the interdentals; speakers try to imitate /dh/ by using /z/ (rather than the dialect equivalent /d/), compare the jābd loan dāhah > dāhah “going” with the true dialect form dāhah > dāhah “gold”. A special case of de-emphatisation and assimilation is the frequent word zghir < saghir “small” (also in the diminutive zghir). The grapheme <z> has become identical in shape with <r> and is distinguished from it by a diacritical dot on top (already in the oldest Arabic papyrus, dated 22/643, see Gruendler, 22a). In carefully written manuscripts, the <r> may be additionally marked by a v-shaped sign on top (alimat al-thamal). One of the reasons for zay and ra acquiring the same shape is the fact that neither can be connected to the left in Nabataean cursive writing, a fact that is continued in the Arabic script (for the historical development of the shape, see Gruendler, 60-3).

In Persian <z> is used to render /z/ in Persian words (and, of course, those Arabic words that have it). The phoneme /z/ may, however, be written <z>, <zh>, or <zh>, depending on the Arabic etymology. The grapheme <z> is also used to create a grapheme for //z/, by adding three triangularly arranged superscript dots. For Pashto, a special sign for retroflex /z/ has been developed which looks like a sign with two dots diagonally across its middle, and in Kashmiri the Persian grapheme <z> is used to write /w/.


**ZAYANDA-RUD**, lit. “river which increases”, a river of the central basin of Persia which flows past Isfahān. It is so called because it was believed that springs along its course increased the volume of its water (Ibrahim Khan Tahwīldār, *Daghfīsī-yi Isfahān*, ed. M. Sotoodeh, Tehran AHS 1342/1963-4, 37). Early authors called it Zinda-Rūd. In the *BANDKHAN*, it is mentioned as Zendeh Rud (A. Houtum-Schindler, *Esoterien Persischer Insel. London* 1898, 17). Abū Husayn b. Muhammad b. Abī l-Riḍā Āwī states that it was also known as Zarin-Rūd, the “Golden River”, because of the abundance and wealth which its waters bestowed on the land that it irrigated (Targumavi-i Madāsīn Isfahān, ed. Abbās Ḩiblū, Tehran AHS 1328/1949-50, 47-8).

The principal source of the river is the Čağma-i Djalālāt, on the eastern slope of the Zarda Kūh (see *ISFAHĀN*, at Vol. IV, 98). After a run of about 18 km/11 miles it receives the waters of the Čiḥl Čağma and is then called Djanā-ān-Rūd. Further on it receives the Khrsang River from Fīraydān on the north and the Zarīn-Rūd from Čahrāb Maḥbūl on the south and is then known as the Zinda-Rūd. Flowing south-east, it enters the Čuydakhādī district of Līndjnān and Mārbīn to Isfahān, receiving from the left the overflow drainage from Tīrān and Karawan. Passing through Isfahān, it flows through Dājav, Barzārūd, Kāraḵi, Barzān and Rūdāt into the Ġawḵhānī marsh. Major canals (middīs) are led off from it between its entrance into Līndjnān and its end in the Ġawḵhānī (Houtum-Schindler, 17-18; Tahwīldār, 37; Husayn Ṭābīfī states that there are 150 canals (Isfahān, Isfahān AHS 1334/1955-6, 76), but this is presumably a printer’s error. All other authorities give 105). Writing at the end of the 19th century, Houtum-Schindler stated that in the summer the Ġawḵhānī had very little water, a few inches in depth covering about 15 square miles, but that in spring it formed a lake 35 miles in length and 8-10 miles in breadth and was in parts 15-18 feet deep (126). During the spring when the snows are melting, the river carries a considerable flow, part of which was formerly lost in flood water. In 1809 there was much damage done by flood water in Isfahān and the neighbourhood (Morier, *A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople in the years 1808 and 1809*, London 1812, 213). In recent years, the Ġawḵhānī has virtually dried up owing to the drawing off of water for irrigation higher up the river.

Fourteen bridges span the river. The first was a temporary wooden bridge a few miles above Līndjnān, erected only in the spring season, and the fourteenth is near Warzānā in Kīndqād (Houtum-Schindler, 17-18; Abbās I, 70-1 gives only thirteen). Five of these bridges are in the city of Isfahān: the Mārnān Bridge between Djuḏła and Isfahān; the Ġalāwrdī Khān Bridge, called after Abbās I’s general of that name, also known as the Sī u Sī Čaḡma Bridge, connecting Isfahān with the eastern part of Djuḏla [see *ABBĀS I*]; the Djuḏ Bridge and the Khādgī Bridge, built by Abbās II [q.v.] on the ruins of an older bridge, and the Shahrīstān Bridge. During the reign of Muhammad Ṭābīfī Shāh Pahlāwī, an iron bridge was also built over the river (‘Alī Dāwāhīr Kalām, *Zんだ-Rūd*, Tehran AHS 1348/1969-70, 47). Below the Warzānā Bridge there were three dykes for the purpose of raising the water to the lands on both sides of the river: the Band-i Marwān in Kīndqād; the Band-i Allah Kūf Kahn, built in the reign of Nādīr Shāh [q.v.]; and the Band-i Shāhsdāh Dīh built in the reign of Shāh Sulyānmān (Houtum-Schindler, 19). Orders were apparently given for this last dam in 1100/1688-9 (Lutf Allāh Hunarfar, *Gānqīna-i tajīr-i taqīrī-i Isfahān*, Isfahān AHS 1344/1966-7, 637).

In the reign of Tahmāsp I (930/1524-76 [q.v.]) an abortive attempt was made to divert water from the source of the Kūrān River into the Zayanda-Rūd. When Isfahān became the capital of the empire under Abbās I, the need to increase cultivation to feed the growing population and the fact that the land round Isfahān (the Mahālā), which was watered by the Zayanda-Rūd, belonged to the royal diwān, made the availability of the water of the Zayanda-Rūd and its regulation of special interest to the state. In 1027/1618 Shāh Abbās sent Muḥammad ‘Alī Beg Lālā, the sāvyār darbāghi of the royal buildings, to Kūhīrāng to report on the possibility of diverting the water of the Kūrān (see R. D. McChesney, *Four Sources on Shāh ‘Abbās’s building of Isfahān*, in *Muqarnas*, v [1988], 122) and subsequently Imām Kull Khan Beglarbegī of Fārs, Husayn Khān, governor of Luristān, and Dāḥāngīr Khān Bāğırīyār were ordered to start operations. This attempt also proved abortive. In 1030/1620-1 Shāh ‘Abbās himself set out for the source of the Zayanda-Rūd. New operations to cut through the mountain
were begun but remained unfinished (Iskandar Munshi, *Tárikh-i 'Alamdrd-yi abd sl*, Tehran AHS 1334/1956, ii, 949-50, 959). Work was resumed under 'Abbás II, but again proved abortive and was later projected. It was not until after the Second World War that the problem of feeding a growing population again brought the plan to divert the headwaters of the Kārūn into the Zayanda-Rūd to the fore; it was accorded high priority in successive development plans. The diversion was finally accomplished in the 1950s and 1960s by means of a tunnel driven through the mountain range which forms the watershed between the Kārūn River and the Zayanda-Rūd. Various plans were also put forward for the construction of storage reservoirs on the upper reaches of the river. Under the Third Development Plan (1962-8), a dam called the Shāh 'Abbās Great Dam, was constructed, having a height of 95 m and a storage capacity of 450 million m³, enabling (officially) 100,000 ha. to be irrigated in the Isfāhān area and permitting the generation of 60,000 kw of electricity. By the time the Fourth Development Plan began, the dam was well established and the area it fed was gradually extended.

The basis of the division of the waters of the Zayanda-Rūd is probably of great antiquity. The distribution in force in the mid-20th century went back at least to Saʿfawid times. The details are contained in a document known as *Shaykh Bahāʾi’s tāmār*, which is (or was) held in the Department of Finance, Isfāhān. Ibrāhīm Bāstānī Pārīz mentions an edition published by the Department of Agriculture, Isfāhān (*Sīyāsat wa ikhtisās-i 'arās-i Saʿfawī*, Tehran AHS 1348/1969-70, 89). The present writer has not been able to obtain a copy of this. The authorship and date of the tāmār are uncertain. The document contains the words “Written in the sealing office of the late Shāh Tahmāsp in 923/1517.” This is clearly an anomaly. Shāh Tahmāsp did not ascend the throne until 930/1524; and Shaykh Bahāʾī, to whom the document is attributed, was not born until 953/1546-7. He became *sadīr* of Isfāhān under Shāh 'Abbās I and may have been responsible for a revision of the traditional regulation of the river water. Among other anomalies in the document there is mention of various *māđās* which had no share assigned to them in the original distribution. According to the tāmār, the water of the Zayanda-Rūd is distributed in detail from the Kalla Bridge in Aydughmish to Warzānā in Ruydāsh, having regard to the cropping needs of each *bulāk* or district [see *mā*]. 6. Irrigation in Iran, at Vol. V, 873-4].

The present writer was told by an official in the Department of Agriculture, Isfāhān, in 1938 that the regulation of the river water as laid down in Shaykh Bahāʾī’s tāmār had some years previously fallen into disuse but that in 1928-9 local people had requested that it be re-activated and, in due course, the system, with some modifications, was again brought into force. She was also told that a *mirāb* was not invariably appointed and was not necessarily from among the *kadhāwīs* of *Dja* as Shaykh Bahāʾī’s tāmār had laid down; if he was appointed, his wages were fixed on a daily basis and paid locally. If no *mirāb* was appointed, each *bulāk* sent a representative to oversee the division of the water within that *bulāk* when its turn came. Ibrāhīm Tahwīlīdār states that this was the case in 1877 (*Dgirhfrîz-yi Isfāhān*, 128). The *māđās* (*māčās*; those in charge of the major canals leading off from the river) were appointed locally and paid (in most cases) by the landowners. In recent years, with the increased flow of water after the construction of storage dams in the upper reaches of the river, major modifications have been made in the distribution of water.

**Bibliography:** Given in the article, and see A.K.S. Lambton, The regulation of the waters of the Zayanda Rūd, in BSOS, ix (1939), 663-73.

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**ZAYD b. 'ALI b. AL-HUSAYN, great-grandson of 'Alī b. Abī Tālīb and Fāṭima and leader of the revolt that gave rise to the Zaydiyya [q.v.] branch of the Shi'a.**

He was born in Medina in 75/694-5 according to his son al-Husayn. His date seems more reliable than the year 79/698 or 80/699 usually mentioned by the Sunnī sources. He was thus at least 18 years younger than his brother Muhammad al-Bākīr, who became the head of the Husaynids after the death of their father 'Alī Zayn al-Abīdīn in 94/712-13 and was widely recognised as the *imām* by the Shi'a. Zayd’s mother was a woman of slave origin from Sīn named *Djuydā*, who is said to have been presented to his father by the Shī’ī rebel leader al-Muhammad b. al-Mukhtar and was bought by the father. Zayd acquired a high standing in religious learning in his family and in Medina and is known to have transmitted from his father, his brother Muhammad, Abān b. *Uthmān*, *Urwa* b. al-Zubayr and *Ubayd Allah* b. Abī Rā’īf.

As head of the Husaynids, his brother Muhammad entrusted him with the litigation on their behalf in the long-standing dispute between the families of al-Hasan and al-Husayn over the control of the endowments (*sadākāt*) of 'Alī b. Abī Tālīb. The case was pursued before the Umayyad governors of Medina Ibrāhīm b. Hīshām (106-14/724-32) and Khalīl b. 'Abd al-Malik (114-17/732-5). The Husaynids were at first represented by *Dja*Tār b. al-Hassān b. al-Hassān and then by his brother 'Abd Allah b. al-Hassān, who was in fact in control of the endowments after the death of his father. The case evidently involved the leadership of the descendants of Muhammad through Fātimah and thence their potential claim on the caliphate. 'Abd Allah b. al-Hassān, who harboured ambitions, at first for himself and later for his son Muhammad al-Nāfī al-Zakīyā [see MUHAMMAD B. ABD ALLAH], is reported to have accused Zayd before the caliph of aspiring to the caliphate although he, as the son of a slave woman, was not he qualified for it. When Zayd complained to his aunt Fātimah bt. al-Husayn, the mother of 'Abd Allah b. al-Hassān, about the insult to his mother, she encouraged him to answer by insulting herself. Zayd then took revenge by casting aspersions on his aunt’s undignified conduct toward an earlier governor. As it became evident, however, that the governor Khalīl b. 'Abd al-Malik was using the dispute to discredit the Family of the Prophet in front of the public of Medina, Zayd broke off the litigation, assuring 'Abd Allah b. al-Hassān that he would never again raise the case before the governor. Reports that the dispute was further pursued before the caliph Hīshām do not seem to be reliable. According to another report, Zayd vainly tried to raise it before the caliph, who refused to receive him. A letter of Hīshām to the governor Yūsuf b. 'Umar confirms, however, that Zayd was engaged in litigation against 'Umar b. al-Walid, son of the caliph al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik, before Hīshām (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 682). No details are known about the case.

When Khalīl al-Kasrī was replaced as governor of 'Irāk by Yūsuf b. 'Umar in Djamād I 120/May 738, he claimed, under torture by his successor, that Zayd and several other men of Kūraygh were in possession
of deposits of his. According to some accounts, it was Khalid's son Yazid or his ghulam Šarik who made the claim, but it must, in any case, have concerned deposits belonging to the deposed governor. Yusuf b. 'Umar informed the caliph Hīghām, who sent for the Kurāshī. That Zayd was already present at the caliph's court, as some reports state, is unlikely. All of the accused denied the claims against them. Hīghām cleared them of suspicion but insisted on sending them to Yusuf b. 'Umar in al-Ḥira in order to confront them with their accuser. Zayd's son 'Īsā was born in al-Ḥira. As their accuser withdrew his charges, they were freed. While most of the Kurāshī returned to Hīdjāz, Zayd stayed in Kūfā with the 'Abbāsid Dāwūd b. 'Āli. The caliph now sent a letter to Yusuf b. 'Umar instructing him to send Zayd forthwith to Hīdjāz and not to let him tarry. He had, so he wrote, observed Zayd in his dispute with 'Umar b. al-Walīd to be argumentative, laqīqūsūs, apt to forge and to distort in his discourse, and to beguile men by the sweetness of his tongue. If he were allowed to stay among the Kūfāns, who believed in the superior religious status of his family, he would incite them to rebellion, thus splitting the Muslim community.

Yusuf ordered his deputy in Kūfā, al-Ḥakam b. al-Šālīt, to press Zayd to leave, but the latter, offering various excuses, remained four or five months in the town. When he left and reached al-Kādisiyah or al-Thā'labiyah, Kūfān Šī'īs caught up with him and urged him to return, promising him massive support. Some wrote that they hoped he would become the Mašārī who would overthrow the Umayyad régime. Dāwūd b. 'Āli warned him of the fickleness of the Kūfāns and continued on to Hīdjāz, but Zayd decided to return. He stayed secretly, moving from tribe to tribe, for over ten months, interrupted by a two months' visit to Başra. He married two women of the tribes of Sulyām and al-Azd in order to strengthen his ties with them. His summons to the people called for qādīdāt against the wrongdoers, redress of grievances and support of the Family of the Prophet in general against their enemies. Twelve or fifteen thousand men are said to have pledged allegiance to him in Kūfā. He also sent his summons abroad and gained followers in the Sawād, in al-Madīnīn, Başra, Wāṣīt, Makkah, and other parts of Iraq and Djūdjarīn. Support for him was nevertheless patchy. Some 'ulamā' actively backed him, but others, while offering sympathy, expressed doubts that the Kūfāns would stand up for him. Ābū Ḥanīfah is said to have sent him money but to have excused himself from fighting. The Banū Ḥāshim, 'Alīdān and 'Abbāsīdān, also failed to show solidarity, in part probably because of ambitions of others among them. 'Abū ʿAbdālāh b. al-Ḥasan is reported to have warned him in a letter of the well-known treachery of the Kūfāns. Muḥammad al-Bakīr's son ʿĪsāf ar-Ṣādīq is said to have advised his followers to pledge allegiance to Zayd. Most of them withdrew their backing, however, when Zayd refused to condone the conduct of the early caliphs Ābū Bakr and 'Umar. The sources stress this incident, describing it as the cause of the schism between the radical Imāmīyya and the moderate Zaydiyya.

As Zayd's presence in Kūfā was betrayed to Yusuf b. 'Umar, he was forced to call the revolt before the date originally set. On Yusuf's order, al-Ḥakam b. al-Šālīt had summoned the Kūfān leaders and warriors to the great mosque and detained them under a guard of Syrian soldiers. Thus less than three hundred men followed Zayd's call to revolt, though the number then swelled to around a thousand. They were fought mainly by a force of Syrians whom Yusuf had brought to Kūfā. On the third day, Zayd was hit in the evening by an arrow penetrating his brain. He died when a physician or a cupper extracted it. Various dates are mentioned for his death. The most likely is Thursday, 2 Șafār 122/7 March 740. His followers sought to hide his body by burying him at night in a spot that they drenched with water. The location, however, was betrayed the next day, and his body was exhumed. His head was sent to Hīghām in Damascus, who exhibited it and then sent it to Medina. His body was crucified on the Kunāsā in Kūfā and left there until after the death of Hīghām some three years later, when his successor al-Walīd b. Yazīd ordered Yusuf to burn it and scatter the ashes in the Euphrates. Revenge for Zayd became one of the slogans of the 'Abbāsid revolution and, after its success, Hīghām's remains were unearthed in Damascus, crucified and burned.

Zayd's activity as a scholar and his religious opinions are largely obscure. He was given posthumously the title ḥalfī al-Kūrān and numerous readings of his Qur'ān codex are cited in the Sunní works on kīrāāt. They do not reflect a notable Šī'ī tendency (see A. Jeffery, The Qur'ānic readings of Zaid b. 'Ali, in RSÖ, xvi [1936], 249-89, and Further Qur'ānic readings of Zaid b. 'Ali, in ibid., xvii [1940], 218-36). Zaydiyya has preserved various theological treatises ascribed to him. These are too disparate in style and doctrinal positions to be the work of a single author and may mostly be seen to represent currents in the early Kūfān Zaydiyya. A compendium of religious law attributed to him was collected by the Zaydiyya Ibrāhīmīn b. al-Zābirīkān (d. 183/799) on the basis of the transmission of the Kūfān Ābū Khālid al-Wāṣījī who claimed to have heard it from Zayd while visiting Medina as a pilgrim in five years. The work, first published by E. Griffini as Corpus liture Zaid b. 'Ali (Milan 1919), reflects Kūfān legal tradition and it is unlikely that Zayd had any significant part in it. Ābū Khālid also transmitted a commentary on the difficult (gharib) words of the Kūrān (ed. H.M. al-Ta'āl al-Hakim, Beirut 1992). In these texts, Zayd appears as an anti- ʻAdārī supporter of predestination and as upholding a moderately anti-anthropomorphist concept of God. This agrees with the views of the early Kūfān Zaydiyya. Late Zaydi tradition describes him as agreeing with Muḥāzzi teaching.

messenger sent to mankind. Precisely like Muhammad before his call, Zayd is said to have practiced tawbah [q.v.] on Mt. Hirâ’ [q.v.]. Other rites attributed to him, such as prayer in the direction of the Ka'ba, are consonant with Islamic practice.

In a widespread account, Zayd appears as an old man leaning against the Ka'ba and claiming to be the only Kurâshî holding on to the din ibn 'Irâhîm. His claim to exclusivity smacks of competition with other Kurâshîs who repudiated idol worship. Far more problematic, however, are reports involving Muhammad in which Zayd is given a spiritual advantage over the future prophet. One account reportedly going back to his son Sa'd b. Zayd [q.v.], through his son and grandson, is a typical itinereia of a hañij in quest of true religion. Zayd was travelling with Waraka b. Nawfal [q.v.], who soon became Christian, abandoning the search. Continuing his journey, Zayd learned from a monk that the religion he was looking for was Islam. As attested by the Companion dictionaries, the more comprehensive form of isma [q.v.] or infallibility, which developed over the period preceding Muhammad's mission.


(M. LECKER)

ZAYD b. HâRITHA al-Kalbî, or Zayd al-hibb "the beloved", a slave, and later a mawla [q.v.] and adoptive son of the Prophet Muhammad.

The details of his early biography are disputed. One account has it that he was sold into slavery in Mecca by members of his own tribe. However, according to al-Wâqidî's [q.v.] account, Zayd's father died amidst his wife's tribe, the Tayyi. The slave, which was described in the striping, treacherously sold him at the market of 'Ukâz. The buyer was Hàkîm b. 'Ummayn who was trading on behalf of his paternal aunt Khâdîja [q.v.].

According to al-Kalbî's account, Zayd and his mother, while on a visit to her tribe, were attacked by horsemen of al-Kayn [q.v.] b. Djasr. The attackers sold Zayd to 'Ukâz to Hàkîm. ‘Ummayn who purchased him for Khâdîja. After her marriage to Muhammad, Khâdîja gave him Zayd. In al-Kalbî's version, Zayd's father (who was still alive) vowed to look for his son. Having been discovered in Mecca by fellow tribesmen, Zayd chose to remain Muhammad's slave, and in due course became Muhammad's adoptive son.

Zayd's offspring transmitted—at least to the 4th/10th century—a different account. Zayd grew up in his mother's family and when she died, he remained with his grandfather. Then he was carried off by horsemen of the Fazîra [q.v.] who sold him at 'Ukâz to Khâdîja's paternal cousin, Waraka b. Nawfal [q.v.]. Zayd was recognised by a fellow tribesman, but chose to stay with Muhammad. In this account Zayd's father (and, after a while, his brother, Djabala) embraced Islam. As attested by the Companion dictionaries, the family managed to secure Companion status for both of them.

Zayd's earliest marriage link, with Muhammad's dry nurse and mawla 'Umm Ayman (Baraka), took place in Mecca, probably not long after Muhammad's call. She gave birth to Usâma [q.v.] eight or ten years before the Hijâra. Although Usâma was dark-skinned while Zayd was fair, a physiognomist [see KJYAFA] reportedly removed all doubts regarding Zayd's parentage.

Zayd's other marriages took place in Medina after the Hijâra. He married Muhammad's cousin, Zaynab bt. Djabalî [q.v.] (whose mother was Muhammad's paternal aunt). Zaynab's marriage to Muhammad shortly afterwards gave rise to claims by the so-called Hypocrites, that Muhammad was acting against his own ruling which prohibited marriage to the former wife of one's son. Consequently, a verse (Kûr'ân, XXXIII, 5) was revealed terminating the state of adopion and returning Zayd to his Kalbî affiliation. With regard to the same situation, Zayd is the only Companion of Muhammad whose name appears in the Kûr'ân (XXXIII, 37). Several years later Zayd married successively three women of Kurâysh, one of whom was yet another cousin of Muhammad (the daughter of his paternal uncle, 'Abû Lahîb [q.v.]). At some stage Zayd was married to a woman of the Meidian Khazrajd [q.v.].

Zayd, a fine archer who led several military expeditions, was killed in the battle of Mu'ta [q.v.] of 8/629, aged fifty or fifty-five.

ZAYD b. AMR AL-HUSAYN B. 'ALÎ 475


(M. LECKER)

ZAYD b. AL-HUSAYN b. 'ALÎ (1898-1970 or 1972), fourth son of the Grand Sharif of Mecca, al-Husayn b. 'Alî [q.v.] by a Circassian wife. His involvement in Hashîmi activities and politics was limited. He participated as a leader in the early stages of the Arab Revolt in Hijâjî in 1916. He was his father's representative in 1924 at a British-sponsored conference in Kuwait which tried to resolve Hâshîmi-Su'udî border differences. In 1947 he was a minister in London for 'Irâq after Britain decided to refer the Palestine problem to the United Nations.

Bibliography: R. Baker, King Husain and the kingdom of 'Irâq, Cambridge 1979, 3; Mary Wilson, King Abdullah, Britain and the making of Jordan, Cambridge 1987, 14, 45, 80; Avi Shlaim, The politics

Zayd, one of the few Aνσαր who did not pledge allegiance to ‘Ali, a pro-Shi‘i source explained that ‘Uthmān appointed him over both the ḍūrān [q.v.] and the treasury. Obviously, Zayd was not a member of ‘Ali’s administration, but at the beginning of Mu‘āwiyah’s reign [q.v.] again find him in charge of the diwan of Medina. Zayd’s relationship with ’Uthmān and his governor in Medina, Marwān b. al-Hakam [q.v.], on various legal matters.

The dates given for Zayd’s death range from 42/662-3 to 56/675-6. The large amount of gold and silver that he bequeathed had to be cut with a broad iron instrument called niqfaz; in addition, he left oracles and estates valued at 100,000 dīnār, or, alternatively, at 130,000 dīnār with 100,000 dirhams. Considering Zayd’s humble starting-point, his career during the first half-century of Islam was phenomenal.

There is much controversy over the collection of the Kurān. One thing is, however, certain: when ‘Uthmān looked for a qualified scholar to oversee the preparation of his official edition, Zayd’s total commitment to the Kurān cause was taken into consideration.

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Zayd’s first-born son was probably Sa‘d, then Sa‘d’s mother, Umm Djarml bt. al-Mudjallil of the Kurāsh [q.v.], must have been Zayd’s first wife. Widowed in Ethiopia, she arrived at Medina after the conquest of Khaybar [q.v.] in 7 A.H. with two small children. Neither of the children was called Djamīl, and it follows that she could have been married twice before marrying young Zayd.

As one of the Prophet’s scribes, Zayd wrote down the ḍhūrān verses as well as letters to “the kings”. Some said that Zayd was the scribe of Abū Bakr and ‘Umar, and he was also said to have officiated as kāhid under ‘Umar and Ḫūdhammān.

Zayd’s literacy was accompanied by a knowledge of arithmetic: he was a famous expert on the division of inheritances [see FARA’ID] and was considered representative of the other Arab intellectual of his time a self-made man. Considered education, except for some reading and writing skills, unnecessary, Zaydan was more than any other Arab intellectual of his time a self-made man. His autobiography (Eng. tr. Th. Philipp, 1979, 1990) gives information about Zayd’s life before he became involved in the Syrian Protestant College in Beirut, d. 21 July 1914 in Cairo), outstanding representative of the Nahda [q.v.] or Arabic cultural and literary renaissance of the 19th and early 20th centuries.
guide, and after its failure, returned to Beirut in 1885 to study Hebrew and Syriac. In the summer of 1886 he travelled to London, where he became acquainted with the works of European orientalists. Health troubles led him to return to Cairo, where he henceforth resided permanently. He was offered the job of administrative manager and assistant editor of the journal al-Mukatta'a [see ĠARĪDA I. A], which he took over for 15 months. After quitting this post, he produced his first books. In al-Āfīkāz al-'arabiyya wa l-falsafa al-ḥanāniyya (1886, republ. 1904, 1964), which gained him membership of the Royal Asiatic Society of Italy, he applied evolutionary theory to languages. A historical study of Freemasonry—which highly attracted Arab intellectuals at that time [see FARMASUNIYYA, in Suppl.—and a book on the modern history of Egypt, used in schools, appeared in 1889. Probably for financial reasons, he became head teacher for Arabic at a Greek Orthodox School. In 1890 he published a small General history, intended as a textbook. Together with a friend, he founded in 1891 a small printing house which, however, closed down in 1892. Zaydan re-opened it alone in 1893 and renamed it in 1896 as the Mathā'īl al-Ḥalīl. In 1891 he published his first historical novel al-Muntūk al-ṣāliḥ (German tr. M. Thilo, 1917), whose success encouraged him to leave his teaching job. Up to his death, Zaydan published 22 novels, which were mostly recently republished with commentaries in 1984 and are still widely read. They have been translated into other oriental languages, such as Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Hindi and Uzbek Turkic. His goal was to awaken in the Arab public a historical consciousness and a pride in the great days of Arabo-Islamic history. Only Džūdha al-muhībbīn (1893) is a love story, probably based on his love for the Syrian Christian immigrant Maryam Matar, his wife since 1891. Enthusiastic in his youth about folk romances told in old Beirut, he wrote in a plain style mixing historical facts, events and personalities, such as famous persons like al-Hadīḍigān ibn Yūsuf (1902), Abū Muslim al-Ḫūrdūsdīn (1905) and Al-Mā'mūn wa l-Ma'mūn (1907), Sālih al-Dīn al-Ṭuwayhī (1913) and Ṣaḥīḥ al-Durr (1914), with fictitious love stories, intrigues and adventures. This and his rather openly anti-Umayyad standpoint annoyed Arab nationalists and fundamentalists. Showing narrative skill, Zaydan produces tension and excitement, although his heroes are mainly either good or evil and remain static. Except where the historical facts stand in the way, he closes with a happy ending or a tragic death. He is incontestably the pioneer of the historical novel as a literary genre in Arabic.

Still of value today amongst his many scholarly works, with which he aimed to popularise Western knowledge and methods of work and thought, are Tānāǧīm mustaghirn al-ṭarīq fi l-ka∫-l-kāmil al-tāj (1907, republ. 1960 as Babāt al-ma∫āda al-arabīyya) and volume iv of his Tārīkh ʿĀdib al-ba∫ga al-arabīyya (1910-13) since they provide information on contemporaries. The fourth volume of his Tārīkh al-tamaddun al-a∫-sīlī (v-iv, 1901-6) was translated by D.S. Margoliouth into English (GMS IV, Leiden and London 1907) because amongst Zaydan's sources used for it were unpublished manuscripts. In his al-ʿArab kabīl al-Islām (1907-8, republ. 1958) and other works he was certainly the first Arab intellectual to trace Arab history back to Hammurabi and the Pharaohs, thus creating a new Arab identity at a time of the emergence of Arab nationalism and an Arab bourgeoisie as a social class. In other publications, he characterised the Arabic language, one based on the Kur'ān but regarded as a living and developing organism, as the unifying link for all Arabs and the basis of their culture. In 1892 Zaydan founded al-Ḥilāl, a journal still existing today. In 22 volumes, he gave impetus to Arab education and cultural events, and on European and Arab publications, later including (for female readers) information on health, hygiene and family problems; and he serialised his novels and longer essays. Deeply convinced of the civilising value of education and learning, he abstained, however (like other prominent Arab Christians of the Nadīm), from political statements, except for exposing the cause of the Young Turks in 1908 and after, but he provided background information to political events and personalities. In 1910 he was offered a professorship of Islamic history at the Egyptian University, but this was withdrawn after heated debates occasioned by his Christian origin. 


ZAYDIYYA, a branch of the Shī'a [q.v.] arising out of the abortive revolt of ʿYazīd b. ʿAbī Ḥusayn [q.v.] in Kūfah in 122/740. During the preparations for the revolt, a part of the Kūfān Shīʿa withdrew their support from ʿYazīd in protest against his refusal to condemn unconditionally the early caliphs preceding ʿAlī and backed ʿYazīd's nephew ʿAbī ʿAlī al-Ṣādīq as their imām. This schism led to a lasting division of the Shī'a into a radical and a moderate wing in terms of their religious break with the Sunni Muslim community. The Zaydiyya, as the moderates, did not classify the Sunni Muslims generally as infidels. In political terms, however, they were, in contrast to the radical branch, but quietist Imāmīyya, separatist, espousing revolt against the illegitimate Sunni ruler as a religious duty. 

1. The early Kūfān phase. 

The Zaydiyya was initially formed by the merger of two currents in Kūfān Shīʿism, the Džūrdzādīyya [q.v.] and the Batriyya [q.v. in Suppl.]. The Džūrdzādīyya were named after Abu ʿAdūd Ẓāʿāf b. al-Mundhir, a former companion of ʿYazīd's brother Muḥammad al-Bākīr, who backed ʿYazīd's revolt when he was deserted by most of al-Bākīr's followers. They brought some of the radical elements of al-Bākīr's teaching into the Zaydiyya. Thus they rejected the imāmate of the three caliphs preceding ʿAlī, holding that ʿAlī had been appointed by the Prophet as his legatee (waqf) and implicitly as his successor. Condemning the majority of the Companions and the Muslim community for their desertion of the rightful imām, they repudiated the legal tradition transmitted by the Sunni traditionists and upheld the transmission of the religious law by the Family of the Prophet as solely legitimate. In contrast to the Imāmīyya, however, they did not confine legal teaching authority to their imāms but accepted in principle the teaching of any member of the ahl al-bayt qualified by religious learning. The Batriyya were at first a group of moderate Shīʿa who were critical of some of al-Bākīr's teaching and failed to accept him as their imām. While considering
Ali as the most excellent of Muslims after the Prophet, they generally admitted the imamate of his predecessors to have and pledged allegiance to them. They did not concede any superior knowledge to the Family of the Prophet, but recognised the religious knowledge handed down in the Muslim community as valid and allowed the use of individual reasoning (idżāhād, kīyād) in establishing the law. The Bariyya were part of the general Kufan traditionalism movement. As Kufan traditionalism became absorbed by Sunnism during the 3rd/9th century, the views of the Dhārtidiyya came to prevail among the Zaydiyya.

The legitimate imāmat was at first not confined to the descendants of ‘Ali. Before the fall of the Umayyad caliphate, Kufan Zaydiyya backed ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya [q.v.], a descendant of ‘Ali’s brother Dā‘far. In the 4th/10th century there was still a group of Zaydīs known as Tālībiyya who recognised all descendants of ‘Ali’s father Abū Tālib as eligible for the imamate. The majority, however, considered only descendants of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn as legitimate claimants. According to common Zaydi doctrine, the first three imāms, ‘Ali, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, were imāms by designation (nass) of the Prophet. After al-Ḥusayn, the imāmat became legally established through armed rising (khurāj) and a formal summons (da‘wāt) to allegiance by a qualified candidate. Among the qualifications, religious knowledge was emphasised.

Many Zaydī imāms throughout the centuries have been highly educated religious scholars and authors. They were, however, generally not considered as immune from error and sin (mu‘ātim), although some late Zaydīs conceded such immunity to the first three imāms.

In theology, the Kufan Zaydiyya were determinist, strongly opposed to the Kadiariyya and Mu‘tazila, though also admitting some responsibility of man for his acts. They were anti-anthropomorphist, but upheld anthropomorphist positions, dissociating God from evil and the imāmat. However, neither he nor his brother Muhammad, who succeeded him and ruled until 287/900, was recognised as an imām by the later Zaydiyya, and his teaching was ignored by the school tradition.

After the overthrow of Muhammad b. Zayd, the Husaynī al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Uṭrāḥ al-Nāşir li-‘l-Ḥākik was active in Gīlākādān and Hawsām [q.v. in Suppl.], converting the Daylamīs north of the mountain range and the Gīlīs east of the Sāfīd Rūd. In 301/914 he conquered Amul and restored Zaydi rule in Tabaristān, reigning until his death in 304/917. Al-Nāşir left numerous writings on law and theology and was generally recognised as an imām. His teaching differed to some extent from that of al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm. In its basic theses his theology was similar to al-Kāsim’s, but also polemically anti-Mu‘tazīlī. In ritual and law he was closer than al-Kāsim to the Kufan Zaydi tradition and more conservative. However, his Shī‘ī doctrine. Thus he adopted the Imāmī law of inheritance, repudiating the privileged position accorded to the agnates in Sunni law, and the Imāmī prohibition of the irreconcilable triple repudiation of the wife (talāk al-bid‘ā).

The Caspian Zaydiyya was thereafter divided into two rival schools and communities, the Ḵāsimiyā prevailing in western Tabaristān, Rūyān and the adjoining Daylam, and the Nāṣiriyā among the eastern Gīl and the interior Daylam. The Ḵāsimiyā maintained close ties with the family of al-Ḵāsim. His grandson Yahyā b. al-Husayn al-Ḥādī ʿilā-‘l-Ḥākik [q.v. in Suppl.] came to Amul during the reign of Muhammad b. Zayd, but aroused the suspicion of the latter by being addressed by some of his followers as imām and had to leave quickly. After he established Zaydi rule in Yemen, he was joined by groups of Zaydi volunteers from Tabaristān and Kālar. Al-Ḥādī’s works on religious law were immediately adopted by the Ḵāsimiyā and commented upon by Caspian ‘Alīd scholars. The close relationship between the Ḵāsimiyā and the Yemeni Zaydiyya was to continue for a long time. The Nāṣiriyā tended to look to the descendants of al-Nāṣir li-‘l-Ḥākik for leadership. All of these were given the lakab al-Nāṣir, and al-Nāṣir li-‘l-Ḥākik’s tomb in Amul remained for centuries a place of pilgrimage for the Nāṣiriyā. However, only one of his descen-
The Zaydiyya, al-Husayn b. Dja'Tar al-Nasir ruling in Hawsam (432-72/1040-80), gained recognition as a Zaydi imām. The antagonism between the two schools was initially expected, as the Imām Abū 'l-Hācī al-Da'ī, whose claims were commonly called Abd Allah b. al-Da'ī al-Rayy, wrote major legal works and commentaries ascribed to the Buyid vizier al-Sahib Ibn Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Mu'tatt. He was the circle of the Buyid vizier al-Sahib Ibn Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Mu'tatt. He was the founder of the Buyid vizier al-Sahib Ibn Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Mu'tatt. He was the founder of the Buyid vizier al-Sahib Ibn Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Mu'tatt. He was the founder of the Buyid vizier al-Sahib Ibn Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Mu'tatt. He was the founder of the Buyid vizier al-Sahib Ibn Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Mu'tatt. He was the founder of the Buyid vizier al-Sahib Ibn Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Mu'tatt. He was the founder of the Buyid vizier al-Sahib Ibn Ahmad b. al-Husayn al-Mu'tatt. He was the Zaydi scholars of Rānkīh and Lāhīghān. His descendants ruled in Lāhīghān on the basis of dynastic succession as Zaydis until 933/1526-7, when Sultan Ahmad Kháśan, with most of his Zaydi subjects, converted to Imāmi Shi'ism. The survival of a tradition of Zaydi learning in eastern Gilān until that date is attested by a number of manuscripts of Zaydi texts written there in the last phase before the conversion.

3. The Zaydiyya in Yemen.

The Zaydi imām of Yemen was founded in 284/897 by al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm's grandson al-Hādī li-'l-Hācī, who had been invited by local tribes in the hope that he would settle their feuds. Although Shi'i sentiments had been manifest in parts of Yemen since the rise of Islam, there is little evidence of specifically Zaydi activity before his arrival. Al-Hādī established his capital in Sa'da (q.v.), and his sons Muhammad al-Muṣṭaḍa (d. 310/922) and Ahmad al-Nasir li-Dīn Allāh (d. 322/934), both of whom were consecutively recognised as imāms, were buried in the congregational mosque there, and Sa'da has ever remained the stronghold of Zaydi faith and learning in Yemen. Al-Mansūr's son al-Husayn al-Muḥdī li-Dīn Allāh (401-4/1010-13) was also recognised as imām. His qualification of religious knowledge, however, was soon questioned. He defended himself, making extravagant claims that he equaled the Prophet in rank and that he was the Expected Mahdī. When he was killed in battle, his followers and his family asserted that he had not died and would return. Thus a sect arose, called the Husayniyya. Led by descendants of al-Mansūr's brother Qa'far, the Husayniyya, having acquired and fortified the impregnable mountain stronghold of Shahrā, became the main force of opposition to the Ismā'īlī rule of the Sulayhids (q.v.) in northern Yemen during the 5th/11th century.

In the same period another Zaydi sect arose, the Muṭarrifiyya (q.v.), founded by Muṭarrif b. Shihāb (d. 459/1067). Muṭarrif explicitly based his religious teaching on the works of al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm, al-Hādī, and the early Yemeni imāms, as well as on some statements ascribed to 'Ali. He interpreted them, however, in an arbitrary manner, developing a theology and cosmology that deviated substantially from Mu'tazilī doctrine. This brought him in conflict with the Baṣrī Muṭāzilī teaching espoused by the Caspian Kāsimiyya imams. The Muṭarrifiyya also manifested distinct ascetic and pietist tendencies. On the basis of the doctrine...
of ḥiḍrā, the obligation to emigrate from the land of injustice, that had been taught by al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm and other Zaydi authorities, they founded “shades of emigration” where they congregated to engage in worship, ritual purification, ascetic practices and teaching. These hiḍrās, usually forming a protected enclave in tribal territory, became the prototype of the protected teaching centres called hiḍrās common among the later Yemeni Zaydiyya in general.

At first, during the Sulayhīd age, the Mutarrifiyya could spread without strong opposition from the mainstream Zaydiyya. After the restoration of the imāmāte by Ahmad b. Sulaīmān al-Mutawakkil ‘ālā ‘llāh (532/66-1137-70), they came under increasing pressure. Al-Mutawakkilīl favored the unity of the Zaydiyya in and outside Yemen, equally recognising the Caspian and Yemeni imāms. He acknowledged the pro-Shī’ī wing of the Mu’tazila as close allies, asserting that the founder of the Mu’tazila, Wāṣīl b. ‘Aṭa’ (q.v.), had received his doctrine from the Family of the Prophet. He furthermore the teaching of Caspian Zaydi scholars and of Yemeni scholars who had studied with Zaydi scholars in the Caspian region, Rāy and Kūfah, and encouraged a massive transfer of Caspian Zaydi religious literature to Yemen. A leading part in this transfer and in spreading Caspian Zaydi and Mu’tazili teaching was played by the kādi Dja’far b. Abī ‘Iyāḥa Shahr, a strict adherent of the Mu’tazila (q.v. in S. M. Al-Mu’attākīl severely criticized the Mutarrifiyya and the Husayniyya for splitting the unity of the Zaydiyya. The Imām al-Mansūr bī ‘l-lhāb Allāh b. Ḥamza (593/614-1197-1217), a strong supporter of Mu’tazili theology, declared the Mutarrifiyya dangerous heretics, persecuted them, and destroyed their hiḍrās. Both Husayniyya and Mutarrifiyya vanished during the 9th/15th century.

The domination of Mu’tazili theology, as espoused by the school of kādi Dja’far, did not, however, remain unchallenged. The Sayyid Ḥumaydān b. Yahyā (early 17th/13th centuries) demonstrated in several of his treatises that the early Zaydi authorities, in particular al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm and al-Nāṣir bī ‘l-Ḥaqq, had differed on many points with the Mu’tazila, while accusing the latter of heretical innovations in numerous details of their teaching. He ignored the Caspian Kasimiyā imāms and claimed, with tenuous arguments, that even al-Mansūr ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza in reality did not support Mu’tazili theology.

The teaching of the Imām al-Mu’ayyad bī ‘l-lhāb Yahyā b. Ḥamza (719-47/1328-46), a prolific author, refuted a lack of sectarian zeal and openness to Sunnī learning. He praised Abū Bakr, ‘Umar and ‘Utbah as early Companions of Muhammad on a par with ‘Alī. He adopted the Mu’tazili theology of the school of Abū ‘l-Husayn al-Baṣrī which, in contrast to the school of kādi ‘Abd al-Dja’far, previously prevalent, recognized the reality of kāramātī, the miracles of Sufi saints. His book on religious ethics Taṣfiyat al-kulub min darān al-aṣwār wa ‘l-idābād was patterned on al-Ghazālī’s Ihyāʿ ‘l-din and quoted widely from the sayings of the early Sufis. He sharply criticized al-Ghazālī, however, for his approval of sandāb, listening to music and singing by the Sufis.

The spread of Shī’ī orders in the Sunni lowlands of Yemen during this period put pressure on the Zaydiyya to re-examine their attitude to Sufism. The militant anti-Shī’ī stand of these orders made it difficult to come to terms with them. A Zaydi school of Sufism was founded, however, by ‘Alī b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Abī ‘l-Khaṣar, an initiate of the Kurdish Shī’ī shaykh al-Kurānī (q.v.), and his disciple Ibrāhīm al-Kaynā’ī (d. 793/1391). Al-Kaynā’ī was closely associated with the Imām al-Nāṣir Šalāh al-Dīn Muhammad (783/93-1711-91), and was able to found Sufi communities and hiḍrās throughout “shades of emigration” where they congregated to engage in worship, ritual purification, ascetic practices and teaching. These hiḍrās, usually forming a protected enclave in tribal territory, became the prototype of the protected teaching centres called hiḍrās common among the later Yemeni Zaydiyya in general.

The stigmatising of Sufism as heretical reached a peak under the Imām al-Mansūr al-Kāsim b. Muhammad (1006-29/1589-1620 [see AL-MANSUR BI ‘LLĀH]), the founder of the Kāsimī dynasty of imāms. Al-Mansūr’s anti-Shī’ī polemics were partly provoked by the strong support of the Sufi orders for the Ottoman Turkish occupiers of Yemen, against whom he fought a relentless war. He likened the Shī’īs to the Ismā’īlīs, who had long been the arch-enemies of the Zaydiyya, describing them as Bāṭinīs with whose basic thought was derived from Zoroastrianism and Mazdakism, and he singled out Ibn al-‘Arabī for particular condemnation, calling him the chief of the Sufī incarnationists (bulūhīyātn).

Al-Mansūr generally upheld the Shī’ī foundation of the Zaydiyya by re-affirming the Djārīdī position on the imāmāte. Inspired by Ḥumaydānī’s views, he stressed the differences between the teaching of the Zaydiyya and the Mu’tazila. While admitting that they agreed in their basic theological theses, he maintained that the early imāms had confined their teaching to what could be safely established by reason, the unambiguous text of the Kurān and the generally-accepted Sunna. They had not followed the Mu’tazila in their abstruse speculation and absurd fantasies.

Descendants of al-Mansūr reigned Yemen until the fall of the imāmāte in 1382/1962. Whereas some of his early successors were learned men in the Zaydi tradition, the later imāms, while still claiming the title of imām, in fact ruled on the basis of dynastic succession. As the Zaydi imāms gained control of the more populous and prosperous lowlands of Yemen, they found it increasingly expedient to accommodate the religious views and sentiments of the majority of their subjects. Thus they came to favour the neo-Sunnī school that first arose out of the teaching of the sayyid Muhammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Wazīr (d. 840/1436). Ibn al-Wazīr, member of the Kāsimī family of distinguished Zaydi scholars, had accepted the Sunnī canonical collections of hadīth as unconditionally authoritative in religion. On this basis, he had systematically defended Sunnī school doctrine and criticised the opposing Zaydi teaching in his voluminous al-Araṣīm wa ‘l-kawāṣīm fi ‘l-dhābīh ‘an sunnat Abī ‘l-Ḥaqq. He insisted, however, that he was not joining any Sunni school and was simply employing sound, independent idāhāt. Major scholars and authors of his school were Šāhī b. Mahdī al-Makhlīlī (d. 1108/1696-7), Muhammad b. Ismā’īl al-Amīr (d. 1182/1768-9) and Muhammad b. Abī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834 [q.v.]). The latter, muftī and chief judge under several imāms, vigorously attacked traditional Zaydiīs in his writings and, in his official position, persecuted some of their intransigent leaders. He gained wide recognition in the Sunnī world and is considered one of the founders of Islamic modernism. In the Republic of Yemen, Zaydi (Ḥādīlaw) law, as expounded in the Kāthā al-Aḥṣā’ī fī fikr al-qimma al-athār and its Šābh of Muḥammad b. Yahyā b. al-Murtadā (d. 840/1437), is officially recognized as valid next to Shī’ī law. Official ideology, however, favours the neo-Sunnī school and is putting the traditional Zaydiyya on the defensive.

Bibliography: R. Strothmann, Das Staatsrecht der Zaydig, Straßburg 1912; idem, Kultur der Zaydig, Straßburg 1912; C. van Arendonk, De opkomst van Zaydiyya.

ZA’IRDJA [see ZA’IRDJA].

ZAYLA’, a port on the Gulf of Aden [see ADA’N] and on the African coast, situated in lat. 11° 21’ N., long. 43° 30’ E. [Ar. Zayla’, Somali Seylac, Audal; Fr., Ital., Eng. Zeila, Zeyla, etc.]. In the colonial period it came within British Somaliland (1884-1960), and then in the Republic of Somalia, inaugurated in July 1960 by the union of the former British Somaliland and the Italian colony of Somalia [see SOMALI 3. History]. The falling-apart of the Republic of Somalia, since 1991, has placed it once more in the newly-independent Somaliland, which has become independent de facto but has not as yet (2000) been recognised internationally.

The town is over 200 km/125 miles west of the capital Berbera [q.v.], but only some 40 km/25 miles from the frontier separating Somaliland from the Republic of Djibouti/Dhibá’i [q.v.]. Opposite the town, which offers a secure anchorage, protected on the east by a peninsula, are the islands of Sa’d al-Din and, somewhat larger, of Aybat. The population of the hinterland is today made up of the ‘Issas/Is Somali.

Zayla’ has through the centuries been one of the points of contact between the Horn of Africa and the outside world via the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean. Its port was in lively relationship with all the other ports of the region, with Taguírra, but above all with al-Mukhá [q.v.]/Mocha and the other ports of Western and Southern Arabia. It was also the point of arrival and departure for caravans connecting the coastlands with the southern part of the Ethiopian highlands. Certain of these started from the well of Tocoshah for Shoa and Christian Ethiopia [see HABASH, HABASHA], others from the well of Warambot for Gildessa. At Gildessa, the road bifurcated, one way going towards Eter and Ankober in Shoa, and the other to Harar [q.v.], where caravans entered by the Báb al-Futúh. This was the main route into Ethiopia. At Zayla’, it was the point that Zayla’ could be called “the port of Harar.” Other tracks then led towards the Arusi country, the southwest and the region of the East African lakes. Coffee, hides, gum, resin, fats, ostrich plumes, cattle, slaves, ivory, etc. were exported from Zayla’; imports comprised rice, salt, tobacco, textiles, manufactured objects, etc. Hence it was via Zayla’ that Arab merchants penetrated into the southern part of the Horn of Africa, as also slave dealers, and with them, Islam and various outside influences.

The oldest mention of Zayla’ under that name is in al-Ya’kubí (late 3rd/9th century), and most of the Arab travellers who crossed the region mention the town; however, it existed before this, at the time of the Períplus of the Erythraean Sea. It always played in the south the role that Masiwwa’ [q.v.]/Masawwa played in the north, sc. that of a privileged access into Ethiopia. In the 7th/13th century, Zayla’ belonged to the sultanate of Ifat/Awraf [q.v.], from where the first attacks on Christian Ethiopia were launched in the 8th/14th century. Ethiopia at first successfully resisted. The Negus Yéshák defeated the ruler of Ifat, Sa’d al-Din [see ADA’N] in 1415, but soon had to appeal to the Portuguese for assistance. Pedro de Covilhã, sent by João II in 1487 to organise a Portuguese-Ethiopian alliance, arrived in the land via Zayla’. After the permanent defeat of Islam and the incorporation of the Red Sea region into the Ottoman empire ca. 1540, the country was for some time dependent on Portugal, which had a garrison there until 1576 and later was called ‘Asak in the port and the hinterland.

Some centuries later, it was also from Zayla’ that the second great Islamic attack on Ethiopia—this time by the Egyptians—was launched. In August 1875, Ra’üf/Rawí ‘Aská seized control of Zayla’ and its hinterland in the name of the Khidive Isma‘íl ‘Aská [q.v.]. The Egyptians, however, were only nominally in control, and in order to protect caravans, they had to seek the help of the ‘Issas and of ‘Abú Bakr, the former “Sultan” of Zayla’. From their base on the coast, the Egyptians seized Harar, occupying it for ten years and thus controlling the Zayla’-Harar axis. At Zayla’, they demolished the walls and four of the five gates, and prohibited the slave trade. On their departure, Major Hunter landed at Zayla’ in February 1884, inaugurating the period of British rule which lasted till 1960. At the same time, Ethiopia lost its outlet to the sea, which gradually became Eritrea Italiana. At various times, the British had the idea of ceding Zayla’ to Addis Ababa, which sought an outlet to the sea, in exchange for various advantages, mainly territorial, but the cession of Eritrea to Ethiopia in 1952 ended this possibility for the British.

The decline of Zayla’, which had begun with the sitting-up of its port, was largely accomplished by the mid-19th century. The creation of Djibouti (1896), the construction of the railway linking this new port with Addis Ababa (1897-1917), and the growing importance of Berbera (which had in its favour a location well to the south of Aden) brought about the definitive ruin of Zayla’, whilst the relegation in importance of Harar, overshadowed by Diredawa, the new stopping-place on the railway, finalised the disappearance of the Zayla’-Harar route. Today the town is reduced to a dilapidated village with a few hundred inhabitants, held by a small garrison of the army of Somaliland, although it has a radio mast for the service of the fishing industry.

Bibliography: Since there is no monograph on Zayla’, the sparse items of information must be sought in the Arabant, Ethiopian, and in works about Ethiopia and Somaliland, their Islamisation and on the history of Egyptian expansion in the Red Sea region. See the various works of I.M. Lewis, esp. his Modern history of Somalia. Nation and state in the Horn of Africa, 2London 1988 (1965), and, for the references in them; J. Doresse, Histoire sommaire de la Corne orientale de l’Afrique, Paris 1971; R. Pankhurst, History of Ethiopian towns, 2vols. Wiesbaden 1982-5. Alfred Bardey, the employer of Rimbaud, has left a precious report of his first caravan journey, Barr-Afjam. Souvenirs d’Afrique orientale, 1880-1887, to which is prefixed J. Tubiana, Le patron de Rimbaud, Paris 1981. (A. ROUARD)

ZAYN AL-‘ABIDIN (‘Ornament of the Worshipper’s’) ‘Ali b. al-Husayn b. ‘Ali b. Abí Talib, the fourth Imam of the Twelver Shi‘a. His family is variously given as Abí ‘Abd Alláh, Abí Bakr, etc. According to many sources he was born (in Medina) in 38/658-9, though the years 33, 36, and 37 are also given. If accounts that he had not reached puberty at the time of the Karbálá massacre (61/680) are to be trusted, this would put his birthdate forward to the 40th/660s; these accounts are, however, rejected by al-Wákití and other authorities.

His mother’s name is variously given as Barra, Ghazálá, Daylá, etc.; some say that she was an umm...
Zayn al-'Abidin

Zayn al-Abidin was not the only son of al-Husayn called 'Ali; another was killed at Karbala' and is known as 'Ali al-Shahid. Some historians, including Ibn Sa'd, Ibn Kutayba, al-Baladhuri and al-Tabari, refer to him as 'Ali al-Akbar and to Zayn al-Abidin as 'Ali al-Mughfr. Others (e.g. al-Kafl al-Nu'man) maintain that Zayn al-Abidin was the older of the two, and accordingly refer to him as 'Ali al-Akbar and to his martyred brother as 'Ali al-Mughfr. For many Twelver authors, the title 'Ali al-Abidin refers to an infant brother who was also killed at Karbala'; some of these authors maintain that Zayn al-Abidin was the middle brother (hence 'Ali al-Awsat), while the eldest was 'Ali al-Shahid; others reverse the position of the two older brothers.

At Karbala', Zayn al-Abidin is said to have been too ill to join in the fighting; after the battle 'Umar b. 'Abd Allah b. Ziyad found him lying on a mat in the women's tent and ordered him to be killed but was overruled by 'Umar b. Sa'd, the commander of the Syrian army. When 'Ali was brought before 'Ubayd Allah b. Ziyad in Kufa, the governor ordered his execution, but relented after pleas by al-Husayn's sister Zaynab. 'Ali and the other survivors were taken to Yazid in Damascus, and he sent them back to Medina.

The maghazah 'Ali, forming part of the great mosque in Damascus, is said to have been built at the place of Zayn al-Abidin's incarceration (cf. L. Pouzet, Dhamas au VII/XIII siècle, Beirut 1988, 352).

In Medina 'Ali led a pious life which earned him the honorifics Zayn al-Abidin, al-Sajjidad ('he who constantly prostrates himself'), al-Zafir ('the pure') and 'Abd al-Malik: the former lent him money to purchase loads of food at night for the poor. 'Ali was the permanent imam (mustakarr). Following Ibn al-Hanafiyya's death, a subgroup of the Kaysaniyya, some of these authors attempt to show that Ibn al-Hanafiyya acknowledged 'Ali's leadership; an oft-repeated story has it that the two agreed to abide by the ruling of the Imam al-Qasim ibn Ibrahim and the Glau-
Ali is said to have died in 94/712 or 95/713; other dates mentioned are 92, 93, and 99 and 100. He was buried in al-Baqi' cemetery. Shi'a authors maintain that he is present among the forerunners of the imam al-Mahdi, and in the Shi'ite devotional literature, he contributed to the reformist newspaper Akhtar and published anonymously, at Cairo, the first volume of his al-Sahifa fi 'l-zuhd (in two versions) in two 4th/10th century works: Ibn Bābawayh's Kātib al-Kāmil (Najaf 1391/1972, 529-36) and Ibn Shū'ab's Tuhaf al-ṭalib (Beirut 1394/1974, 184-95). ‘Ali's collection of prayers known as al-Saḥēfa al-kāmilā or al-Sahifa (al-kamila) al-saadīyya gained wide popularity; there are numerous redactions and over twenty commentaries, and it was translated into Persian in the Safawid period. Fifteen whispered prayers (manqūṭ) ascribed to ‘Ali have been added to several modern editions of the Saḥēfa; an English translation of the entire work is now available (Inām Zayn al-Abīdīn ‘Ali b. al-Ḥusayn, The Psalms of Islam: Al-Sahifa al-kamila al-sajjadiyya, tr. with an introd. and annotation by W.C. Chittick, London 1988).


Zayn al-Abīdīn, the regnal name of the Kashmir Sultan Shāhī Khān b. Iskandar, greatest of the line of Shāh Mīr Swāltī, hence called Bud Shāh ‘Great King’, r. 823-75/1420-70.

It was his merit to put an end to the persecutions of his father Sīkandar Baut-Shāltī [gen.], who had forcibly converted Hindus and destroyed their temples. Zayn al-Abīdīn now in effect abolished the jāzya, allowed the rebuilding of temples, etc. The realm was secured by strong military policies, and internal prosperity secured by such measures as the digging of canals and the founding of new towns. He encouraged arts and crafts, and paper-making and book-binding were introduced from Samarkan. Himself a poet in Persian, he patronized learning, and under him, the Maḥābhārata and Kaḷīṇa’s metrical chronicle the Rājatarangīṇī were translated into Persian. His reign was very much a Golden Age for Kashmir, but much of his work was undone by his weaker successors.


(C.E. Bosworth)
Spāḥat-nāma-i Ibrahim Bēg, to which he later added two more volumes, only revealing his name at the end of the third one. In the style of James Morier’s Hāji Bāba-i Isfahān, he tells of the travels in Persia of a young Persian patriarch, of liberal views, born in Egypt, in which he discovers the moral and political decadence of his land. Referring to Islam, citing Tālibīf (q.v.)/Tālibov and influenced by Malkom Khān (q.v.), he displays the bad conscience of an idealistic patriot who only knows his country through travellers’ accounts. His convincing ardour in denouncing despotism was to assure him a great, immediate success (reprints in India and eventual publication in 1233/1905).

As a good representative of the preconstitutionalist Adhārī milieu, linked with the Caucasus region, which spread within Persia the democratic ideal, Marāghā’ī was to inspire not only the revolutions of 1906 but also several succeeding reformers up to the present time, such as Ahmad Kasrawī (see KASRAWI TABLEZI).


ZAYN AL-‘ABDĪN SHĪRṔNĪ, called “Mast-‘Ali Shāh”, with the pen-name “Takmīn”, Persian scholar and mystic (1193-1235/1779-1836). He was born into a Shī’ī family of Shīrvān, accompanied his father Mūsā Iskāwandī to Kūrduz at five years of age and studied there for twelve years. Having made the acquaintance of the Nī’matallāhī Sūfī masters Ma’sūm ‘Alī Shāh Dakhānī and Nūr-‘Alī Shāh Isfahānī (both d. 1212/1797), he made his way to Bahgādād and thence embarked on a life of travel, punctuated by encounters with mystical masters or political leaders, whom he evokes in his major encyclopaedic works (for example, Riyād al-siydha, written 1237/1821-2), Lughat-nāma, new ed. Tehran 1373/1994, viii, 11,530, s.n. Zayn al-Ḥādīn Marāgha’ī; Ch. Balay, La genèse du roman persan moderne, Tehran-Louvain 1998, 247-77 (detailed literary analysis of the story). (Y. Richard)

In those of his works that have survived, Shīrwānī tells of the various places that he visited and expands upon the teaching of Sūfism and upon his personal philosophy. The Persian historian A. Hain has shown that, fascinated by the Britons encountered in India, Zayn al-‘Abdīn lost all critical sense (Nakhustin riyd-ru’i-hā, 436-7). Rather than a mystical work, it is a mine of information on Nī’matallāhī Sūfism and on the daily and cultural life of the early 19th century. Rādī-Kult Hidūyat was among the direct disciples of Shīrvānī.


ZAYN AL-DĪN b. ‘ALĪ (see AL-MADJID AL-TĀḤŠĪF).

ZAYN AL-DĪN, SHAYKH AHMAD (see MAPPIA).

Zaynab bt. Dālah (q.v.)/Zaynab bt. Dālah (q.v.).

Zaynab’s mother was a maternal aunt of the Hasanid ‘Alī, the leader of the Ahl al-Sunnah in Medina in the late 19th century (see AL-MURĀBITUN).

Zaynab bt. ‘Abd Allāh al-Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Muṣṭañān, Umm al-Husayn, the mother of the Hasanid ‘Alī al-Muṣṭañān b. ‘Alī, Shāh Fakhkh (q.v.), who led a revolt in Medina in 169/786 during the caliphate of Mūsā al-Ḥādī. According to Abu ʿAbd al-Muṣṭañān al-Ḥusayn, Maṣkīl al-tālābīn, Nāḍīf 1383/1965, 285-6, she and her husband were so famed for their religious devotion that they were known as “the pious couple” (al-zawād al-sīlāh).

Bibliography: See also Muḥsin al-Murābīlī al-‘Ammī, Ayyān al-Ṣif’ā, Damascus-Beirut 1356-74/1938-55, xxxii, 169 no. 6825; and for her paternal ancestors, K. Ohrnberg, The offspring of Fāṭimah, Dispersal and assimilation, Helsinki 1963, Tables 16, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38 (Eng.).

Zaynab bt. Dajāsh b. Rūbah al-Asadiyya, one of the Prophet’s wives, whom he married after her divorce from Muhammad’s freedman and adopted son ‘Azīd b. Ḥārīṣa (q.v.).

Zaynab’s mother was a maternal aunt of the Prophet, Umayya b. ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, and her father, from the tribe of Asad, a client of the clan of ‘Abd Shams. One of the first emigrants to Medina, she was a virgin (according to some traditions, a widow) when Muhammad gave her in marriage to ‘Azīd. In the year 4/626 Muhammad saw Zaynab alone in her company, as saying that her marriage to the Prophet was better than one of the Prophet’s wives. ‘Abd Shams came toUSES instead of ‘Abd Shams. In the year 4/626 Muhammad saw Zaynab alone in her company, as saying that her marriage to the Prophet was better than one of the Prophet’s wives. ‘Abd Shams came to see how her marriage to the Prophet was superior to the other ones because it had the confirmation of divine revelation. The “verse of veiling”, ‘āyat al-ḥijāb (XXXIII, 53), is said to have been revealed at the time of her wedding feast, and some traditions also connect LXVI, 1, with Zaynab and with the other wives’ envy of her.
Zaynab was friendly with Ṭabība b. Durayd, and supportive of her during the so-called "affair of the lie" (hadlth al-ijk). She was penniless, having given it to al-Muktafi; on the intervention of the Seljuk sultans in Baghdad.

Zaynab died in Medina in 8/629. She had two children, 'Ali, who died in infancy, and Umama, who died in 10/632. Zaynab's husband was taken prisoner a second time in 6/627 during the expedition of al-Ḥāfaẓ, and freed by his wife's intercession. He became a Muslim in 7/628 and was re-united with her by a second marriage.


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Zaynab was friendly with ʿĀʾisha (q.v.), and supportive of her during the so-called "affair of the lie" (hadlth al-ijk). Her charity was famed, as "the foremost of the Prophet's wives; on the intervention of the Sāljuqs and the Seljuk sultans in Baghdād.


name *Olea europaea L.*), although it could apply today to any oil. Here only the use of olive oil will be discussed. In his Book on Dietetics (*K. al-adhhiyya*, al-Israʿīlī (d. ca. 935) adds that oil extracted from any plant other than the olive was called *dīhm*.

Cultivated throughout the Mediterranean basin since about 3,000 B.C., the fruit of the olive tree was used for cooking, as food, as a cosmetic and for lamp oils. It is in this last usage that *zayt* occurs in the famous Qurʿānic “Verse of Light” (XXIV, 35). This reference gave rise to Traditions from the Prophet who approved its use because it was from “a blessed tree”. Graded according to the acidic content, the very best “virgin” oil would contain 1% of oleic acid, while poor oil with acidity too high for eating would be used as lamp oil. The term *zayt magṣūl* (“washed oil”) or alternatively *zayt al-māʿ* might refer either to the Roman technique of removing a bitter glucoside from the fruit by first soaking it in a solution of lye followed by a thorough washing, or by crushing the olives and then purifying the liquid by floating it on water. Al-Israʿīlī again notes that both the previously-mentioned terms refer to oil extracted (after crushing?) by means of hot water. On the other hand, in the dietetic treatise of the Andalusī author Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malīk b. Ẓuhr (d. 557/1162), he says that the very best olive oil is taken from ripe olives that have not been mixed with salt or other substance, as this adulterates the fruit’s moist elements and unbalances its nature; this may reflect a traditional Iberian taste for the more acidic grades of the oil.

Ibn Ḥabīb’s (d. 357/966) small medical compendium preserves a couple of sayings attributed to the Prophet Muhammad indicating the several uses of olive oil and its magical property of protecting from Satan for forty days anyone who is anointed with it. The composition of olive oil was described as hot and moist in the first degree. In the mediaeval Arab culinary tradition, represented by the anonymous *Kanz al-fawdʿi* (see index s.v.), olive oil was employed in a variety of preparations. As a frying agent, it was also occasionally replaced by sesame oil (*dīh madīh*), as in the preparation of fish; in egg preparations, the two oils were often used together. Oil sprinkled over a prepared condiment lent it its flavour to the dish. A mixture of salt, water and oil was used to clean chicken before cooking it, and oil was used in a herbal-based mixture in which to marinate fish.


ZAYTUN (a.), the olive and olive tree (*Olea europaea L.*), the cultivated olive; *O. oleaster*, the wild one. 1. In materia medica and folklore.

Olives and their oil (**zayt** [q.v.]) have been used as a food and medicine since ancient times. In the Kurʾān, Sulṭān and *XXIV, 35*., we have an introductory oath “By the fig and the olive...”.

According to Dioscorides, leaves of wild and cultivated olive are beneficial for the eyes, skin conditions, pains and inflammations (i, 137-140). Al-Zahrāwī describes the extraction and use of oils (*adhān*) notably various types of olive oil. Green unripe olives give *infīkh* (emulsion) of Dioscorides, i, 29; according to him, oil washed in water is *nīkhāt*, a “vehicle” for other ingredients (but see 2. below for another, more widespread explanation of the term). Olive oil is mentioned as useful in ointments (madīḥ) which need astringent properties; his *makdāl* 24 on ointments lists 86 prescriptions, of which 47 contain oil. He quotes Dioscorides that oil warms and softens the skin and protects from the cold (Albucasis 81, 90, 98-100, 114-15, cf. Dioscorides, i, 30) Ibn Sīnā recommends it for many internal and external ailments (*Kānūn*, i, 309-10). Al-Kīndī uses oil for burns (nos. 120, 135) and abscesses (nos. 129, 131), whilst Galen recommends it for headache (310-12).

Olive oil has long featured in folk medicine, continuing up to the present time. It has the authority of the Prophet, for it is “from a blessed tree”, and is recommended in particular for crysipelas, itch, ulcers, and skin eruptions (*Medicine of the Prophet, tr. Johnstone, 227,*). In Persia of the 1930s, it was “much used in magical rites”. Gabriel was said to have told Adam to plant an olive tree and from the fruit to extract an oil which could be used for any pain; thus it was said to cure “every illness except that one from which a person is destined to die” (Donaldson, *The wild rue*, 141, 144). Earlier, in Palestine, it is mentioned as being used for wounds (Canaan, *Agricultural and Medical Practice in the Land of Israel,* 2 vols., London 1958, repr. New York 1973; C.E. Duhler and E. Teresi, *La Matera Medicinae De Dioscoridis, ii, Tuena 1952; S.K. Hamarneh and G. Sonnedecker, *A Pharmaceutical view of Al-Kindi’s...* (trans. by) J. Gunther 1934; B.A. Donaldson, *The Wild Rye. A Study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, London 1938; M. Levey, *The Medical Formulary of Agrabiḥdān al-Dīkndīd, Madison 1966; Kāf ʾDāʾīnī ʾīlā Qadīkūn...* (trans. by) P. Johnstone, *Medicine of the Prophet, tr. P. Johnstone, Cambridge 1999.*

Modern Western use is mainly culinary, but also as eardrops and in compound oils.

2. Olive cultivation.

The domesticated olive tree was an important food plant in the Mediterranean region and Asia Minor during the Islamic era. The primary centre of cultivation was Syria and Palestine, but substantial groves were also found in Spain. In Egypt there was limited production of olives in the Delta, especially near Alexandria, according to al-Mukaddasī and al-Kalkashandi. Olives were cultivated in the Fayyum and the Siwa oasis since the Hellenistic period. Ethnographic descriptions of olive planting and the folklore surrounding olives focus on Syria and Palestine (see Crowfoot and Baldensperger, and Dalman), especially in reference to biblical studies (see Moldenke). Information is available in the major mediaeval agricultural treatises about the cultivation of olives and their use in the form of olive oil (**zayt**), although much of this is copied from earlier classical texts. The
ZAYTÜN

most extensive source on olive cultivation comes from the widely-quoted al-Fildha al-Nabatiyya attributed to Ibn Wahshiyya [q.v.] and reflecting much older practices. Olives and the olive tree are frequently reported in the mediaeval almanacs. In Ibn al-Fildha al-Nabatiyya, attributed to Abu Muhammad al-Asma‘ ibn Miskawayh (Kitab al-Fildha), classical sources quoted by Arab authors indicate that olive dung is not favorable for fertilizing olive trees. Much of the technical advice is mixed with magical claims for promoting growth, protecting from pests and treating diseases, changing the taste with magical claims for promoting growth, protecting from pests and treating diseases, changing the taste of the olives, and preparation of olive oil.

In ca. 1880, the population of Zaytun and its surroundings was about 20,000. The town is mentioned in several Arabic and Ottoman sources, including Ibn Battuta's account (C.E. Bosworth, tr., C.E. Bosworth; tr.).

A variety of methods are recorded for planting olive trees from shoots around the base of an existing tree. These are sometimes grafted with stock from wild varieties. The sources note that trees planted from seed, which usually occurs in late autumn, do poorly under domestication. The sources suggest planting in fine and pliable soil in locations protected from hot winds. Olives do not grow well in saline soils. Cultivation is preferable in the mountains because of the cooler air.

Olive production occurs after the tree reaches maturity, generally in about 15 years. It is difficult to kill an olive tree by cutting it down, since new shoots will be sent up from the roots. In Palestine, excessive dew and heavy moisture can damage the pollen when the olive tree is flowering. The best olives come from trees which are 40-60 years old. Olives were traditionally harvested in November in Palestine and Syria, either by men climbing the trees and throwing the olives down or by beating the trees with sticks. Al-Aṣma‘i quotes ʿAbd al-Malik b. Salih b. al-Aṣma‘ī Al-ʿAsma‘ī Al-ʿAsma‘ī Al-ʿAsma‘ī Al-ʿAsma‘ī Al-ʿAsma‘ī (Kitab al-Fildha), Damasc 1993, i, 12-53; Thaʿalibī, Lattīf al-maʿārif, tr. C.E. Bosworth, The book of culture and entertaining information, Edinburgh 1969, 119; G.M. Crowfoot and L. Baldensperger, From cedar to hyssop, London 1931; G. Dalmam, Arbeia and Sítte in Paléstina, Gütersloh 1933, iv, 153-290; H.N. and A.L. Moldenke, Plants of the Bible, New York 1952, 156-60; M. Šahbí and I. al-ʿAmid (eds.), Mṣīḥāb al-rāḥa bi-ʿall al-filāḥa, Kuwait 1984, 191-3.

(D.M. VARISCO)

ZAYTŪN, or more probably Zīţūn, the name given in the later Arabic geographers (Ibn Saʿīd al-Maghribī [q.v.], who flourished in the 7th/13th century, and apparently the first to mention it) and in later Muslim travelling like Ibn Bāṭṭūta [q.v.] (who landed there after his Chinese voyage of ca. 1346-7) to a great commercial port of China. It is usually identified as Criťan-chou or Quanzhou in the modern Fukien or Fujian province, facing the Formosa strait (lat. 24° 53' N., long. 118° 36' E.) or possibly as the nearby Chang-chou or Zhangzhou near Amoy in this same province (lat. 24° 31' N., long. 117° 40' E.). In Sung and Yuan according to this source, the best time for planting olive trees is when the sun is at the midpoint of the zodiacal house of Pisces until it reaches the middle of Taurus, during February and March; this general time frame is frequently reported in the mediaeval almanacs. In most cases, the young shoots should be irrigated, especially right after the planting, and manure is recommended. Classical sources quoted by Arab authors indicate that olive dung is not favorable for fertilizing olive trees. Much of the technical advice is mixed with magical claims for promoting growth, protecting from pests and treating diseases, changing the taste of the olives, and preparation of olive oil.

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(D.M. VARISCO)
surrounding district was estimated at nearly 36,000, including 27,500 Armenians and 8,300 Turks. It was the seat of an Armenian bishopric. The men of the town had been engaged in the iron mines of the Berit Dağ to the north of Zaytūn, and silkworms had also been reared in the region, as well as cultivation of the olive tree which gave the place its name.

In late Ottoman times, Zaytūn was the chef-lieu of a kaâdî in the wilâyet, formerly sangâkid, of Marâsh [q.v.]. In modern Turkey, it comes within the îl or province of Kahramanmârî.


**ZAYTÚNA.** *Djami* al-, the celebrated mosque-university in the city of Tunis.

1. Archaeological survey and construction of the mosque. Foundation. ’Abd Allâh al-Bâkîr [5th/11th century] gives two facts: the building by ’Ubayd Allâh b. Hâbbâb [q.v.] in 114/723-2 of a Friday mosque, *djâmi*, and the building of a masjîd by Hassân b. al-Nu’mân [q.v.] at the time of his capture of Tunis ca. 79/699-9 (K. al-djâmi’ bi-lajtîl firkikya wa-l-Maghrib, Algiers 1911, 37). This account has given rise to two theses, taken up by modern historians. Most of these theses consider the creation of the Zaytûna mosque to the end of the 7th century A.D., assuming that Ibn Hâbbâb rebuilt it. Lucien Golvin, on the other hand, considered that Ibn Hâbbâb built the original Zaytûna mosque but places the date in 116/734, the year in which he became governor of Firkikya (*Essai sur l’architecture religieuse musulmane*, Paris 1974, iii, 152). In fact, there is nothing to confirm the thesis of a continuity between the two buildings, which al-Bâkîr seems to describe as two separate buildings.

Do we have here a creation ex nihilo? Historians raise the question of the reconstruction of a former Byzantine church dedicated to St. Olive. Restoration work from 1969-70 allows one to affirm that the mosque was built on stone pillars which ran from west to east, being survivals of an ancient building covering a cemetery (conclusion of Hámid al-Adîjîbî, director of the restoration work, in Ifriqiyâta. Revue de l’Institut national des antiquités et des arts, Tunis n.d., vii-viii, 13-24). Putting forward a new thesis, Muhammad al-Bâdîj Ibn Mâmi believes that there may be here an ancient Byzantine defensive construction, with the Arab conquerors building their mosque within the ramparts of a fort (*djâmi* al-Zaytûna, in *Al-Mu’arrîkh al-tunisi, Bagdad* [Dec. 2000]).

The building and its history. The architectural history of the mosque and a description of it have been delineated by Golvin, *op. cit.*, iii, 159-62, and restated by Muhammad al-‘Azîz Ibn ’Ashîr, *Djami* al-Zaytûna, al-mul’im wa-ragîbûhu, Tunis 1991, and *‘Abd al-‘Azîz al-Dawlatî, al-Zaytûna, stûyà kurîn min al-fann al-mîmârî al-tunisî, Tunis* 1996. The mosque was built under the Aghlabids. Inscriptions bearing the date 250/864 testify that the prayer hall, if not the entire building, was reconstructed and enlarged, probably reaching their present area. During a second building spell, 380-5/990-5, under the Zîrisids, were built the galleries of the court (*madjûnahâb*), the crypt (*dâmûs*) and the dome (*kabba*) of the Bâb al-Bahw. The Hafsid completed the construction of the mosque: a sîkîya or basin in 648/1250, restoration and decorative works in 676/1277, rebuilding of the wall of the prayer hall in 716/1316, construction of mastsûras or antechambers in 751/1351 and 822/1419, etc. Significantly, the Hafsids provided the great mosque of al-Zaytûna with a minaret ca. 842/1438-9 on the site of the modern minaret. The absence of a minaret, from the mosque’s foundation till the mid-9th/15th century, seems to strengthen the hypothesis of an original fort in which watch towers replaced minarets for making the call to worship.

The actual building of the great mosque is the Aghlabid one restored and enlarged by the Hafsids. The present prayer hall, a rectangle 56 m x 24 m, covering 1344 m², is much less spacious than ’Ukba b. Nafi’i’s mosque at al-Kayrawân [q.v.]. It has fifteen naves, on average three metres wide, except for the centre and extreme ones which are wider (4.50 m). It has some common features with the mosque at al-Kayrawân: its T-shape, a dome before the mihrâb and perpendicular naves on the base wall (A. Lézine, *Deux villes d’Ifriqiya, Études d’archéologie, d’urbanisme et de démographie. Sousse, Tunis*, Paris 1971, 159). The pillars, mainly of marble, came from Roman or Byzantine buildings, probably at Carthage. The gallery-narthex, made up of a single east-west passage, is ornamented at its central part by the famous dome of Bâb al-Bahw, which gives on to a court 1,810 m². The present minaret, rebuilt in 1312/1894, is 40 m high and belongs to the Maghribi-Andalusî style.


2. Instruction in the mediaeval period. Can one state, as a historically-attested fact, that the Zaytûna mosque was a centre for scholarship and instruction right from its foundation? H.H. ’Abd al-Wahhâb seems to have asserted this when he said “this is the oldest centre for instruction in the Arab world” (*Warakât*, i, 31). Celebrated *‘ilmül* were probably educated in its precincts, but explicit references to the Zaytûna are late. There were probably some

As an analysis of the biographies of scholars attests, the Zaytuna only succeeded in overtaking in prestige the mosque of 'Ukba b. Nafi‘ at al-Kayrawān at the beginning of the Ḥaḍīd period, when the latter place declined and Tunis flourished as the capital of Idrīsya (Muhammad Ḥassān, *al-Madinah wa l-bādiyya fi l-ḥad al-ḥafī, Tunisi 1999, ii, 706*). Nevertheless, higher education was by no means centralised on Tunis, nor, a fortiori, monopolised by right or in practice by the Zaytuna, even at the time of its apogee; the biographies of scholars show a multiplicity of centres of instruction in Idrīsya, above all at al-Kayrawān, which was able to support some highly celebrated great masters, and in urban centres which were centres for more modest education. At Tunis, a certain number of well-known 'ulamā' were often summoned by the ruler to teach in the madrasas (al-Zarkashī, *Ṭārīkh al-Dawlatayn, al-muwahhidiyya wa l-hafsiyya, Tunis 1289/1872-3*, 41, 58).

The system of teaching, in its organisational principles, methods used and subjects of courses, was similar to that of other Islamic djāmil (see MĀDRASA, I. 6]. Attendance was voluntary and students followed the courses of the monasteries of their own choice. The rhythm of teaching was rather relaxed, with weekly holidays on Thursdays and Fridays, periods of leave, the Muslim festivals and, probably, no courses in the summer. There were no examinations, but certificates of *iǧāza* (q.v.) attesting the following of a course and authorisation to teach it in turn. We have little information on the teaching at the Zaytuna before the 8th/14th century, when signs of the decline of Arab-Islamic culture began to appear (see ibn Khaldūn, in *Vol. III*, 828a). Placing foremost the teaching of Islamic knowledge and the juridical-theological disciplines (Kur‘ānic exegesis, *ḥadīth, fākha, Arabic grammar, division of inheritances, etc.), the instructor used manuals, résumés, explanations and commentaries on the works of the Golden Age masters (Muhammad Ḥassān, *op. cit., ii, 709*). Even so, these methods did not prevent the emergence of great scholars and outstanding personalities such as Muhammad b. ‘Arafa and Ibn Khaḍḏūn. Increased affluence in the 8th/14th century meant that over 70 circles in mosques could be counted then.

The occupation of La Goletta on 14 July 1534 by the Spanish, their entry into Tunis, their breaking into the Zaytuna and the dispersion of its library, inevitably brought with them great traumas.


3. Instruction in the modern and contemporary periods

A widespread judgement is that teaching declined in the period of the transition of power from the Ḥaḍīdīs to the Ottomans. This crisis, however, seems to have been rapidly surmounted, with teaching at the Zaytuna speedily recovering its audience. Introducing new norms for evaluating the *ulamā*, sc. al-māḏla (transmission of knowledge) and al-dīnaya (discernment), Ibn Abī Dīnār (q.v.) thought that all his contemporaries, some of whom had acquired great fame, were limited to *māḏla*, whilst Muhammad Ṭāṭ al-ʾArīfī al-Bikrī and his son Abī Bakr were at a much higher level through their mastery of both *māḏla* and *dīnaya* (*al-Muḥāsīs fī ṣaḥāḥ l-ḥalīliyya wa l-Tunuis*, Tunis 1307/1967-8, 314-19). The editing of the *Ẓāfīl* of Husayn Khaḍḏās now allows a better knowledge of the disciplines taught and the manuals used, these being essentially late commentaries, *ḥalīliyya* and glosses (*Ẓāfīl ṣaḥāḥ fī ṣaḥīḥ al-Talḥīna*, Tunis 1975, 197-8, 201). Certain scholars, such as Muhammad al-Ḥaḍḏāsī (d. 1109/1696-7) became famed for editing a large number of abridgments.

In the 18th century, the Zaytuna benefited by a renewed wave of interest. Until then financially based essentially upon its *wāqf*, the financing of courses was assisted by the Ḥusayníd Bey who used to pay salaries for the teachers out of the yield of the capitation tax (see for the measures taken by 'Āl b. Ḥusayn Bey in 1183/1769-70, Hammūda b. ‘Abd al-ʾĀzīz, *al-Kitāb al-baḥrī, Tunis 1970, 204, 296*). However, the Zaytuna continued to use the same methods of instruction, and one may further note that there was a serious regression in the teaching of the profane sciences.

In defining the evolution of teaching during the 19th century, a severe verdict must be pronounced, and Tunisian historians have often spoken of a "schlerotic system of instruction" (e.g. Ahmed Abdes- sellem, *Les historiens tunisiens des XVIIIP, XVIIP et XIXIP siècles, essai d'histoire culturelle*, Tunis 1973, 81) and of a fixed, crabbed system of knowledge. Bougargue's Egyptian expedition in Egypt (1798-1801) and the occupation of Algiers in 1830 revealed a European superiority, which the military aspect was only a beginning. But the "establishment" of the Zaytuna opted for passive resistance to change, avoiding all idea of reform and upgrading. It was, however, from graduates of the Zaytuna that the reforming Tunisian élite was recruited, such as Ḥamādī Khābdū (1812-71), Ahmad Ibn Abī Dīyāf (1804-74 [q.v.]), Bayram V (1840-99), etc., strengthened by the adherence to their ideas of the minister Khayr al-Dīn (1822-90 [q.v.]). The latter's master work, *Aṣāim al-māḏla fī maṣūfij ḥafṣal al-māḏla*, published in 1867, affirmed the backwardness of the Muslim lands and called for an enlargement of the spheres of the sciences and knowledge as a source for the development of civilisation (89, 93, 122-8). Reform of the Zaytuna system of teaching became the order of the day from now onwards. As a supreme act of defiance against the *ulamā*, Ibn Abī Dīyāf announced that "iǧāza had continued uninterruptedly" (Ṭayyib al-ʾAnābī, *Wathwīk tunisiyya*, in *Hawzīyāt al-Djama‘a al-Tunisiyya [1967], no. 4, 153-9).

Minded to abolish a fact of discrimination, on 24 February 1840 Ahmad Bey gave to the Malikī *ulamā* the same treatment as their Hanafi colleagues. In practice, the Malikī Zaytuna had had to integrate Hanafi teaching with their own since the establishment of the Ottomans, who favoured the scholars of that school. On 27 Ramaḍān 1258/1 December 1842 Ahmad Bey reformed the organisation of the Zaytuna's functioning. Each madanī had to give two courses a day in the different disciplines. Periods of holiday were henceforth fixed: two days per week, the two festivals of the Iḥā and the month of Ramadan. The institution was placed under the control of kādīn of the two law schools and of the two *gāyāb* al-islāmī. Within the framework of this reform, the Bey nominated 30 madanīsīn, following the pattern of parity between the two schools established by him and reserved for financing this the revenues of the *bayt* al-nāl (*Ajāmi Ibn Abī Dīyāf, *Idhāf*, iv, 35, 65-7). During his time as
Grand Vizier (1873-7), Khayr al-Din had to take in
hand, in parallel with the creation of the modern al-
Säidik college [see AL-SÄIDIK], the reform of teach-
ing at the Zaytuna. His maqāṣid or circular of 28 Dhu
l-Ka‘da 1292/26 December 1875, completed a month
later, contained proposals for reorganising teaching at
the Zaytuna, but an examination of the material (dom-
ninated by teaching the religious sciences) and of the
list of books used for teaching purposes shows that a
certain sluggishness stifled the will to reform.
A far-reaching innovation was that the internal reform
envisaged instituting an academic handbook and reg-
ulated such topics as application to work and disci-
pline (Mongi Smida, Khereddine, ministre reformateur,
Tunis 1970, 320-7).

After the establishment of the French Protectorate
(1881), the Zaytuna inevitably became a centre of dis-
pute. Probably influenced by the development of mod-
er education, its students organised to demand reform
of teaching methods and programmes. The history of
the Zaytuna, from 1910 to 1952, was marked by
cycles of student unrest (1910-12, 1920, 1928-30, 1935-
7, 1947-50) and desires for reform, studied by spe-
cial commissions for this, but the results were below
expectation. But, apart from the threefold system of
primary (‘ahliyya), secondary (tabi‘i) and higher edu-
cation (‘ulūmiyya), the commissions were unable to envis-
ge a new system to introduce the teaching of the sciences
(see Muhkār al-‘Ayyāshī, al-Bā‘a al-zaytuniyya 1910-
1945, Tunis 1990, 21-82, 143-75). Remarkably, this
traditional system of education was to see developing
within its midst, as a reaction, an avant-garde cul-
tural movement, seen in the great poet Abu ‘l-Kāsim
al-‘Uṣūlī (1909-40 [q.v.]) and the reformer Tahir al-
‘Adād, who shook the Zaytuna establishment by
publishing at Tunis in 1930 a book-manifesto advo-
cating the freedom of women and abolition of ploy-
gamy, Imānatun fi l-‘irāf wa l-muqaddas. The growing
number of students at the Zaytuna (600 in 1881,
9,818 in 1927 and almost 20,000 in 1956), in the
two annexes of Tunis and the sections created in the
provinces (eight of these from 1949), showed the
development of its recruitment.

After independence, primary and secondary edu-
cation were undertaken by modern schools and col-
leges for public instruction. The Zaytuna was made
into a faculty and then into a university specialising
in the religious sciences and installed in modern
premises; its rich library was integrated within the
National Libraries of Tunis.

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(KHALIFA CHATER)

Ibrāhīm, Moroccan statesman and historian of the
18th century.

Al-Zayyānī, a member of the great Berber tribe of
the Zayyān in central Morocco, was born in Fās in
1147/1734-5. He received his education in this city.
At the age of 25, he accompanied his parents on the
Pilgrimage to Mecca and after an exciting journey,
coming as well as going, which lasted over two years,
he returned to Fās, where he obtained a position as
secretary to the māḥkūm [q.v.] of sultan Muhammad
III b. ‘Abd Allāh. His ability, his knowledge of Berber
dialects and the course of events rapidly brought him
to the fore; having played an active part in the sup-
pression of a rising against the tribe of the Ayy Amālā,
he gained the confidence of his ruler and was trusted
with negotiations with the various un-subdued Berber
elements of the empire. He now travelled up and
down Morocco incessantly and made several jour-
nies to distant Ta‘ifāl. In 1200/1786 al-Zayyānī was
charged by the sultan with a mission to the Ottoman
ruler ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd I [q.v.]. He reached the Ottoman
capital after many vicissitudes, and spent over three
months there, which enabled him to write on his
return a very full description of it. On his return,
after carrying out several confidential missions, he was
appointed governor of Siǧīlmāsā [q.v.], where he
remained till the death of Muḥammad III b. ‘Abd
Allāh in 1248/1940.

The sultan’s successor, his son Yazīd, put an end
to the political career of al-Zayyānī, whom he hated.
It was only by a miracle that the latter escaped death
when Yazīd in 1206/1792 himself succumbed to a
wound received in a fight against the pretender
Hīṯām. Al-Zayyānī, at the time a prisoner in Rabāt,
was set free and immediately took an active part in
the proclamation of Meknès of another son of Mu-
hammad b. ‘Abd Allāh as sultan, Mawlāy Sulaymān
(Şlîmân). The latter gave him the office of governor
(‘alîm) of the district of the town of Uǧīda [see wāqūs,
but on taking up his post, al-Zayyānī was attacked
defeated by the people he had been sent to gov-
ern. This misfortune gave him a distaste for public
life, and he retired to Tlemcen, where he spent 18
months in studious seclusion, which only ended when
he decided to undertake once again the journey to
Istanbul, this time in a private capacity and to per-
form the Pilgrimage for a second time. On his return
in 1210/9175-6), he was sumanoned by Mawlāy Sulay-
mann and returned to Fās. In spite of his great age,
he was now employed on a number of important mis-
tions and received the title of āḥū tawāfī fī tawāfī, as the
head of the sovereign’s māḥkūm. He remained in office
for several years, then was dismissed and died at Fās
in 1249/1833 at the age of 99. He was buried in the
nizāriyya of the Nāṣiriyya in the Siyādī quarter.

Famous in Morocco as a statesman, al-Zayyānī was
no less celebrated as a writer. In the course of his
stirring life, he found time to write some fifteen books,
almost all on history and geography. The first in date
of these works was a general history of Islam entitled
al-Tawāfī fī tawāfī al-Maghrib ‘an dawāl al-Maghrib wa l-Maghrib,
in which he focussed on the Shārīfiyya dynasties
of Morocco and which he later continued, keeping pace
with events down to the year 1228/1813. The part
of the Tawāfī relating to the ‘Alīds of Morocco
was published and translated into French in 1886 by
O. Houdas as Le Maroc de 1631 a 1812 (PELOV,
2nd ser., vol. xvii). It is a narrative, in parts a résumé,
of events in Morocco from the foundation of the ‘Alīd
dynasty to the early years of the 19th century. A
more detailed version of this part of the Tawāfī
in which he dealt specially with events in which he
had himself played a part, or of which he had been
Djāmi’ al-Zaytūna.
Djami' al-Zaytuna.
a witness, was later prepared by al-Zayyam, and he gave it two different titles: al-Bustān al-zanf fi dawlat rihla and al-Dāl bar‘ī wa-bīrahā. This book, which is both rihla and fā’an, is also a very curious geographical treatise, with maps (e.g. a map of the seas, reproduced in Levi-Provencal, Historien des Chofia, between pp. 188 and 189). All these works of al-Zayyān are to be found in manuscript in Morocco in various private libraries. A complete list is given in ibid., 167-8.

Al-Zayyān’s work is the principal source we possess, with the more recent K. al-Istikāsī al-Nāṣirī al-Salawi [see Abbād al-Nāṣirī al-Salawi], for the history of the ‘Alehd dynasty of Morocco. It is full of valuable details and deserves serious study. It gives throughout an impression of accuracy and precision in historical as well as topographical matters. Information is given about innovations and social reforms and about the monumental history of the towns of Morocco. Al-Zayyān also shows a remarkable acquaintance with events in Europe. Finally, all that he tells us about what he saw on his journeys to Istanbul is worth publishing in full.


ZAYYĀNĪS [see ‘Abbād al-Wāridī]

ZĀZĀ, an ethnonym designating the speakers of Zāzā, an Iranian language spoken in southeastern Anatolia, to the northwest of the Kurdish-speaking regions. Its centre of dissemination is the triangle between the towns of Siverek, Erzincan and Varto. There are no reliable statistics about its number of speakers; in southeastern Anatolia they may number between 1.5 and 2 millions. About the same number of Zāzā have emigrated to the urban centres of Western Anatolia, and to Western Europe, during the last 40 years. These numbers include all “ethnics” Zāzā, however, a large number of whom may have become assimilated to Turkish or Kurdish in the meantime, with no longer an active command of their mother tongue.

The people. In religion, all Zāzā are Muslims, but in their home country they are divided into one northern and one southern group (of about the same size), the first of which follows the ‘Alawi Shī‘ī religious confession, and the second which follows one of the Sunni madhāhib (mostly the Shī‘ī one). Their common religious confession connects the Sunni Zāzā closely with the neighbouring [to the southeast] Sunni Kurds. Therefore, the question whether all the Zāzā constitute one people has to be separated from the question (to be answered in the affirmative) whether Zāzā is a language in its own right. As very little was known about the Zāzā and their language up to the early 1980s, it was always taken for granted that they are Kurds speaking a dialect of Kurdish. Only recently has Zāzā been increasingly written (starting in the European diaspora), and parallel to this a growing number of Zāzā (mainly ‘Alawīs) have become aware of their own language, culture, and distinct identity. But to this day, many Zāzā still feel that their common cultural and political ties to the Kurds weigh more heavily and do not insist on a separate Zāzā ethnic identity.

The name “Zāzā” seems to have been a pejorative label originally, possibly suggesting incomprehensible speech (like English “bla bla”). Although as such it was not the self-denomination of the majority of Zāzā (many Sunni Zāzā call their language Dimli, some ‘Alawī Zāzā call it Kirmānḏik or simply zānī ma “our language”), it seems to have gained the widest acceptance today. The name Dimli can be understood as pointing to the geographical origins of the Zāzā, if it is to be connected to the historical region of Daylam south to the Caspian Sea (there are no other sources relative to the Zāzā’s earlier history).

The language. Zāzāki was not written or studied before the mid-19th century. It is a NW Iranian language; other NW Iranian languages that are most closely related to it include Gūrānī (spoken in southwestern Kurdistan) and the Iranian Āḏhari dialects (e.g. Harzandi). Although Zāzāki has been heavily influenced by neighbouring (Kurmandjī) Kurdish for a long time (especially in lexicon, phraseology and syntax), it is genealogically not a very close relative of Kurdish (as compared to Gūrānī and Āḏhari). Zāzāki has undergone most of the sound changes that characterise NW Iranian, e.g. IE *dr/*rz > Zāzā, s/ž, *gr/g̟h̟/h̟/j̟ > ğ, *r > (h)j, *d(h)j > ḥ, *rd/*rz > r̟/r̟z, *sw > w (e.g. Zāzā, zan, jīn, hīnte, ber, seīt, som—“to know, woman, three, door, year, to eat”; Kurdish has undergone only the first two of these, cf. zān, žan, but shows SW development in:št, dēr, sāl, xo).

Zāzāki noun morphology shows a system of two cases (rectus and oblique), two numbers (sg., pl.), and two grammatical genders (m., f.). In addition, it can distinguish definiteness and animacy. In some dialects, a suffix -(e)r originating from the IE relationship suffix -ter- has been generalised as a feminine oblique ending. Adjectival attributes and nouns in genitive relation that qualify a (head) noun follow it immediately and are connected to it with an enclitic particle, the idfā. Together with the inflectional endings that can precede them, the forms of the idfā constitute a system of four cases, where a particle -d- (apparently borrowed from NW Semitic) is an important oblique marker (e.g. lāzī mi “my son”, but lāzīdī mi “to, of, etc. my son”).

The Zāzāki verbs distinguish three persons and two numbers, and, in the 2nd/3rd persons sg. of indicative verbs, also grammatical gender. The verbal system includes the following tenses: present (forming with the suffix -(e)n, not as in Persian and Kurdish with a prefix), analytical future, preterite, imperfect, perfect I/II and pluperfect. The present is formed from the present stem, and all past tenses from the preterite stem. The present subjunctive is formed from a third stem, the subjunctive one (which can also be derived, with the suffix -(i)-, passive forms).

Syntactically, Zāzāki is a SOV language and shows morphological split ergativity (only with verbal forms
after Buda was recaptured in 1686. Resistance to the allied Christian armies was sparse and quickly ended in a great Christian triumph. The Ottoman defeat at Zenta led to the Peace of Karlowitz in 1699, which put an end to a long period of wars and to Ottoman rule in most of the former Hungarian territories.


ZERBADIS, ZERBADES, a term, of unknown origin, denoting a Muslim community in Burma [q.v.]. It was formerly used in a slighting or even contemptuous way to describe the offspring of Indian Muslim males and Burmese females—the latter usually being converts to Islam. Burma has always been and remains an overwhelming Buddhist country, and the Muslim minority was never more than 4% of the total population at any time. The latest complete figures are from the 1931 census and give a total of just under six millions. This includes (a) the Arakan [q.v.] Muslims, (b) Indian immigrant Muslims from British India, and (c) the Zerbadis, also known as "Burmese (or Burma) Muslims". The Zerbadis have been estimated as comprising just about a half of the total Muslim community. The 1931 census was the last complete count done (the returns for 1941 were destroyed in the Second World War) though partial returns for 1953 and 1954 suggest a Muslim presence of about the same percentage. However, against this it should be remembered that many Indian Muslims left India in 1962–4 when severe restrictions were placed on those who were not "Burmese citizens". There are no data from 1964, when the imposition of military rule effectively closed down the institutions of civil society. The Zerbadis are culturally Burmese in all things except religion, but this was enough for the rather chauvinist Burmese to lump

ZENTA (Serbian Senta), a town on the right bank of the Tisa in the ancient Hungarian county of Bacs-Bodrog, today in northern Serbia. A decisive battle was fought in its vicinity on 24 Safar 1109/11 September 1697 between the forces of Sultan Mustafa II [q.v.] and Prince Eugene of Savoy.

Ottoman rule in Hungary collapsed relatively rapidly
them together with the Indian immigrant Muslims. Like the latter, they were targets in the severe anti-Muslim riots of 1938, though they had little in common. Indian Muslims militates against a full acceptance, despite the fact that they usually attend Burmese schools, speak Burmese and generally know no other language, except that some can recite by rote parts of the Kur'an. The Zerbadi insistence on Burmese language was a major issue of contention between them and the Indian Muslims, who insisted on Arabic and, for the majority, Urdu. The result was an increasingly severe split between the communities, with the Zerbads emphasizing their identity as Burmese and having also their own separate associations. In politics, the Zerbads were supporters of the Burmese National Movement, whilst the Indian Muslims looked towards India and the Muslim League. The former envisaged a national integration for themselves in independent Burma, and object to pan-Islamism. For the majority Burmese population, this is not really enough; for them, one is only truly Burmese if one is Buddhist. Adherence to a "foreign" religion diminishes one's national identity.

This is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in matters of law. A prevalent question was to what extent the Burmese "Buddhist" (i.e. customary) law applied to Zerbadi matters? The issue arose because the female party to a marriage was ethnically Burmese and was related to Burmese Buddhists, as were her children. In certain matters, especially inheritance and wills, the rules of Burmese Buddhist law were more advantageous to the wife and female children than were those of the Şeyta. They should, therefore, apply on the twin grounds of ethnicity and kinship. The question was debated for the half century from the 1890s to the 1950s, the argument being that Burmese Buddhist law was a "customary law" and thus would be an exception to the rule that Islamic law applied in the affairs of Muslims. The result turned on the provisions of the Burma Laws Act of 1898 (section 13), which provided that each religious and racial group in British Burma had its own law: Burmese Buddhist law for Burmese, (Anglo-)Hindu law for Hindus, and (Anglo-)Mohammedan law for Muslims. The decisions given in the courts were consistent: Burmese Buddhist law could not apply as a customary exception. Islamic law had a clear and exclusive jurisdiction in Muslim matters. On a strictly technical reading of the legislation, this is an acceptable result. However, it is difficult not to suppose that judicial policy also played a part, i.e. the courts were more reluctant to create internal conflict by mingling the two different laws. Needless to say, this approach satisfied nobody, and in 1939 (in the wake of the 1938 riots) Buddhist women were protected by special legislation. But what was a "Buddhist" woman when married to a Muslim? This raises the vexed questions of conversion and apostasy which troubled the courts in British Burma from the 1860s onwards and were, of course, centred on the Zerbads. It appears that conversion was for the purposes of marriage only, and quite often, conversion was merely "simulated". In such cases, "apostasy" was not allowed to end a marriage as the classical Şeyta would direct. Religion was not permitted to be used in such a way, and a conversion, once made, was binding in respect of divorce and succession.

The fate of the Zerbads in post-1964 Burma is not clear. Assimilation to the Buddhist majority must be a possibility, given the sometimes minimal adherence to the religion of Islam. The history of the Zerbads is instructive as illustrating yet again the impossibility of maintaining a law that has no cultural roots in a foreign state. It can never be more than artificial and, given the Burmese identity of the Zerbads and their wish to be identified with the majority Burmese, the future for Islam would seem problematical. But this may perhaps be too pessimistic a view.
guard in the coffee-houses and could levy a tax on
travellers for their protection. Throughout the 19th
century, they participated as volunteer units in the
Ottoman Army (T. Baykara, Zeybekler [Zeybek elbisesi
éyime yöşe], in Belgelere Türk tarhi dergisi, no. 22 [July
1969], 59). They joined the Turkish Nationalists in
1920-2.

Today the term Zeybek applies not so much to
the mountaineers of Western Anatolia but to their
folk costume and dance (including music and song).
The distinctive male dress of the Zeybek, which was
noted by 19th-century travellers (the earliest illustration
being the frontispiece in Keppel, i) and raised the ire of the Ottoman authorities, was as follows: on the
head, a red fez around which was wrapped a
headkerchief printed with flowers and with needle
embroidered flowers along the edge; on the back, a
striped quilted jacket with stiff collar, over it a double-
breasted waistcoat of violet broadcloth embroidered
with black braids, over it another waist coat called a
cepken or sallama with eye hooks on the sleeves; from
the waistcoats to the knees, baggy trousers (zakars) were
made out of two metres of silk cloth and with black
braids embroidered around the leg openings and on the
borders of the pockets; at the waist, between the
groin and the chest, a knitted sash over which was
wound a shawl, over which was a weapons' belt made
of black or red leather and attached with three rows
of straps, and covering the torso up to the breasts;
tucked into the front of the weapons' belt was a hand-
kerchief embroidered with silver; on the feet, wool
socks, light shoes called yemeni and gaiters from ankle
to knee (M. Özbek, IA art. Zeybek).

In the 19th century, various Ottoman officials
regarded the Zeybek's short baggy trousers in particu-
ar as offensive to the Muslim sense of propriety. A
government attempt to forbid their dress in 1838
resulted in an uprising that could only be suppressed
with much loss of life. Nevertheless, the Zeybek con-
tinued to wear their traditional costume. Attempts to
suppress it in 1894 and 1905 were equally ineffective
(see Baykara, op. cit., 59-61).

As for the Zeybek dances, they are no longer con-
fined to Western Anatolia. Indeed, variations on them have spread throughout much of Central Asia, even
even to the Western Black Sea region. Zeybek dances
can be performed by one or more persons, men,
women, or men and women together. The archetyp-
ical Zeybek dance, expressing bravery and heroism,
is performed by one or two men, but always in solo
character. This dance is preceded by a slow intro-
ductive part in which the dancer takes leisurely steps.
This is done with the arms at the side, then at should-
ёр level, and finally outstretched with elbows as high
as the shoulders and fingers snapping. Meanwhile, the
cancer keeps one leg in half-bent position between hops,
and from time to time drops to his knees (M. And,
Turkish dancing, Ankara 1976, 159, illustrations in pl. 81).

The main centres of Zeybek dances are still in the
west: Izmir, Balikesir, Mugla, Aydin and Denizli.

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emphasis is on dress and dance; A. Haydar Ave,
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(G. Leiser)

ZHÖB, a river of what is now the north-
easternmost part of Pakistani Baluchistan, and
also an administrative District of that province, with
its centre in the town of Zhob (the former Fort
Sandeman, at lat. 31° 25' N., long. 69° 20' E.). In
British Indian times, Zhob was an administrative
division of British Baluchistan. The river rises in the
northern end of the Sulaiman range and flows in a
southwesterly direction into the Gomal river. The pres-
tent District comprised in 1981 27,129 km², with a
recorded population of 361,647. The region is impor-
tant for its position to the southwest of the Gomal Pass [see GOMAL, in Suppl.], one of the age-old con-
duits for peoples, commodities and ideas passing
between highland Afghanistan and the Indus valley.

Ethnically, Pashtuns are most numerous in Zhob,
with the Kaka [q.v. in Suppl.] as the main perma-
nent residents of the Zhob river valley. In the con-
tinuum of Pashto pronunciation, these Zhob Pashtun
speakers fall within the middle of the conventional
(but rather too hard-and-fast) division between speak-
ers of “hard” and “soft” varieties of the language [see
APKAN, i]. Sulyamin Khel [q.v. in Suppl.] of the
Ghalzay Pashtuns predominate among the more trans-
ient and commercially active Afghan nomads (vari-
cously called kuls, ilhanis and purnadas).

Little is known of the region's early history. Pashtun
genealogies and histories from the Mughal period give
the Sulaiman range in eastern Zhob as the destina-
tion of migrations from Ghur [q.v.] by the immediate descendants of Kays 'Abd al-Rashid, progenitor of
all the Pashtuns. On a historical basis, Pashtuns
tribal and Hindu merchant elements were to be found there by Mughal times, along with a develop-
ment of agriculture by kâris irrigation [see KANAT] and
“tribal transit trade” via the frontier market towns of
Kandahâr and Dara Ismâ’il Khân [q.v.]. The Zhob
district came within the Durrâní dominions shortly
after Ahmad Shah Durrâní [q.v.] began to constitute
his empire in 1747, but in the early 19th century
was once more autonomous. British encroachment
began in the 1830s but subsided after the First Afghan
War (1839-42). In the 1870s and 1880s renewed British
interest in Baluchistan and the Gomal Pass region,
under the impetus of Sir Robert Sandeman, who
founded the military centre of Fort Sandeman at the
former Apozay, drew Zhob into the British Indian
orbit, and in 1890 the region was formally ceded by the
Afghan government to British India.

Since then, Zhob has come under various adminis-
tration arrangements. Its internal and external eco-
nomic relations were transformed by the establish-
ment of Fort Sandeman and the related establishment of the
Hindibagh (now Muslimbagh) and Kal‘a-i Sayfallâh
kasesah. The most notable change of the period of
Pakistani rule has been the almost complete replace-
ment of mainly Hindu (principally Shíkãrî) bank-
king and trading communities by non-Pashtun Muslîm
groups, such as Balûnî, Hindûkû, Sûrãkû, Pangâbî and
Urdu speakers, and these minority ethnic groups re-
main vital components of Zhob's society and economy.

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(Shah Mahmud Hanif)
**ZI’AMET** (tr. < A. zi’ama), a term of Ottoman Turkish military and land tenure organisation.

The **zi’amet** was in fact a larger size timar [q.v.], which in the 10th/16th century was worth between 20,000 and 100,000 akçe; in earlier periods, the limits were less clearly defined. In early 10th/16th century îmâns, we sometimes encounter the heading “timâr-î za’amâ va erbâb-î timâr” which indicates that the expression timâr was used generically, to encompass **zi’amet** as well (387 numarah munâhâse-i ciliyet-i Kavaman ve Râm defteri (973/1570-72), îzet ve transkriyon ve indeks, Ankara, DAGM 1996, i, 37).

While at home, **zi’amet** holders might be ordered to pursue robbers after consultation with the local kâdî (3 numarah munâmhe defteri 966-968/1558-59, îzet ve transkriyon, Ankara, DAGM 1993, i, 132). A za’im with a reputation for local knowledge concerning the remote province of Montenegro might be charged with police duties in lieu of military service (5 numarah munâmhe defteri (973/1565-66), îzet ve indeks, Ankara, DAGM 1994, 224, no. 1386). In other instances, we find za’ims along with other soldiers occupied as tax collectors (ibid., ii, 118-19). Often **zi’amets** were granted to middle-level commanders such as those known as zabâgâh, who were responsible for urban citadels (Meitim Kunt, *The Sultan’s servants. The transformation of Ottoman provincial government, 1530-1650*, New York 1983, 12). The îmânl register covering the xâleîyet of Diyar-î Bekr, ‘Arab and Dhu l-Kâdiriyeh of 937/1530 records the issuance of **zi’amets** to the mîr-alay and sîr or [mîr-î] ‘âsker (998 numarah munâhâse-i ciliyet-i Diyar-î Bekr, ‘Arab ve Zu‘l-Kâdiriyeh defteri (973/1570), îzet ve indeks, Ankara, DAGM 1998, i, 122, of the facsimile).

In areas bordering the Syrian desert, **zi’amets** might be granted to tribal dignitaries (3 numarah munâmhe defteri, 27). Such dignitaries also were assigned **zi’amets** as oğâq. This implied that they had to finance the soldiers to be drafted from their province: thus the **zi’amet**-holders of the eastern Anatolian kâdî of Përtek, who belonged to the gêmîş-i mîlî, in 979/1571-2 were required to contribute to the upkeep of the psâqet soldiers serving in the armies conquering Cyprus (12 numarah munâmhe defteri, Ankara, DAGM 1996, ii, 60).

In border territory, special services might be rewarded by a **zi’amet**; thus in 973/1565-6, a Caucausian soldier who was to bring a Persian woman to Erzurum was to be awarded a **zi’amet** if he fulfilled his promise (5 numarah munâmhe defteri, îzet ve indeks, 206, no. 1269). A fortress commander delegated to oversee the procurement of salperet also received a **zi’amet** (12 numarah munâmhe defteri, i, 110, no. 134).

Non-military dignitaries were occasionally awarded **zi’amet** as well. Thus a register from the reign of Bayezid II mentions an Ottoman princess possessing this source of revenue (N. Beliceanu, *Le timar dans l’État ottoman*, début XIVe-début XVIe siècle, Wiesbaden 1980, 46). In 973/1565-6, a re’sul-kuttab enjoyed this privilege as well (5 numarah munâmhe defteri (973/1565-66), 151, no. 889). During the conquest of Cyprus, financial officials such as the defter enni might receive a **zi’amet** (12 numarah munâmhe defteri, i, 329, no. 519).

The **zi’amet** normally fell into the category of serbest tax assignments. This implies that certain dues, the amount and type of which varied from one province to the next, could be retained by the za’im himself; in non-serbest timârs, these were collected by the holder of a nearby serbest timâr, such as the provincial governor (sandîkbegi) (Beliceanu, *Timar*, 36-7). In exceptional cases when the collection of revenues was particularly difficult, a za’im might receive permission to farm out his revenues, but the administration in the 10th/16th century was concerned that this practice might lead to the exploitation of the taxpayers (6 numarah munâmhe defteri (972/1564-65), Ankara, DAGM, 1995, ii, 57).

Similarly to timars, the extent of **zi’amet** was, in principle, determined in the course of preparing the tabrîr [q.v.]. Governors in outlying provinces occasionally asked for permission to make rearrangements, but this permission was often refused. Thus the beglerbegi of Dhu l-Kâdiriyeh was warned that it was not permitted to divide the holding of a deceased za’im as a fresh (êkîli) timâr among his sons (5 numarah munâmhe defteri, 146, no. 850). Equally, the beglerbegi of Baglîdâd was not allowed to join an existing **zi’amet** to the khâss already enjoyed by a local governor (12 numarah munâmhe defteri, i, 94, no. 98). However, the situation might be different if a **zi’amet** was reported to be worth more than 200,000 akçe, in which case it might be taken from the holder and added to the khâss-i hâmâyân in order to determine its veritable yield (5 numarah munâmhe defteri, 23-4, no. 121).

**Bibliography:** Given in the article. See also Halil Safihüloğlu, art. **zi’amet**, in IA. (Surâyât Fârûqî)

**ZİB AL-İNISA REGUM** [see MAHIF].

**ZİBAK** (att. mercury, a heavy silver-white metallic element which is liquid at atmospheric temperature and also called quicksilver (argentum vivum, ἄργυρος χρώς, ἰδρόφυρος = Hg). It was first mentioned by Aristotle [see ARISTOTELIS] in his *De Anima*. Variant forms of the Arabic term include zofîm, ziba/îk, and zîwâk (< Persian zîwâ < Sanskrit ?). From ancient times, quicksilver was associated with the Graeco-Egyptian god Hermes-Thoth and his Roman counterpart Mercury; it is therefore ascribed with the Graeco-Egyptian god Hermes-Thoth and his Roman counterpart Mercury (see ‘FARMAR). In the Islamic Middle Ages, quicksilver came mainly from mines in Spain and Central Asia [cf. MA'ADD].

In alchemy [see KIMIA], quicksilver was considered a "spirit" (râs), i.e. one of the ultimate elements or principles of which all material substances were supposed to be compounded, and a means of converting one metal into another. Thus it played a crucial role in the struggle of the alchemists to synthesise gold. Next to the theory of the elixir [see IKSI], the so-called quicksilver-sulphur method seemed to be the most promising approach to imitate nature, namely, by determining the exact ratio of these two baser substances as contained in gold, and by recreating the latter on the basis of this ratio. The alloys of quicksilver or amalgams were well known and employed for various procedures, as was cinnabar, its red crystalline sulphide and principal ore (HgS); quicksilver was further used in the construction of mechanical devices and clocks and in jewellery. Finally, and in consequence of the alchemists' concern to keep the making of gold a secret, quicksilver occurs in the relevant literature under more than 140 cryptonyms (nâmeç).
In medicine [see TIBB], quicksilver was considered a "kind of silver" (min djins al-Jidda), and Muslim physicians generally shared the attitude of their ancient fellow-medical men who hardly ever used it because of its toxicity. Warnings are frequent, particularly against the noxious properties of its "vapour" (dhhākānā), which was said to cause hemiplegia, tremors, fainting, loss of hearing and sight, madness, etc. However, an unguent prepared from the "dust" (tarāb) of the sublime, with either vinegar or rose oil, was supposed to cure itching and scabies when applied to the skin; this powder was also used as a pesticide to kill lice and mice and to drive out snakes, scorpions and other vermin.


(O. Kahl.)

**AL-ZIBRIKÂN b. BADR,** tribal leader and poet of the Tamīm [g.v.] who was a Companion of the Prophet Muhammad. His real name was al-Husayn, who was a Companion of the Tamīmians. He belonged to the Bahdala b. 'Afw b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm (see chart at Vol. X, 174); or more precisely, to the Khaqāf b. Bahdala, Khalaf b. al-Zibrikan's great-grandfather. Originally, though, he was of the Yaqūk保驾 b. Bakr b. Wā'il. He was married to al-Farazdakī's [g.v.] paternal aunt.

Al-Zibrikan came to the Prophet Muhammad as a participant in the Tamīm delegation [see erwīna], and was charged with levying taxes from part of the Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt and from the Khaqāf (it is noteworthy that al-Zibrikan's mother was of the 'Ukūl, who were not a component of the Khaqāf). The rest of the Sa'd had another tax-collector, namely, Kās b. 'Aṣim [g.v.], and it appears that the Khaqāf came under al-Zibrikan's authority so that the military balance within the Sa'd was maintained.

At the beginning of the *ridda* [g.v. in Suppl.], Muḥammad reportedly asked both al-Zibrikan and Kās b. 'Aṣim—through a messenger—to co-operate in order to kill Musaylima [g.v.]. Al-Zibrikan is said to have remained loyal to Islam and to have brought to Abu Bakr the camels he had received as taxes. However, at some stage he must have had contacts with Musaylima and Sa'dājah [g.v.]. During the conquest of Irak, he was Khālid b. al-Walid's [g.v.] deputy in al-Anbar [g.v.].

Al-Zibrikan was also employed as tax-collector by 'Umar b. al-Khaḍīrah. Moreover, three of al-Zibrikan's sons-in-law were governors under 'Umar. By far the most important among them was the governor in Kūfa, Sa'd b. 'Abī Wākkās [g.v.]. The other two were in charge of regions which were closer to al-Zibrikan's tribal territory: the governor of 'Uman and Bahrayn, 'Uṯmān b. Abī l-'Ās al-Thākafī, and 'Uṯmān's brother, al-Hakam, who was his deputy in Bahrayn. (Al-Hakam's wife, Bakra bt. al-Zibrikan, was reportedly the first Arab woman who sailed the sea; this was no doubt related to her husband's expeditions across the Persian Gulf.) However, al-Zibrikan's good-will was crucial not only for the state, but also for merchants traversing the desert.

Al-Zibrikan was still alive at the time of Mu'awiyah I [g.v.]. His descendants in the Arabian desert and in al-Andalus were numerous. In al-Andalus they settled in a village called al-Zabārīka (pl. of al-Zibrikan), and later in Talavera.


(M. Lecker)

**ZĪDÌJ** in Islamic science an astronomical handbook with tables, after the models of the Persian *Zīk-i Shahrīyār*, the Indian *Sindhind*, and Polemyn's *Almagest and Handy Tables* [see B ATLAMĪYŪS]. A typical *zīdāj* might contain a hundred folios of text and tables, though some are substantially larger than this. Most of the relevant astronomical and astrological concepts are clearly explained in the *Tafhim al-al-Bīrūnī* [g.v.]. The *history* of *zīdāj* constitutes a major part of the history of Islamic astronomy [see 'ilm al-hay'a'].

i. ETYMOLOGY

Arabic *zīdāj* (pl. *zīdājah*) is best translated as "astronomical handbook"; although it normally contains tables, it is not merely a "collection of astronomical tables", but has explanatory material as well. Moreover (as Mercier has noted) Arabic authors apply this word also to Indian astronomical writings, although these do not contain tables. The Arabic word *zīd*, which is also attested in the meaning "plumbing", was generally recognised to be a borrowing from Persian. Al-Khuza'ī (Mafdīfī il-adwiya al-mufrada, 3/224; M. Ullmann, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Ilma*, Leiden 1972, 260-1, 266-7; Yusuf b. 'Umar al-Ghassānī, *al-Mu'tamid b. 'l-Adwia al-mufradah*, Beirut 1935/1975, 212-15.

(O. Kahl.)
same as tantra ("warp"). Panaino, on the other hand, linked zidj with the ancient Persian notion that the planets are tethered by strings.

Bibliography: C.A. Nallino, Raccolta di scritti, v., Rome 1944, 120; R. Mercier, art. Zijd, in Encyclopaedia of the history of science, technology and medicine in non-Western cultures, Dordrecht [1997], 1057-8; idem. From tantra to zijd (unpubl. typescript); A. Panaino, Tesori e testi, Rome 1998 (with detailed discussion of the etymology).

(F.C. DE BLOIS)

1. The scope of the zijd literature

In the 7th/13th century, the Yemeni astronomer Muhammad b. Abi Bakr al-Farisi was able to cite the names of 28 zijds, and the 10th/16th-century Indian encyclopaedist Abu T-Fadl al-A'lamî (q.e.) listed in his A'in-i Akban the titles of 86 works of this genre. In 1956 E.S. Kennedy presented information on some 125 zijds. We now know that over 200 zijds were compiled in the Islamic world between the 2nd/8th and 13th/19th centuries. They constitute a major source for our understanding of the development and application of mathematical astronomy in the medieval period. Of these works, just less than one-half are lost and known only by references to their titles or their authors, but enough survive to convey a very clear impression of the specialist activities of the Muslim astronomers in this field and to reveal some of their most outstanding contributions.

Most zijds are intended to serve a single locality, in the sense that a terrestrial longitude underlies the solar, lunar and planetary tables and a terrestrial latitude underlies the tables for spherical astronomy. Some of the more important zijds were the results of serious observational programmes (see Marsad, and also Sayili, The observatory in Islam). However, many zijds were simply rehashings of earlier ones, with minor variations, such as a change of meridian for the planetary tables, or a new set of spherical astronomical tables for a different latitude. Such modified versions can be of singular historical importance if the original works are no longer extant. Not all zijds contain the extensive explanations of the astronomical and mathematical background typical of, say, Ptolemy's Almagest. Furthermore, there are numerous extensive sets of related tables which are not usually found in zijds.

Already in the 19th century, extracts dealing with observation accounts from the Zijd of Ibn Yunus had been published by A.P. Caussin de Perceval, and the introduction to the Zijd of Ulugh Beg had been published by L.-A. Sédillot. Before 1950 only two zijds had been published in their entirety, namely, those of al-Battânî and of al-Khârazmî by H. Suter et al. (the latter is extant only in a form substantially different from the original). In 1952 J. Vernet published the canons of the Zijd of Ibn al-Banna'. The Zijd of al-Birûnî was published in 1954-6, in an edition originally prepared by M. Krause. In 1956 E.S. Kennedy published his survey of some 125 zijds and laid the foundation for serious study of this genre of literature. In 1962 O. Neugebauer published an English translation of the text of the Zijd of al-Khârazmî in the form in which it survives for us, together with a commentary and an analysis of the tables. The year 1983 saw the publication of a Byzantine recension of the Zijd of al-Fahhâd by D. Pingree. Most recently, in 1999, a doctoral thesis by A. Mestres presented an analysis of the Zijd of Ibn Ishâk. Full references to these studies are found in the Bibl. Many studies of parts of other zijds, of specific topics in several zijds, or of individual tables of particular interest, have been published during the past 50 years; only a few of these will be mentioned in this article, although most are found in the collected studies and festschrifts listed in the Bibl. Also, certain mediaeval treatises on the concepts underlying zijds, of the genre kalâb tâb al-zijdât (see 'Ullâ), have attracted attention: these include the works of al-Hâjîmî, Ibn al-Muṭṭamîn, Ibn Ma'rûf, Ibn 'Ezra and Muhammad b. Abi Bakr al-Farîd. Others are lost (including those by al-Farghânî, al-Sarakhsî, Thâbit b. Kurra and al-Birûnî), or are currently being studied (notably that of al-Samaw'al al-Maghribî, on which see Sezgin, GÂ, vi, 65-6).

In the 1970s, various categories of tables not found in zijds were identified, many even more extensive than a typical zijd. In view of the lack of any article on tables in general, called ghadâl in Arabic, such tables will also be briefly treated below (see Categories of Tables). (The article DJADWAL deals mainly with magical arrangements of letters and symbols.)

2. The purpose of a zijd

A zijd could provide astronomers with all that they needed in the way of theory and tables for such tasks as calculating the positions (longitudes and latitudes) of the Sun, Moon and five naked-eye planets, and the time of day or night from solar or stellar altitudes. In addition, the astronomer could use a zijd to determine the possibility of lunar crescent or planetary visibility. Stellar positions he could simply take from the star-catalogue. Calculations for meridians other than that underlying the tables could be modified for the longitude differences apparent from the geographical tables. The astronomer could calculate the duration of twilight and the altitude of the Sun at midday or at the time of the afternoon prayer. He could apply the mathematical procedures outlined in the Zijd to specific geographical data and compute the kibla (q.e.) of any locality. He could also determine the ascendant at a given time and the longitude of the astrological houses, and having calculated the positions of the Sun, Moon and planets, he could set up a horoscope; it could be argued that this was the main purpose of zijds, but there is precious little historical evidence how these works were used in practice. In any case, there are a host of other useful operations one can learn from any Zijd. But a Zijd was only part of the astronomer's equipment. Other sets of tables were compiled which were not usually contained in zijds and which greatly facilitated some of the above tasks. In addition, various instruments were available, notably for solving problems relating to spherical astronomy and timekeeping (see asturlâr; mizwâla; rubû; šarkâziyyâ).

3. The regional schools of astronomy and their zijds

The earliest Islamic zijds from the 2nd/8th century were based on Indian and Persian models, but in the 3rd/9th century the Ptolemaic tradition was introduced and eventually predominated, if not universally. After the 4th/10th century, regional schools of astronomy developed in the Islamic world, with different authorities and different interests and specialties. They also achieved different levels of sophistication and had different fates, both with regard to their own internal development and to the nature of their encounter with the new Western science from the 16th century onwards. In the past few years, some attention has been paid to these regional schools, and the main studies are listed in the Bibl. In particular, each regional school had its favorite zijd or zijds.
In the central lands of Islam, the Mumtahan tradition was important, together with al-Battânî and Abu 'l-Wafa' al-Buzdjanî. In Persia and General Asia, numerous early ūždz were translated into Arabic. The ūždz of Ibn Yûnûs was never surpassed. In al-Andalus, the ūždz of al-Khârazmî and al-Battânî, based respectively on the Indo-Persian and Hellenistic traditions, played a role perhaps greater than either deserved, and the contributions made by Ibn al-Zarqalluh were highly significant. In the Maghrib, the ūždz of Ibn Ishkak and a mini-version thereof prepared by Ibn al-Bannî dominated the scene. In the late period, the only ūždz to achieve any kind of supremacy all over the Islamic world was the ūždz of Sulhînî of Ulugh Beg (see below for details of these).

iii. An Overview of Ūždz Production
1. The Indo-Persian Tradition

The first Islamic ūždz were part of an Indo-Persian tradition which has a pre-Ptolemaic Greek origin. This is the case of the ūždz of al-Ārkanwârî written in Arabic in 1177/735 probably in the Sind region, which is related to the Khandakhâdzhâkâ, composed in Sanskrit by Brahmagupta in 665. The same main influence appears in the ūždz of Shâbîrî, translated into Arabic ca. 175/790 as the ūždz of al-Ārkanwârî: it was used by an unidentified astrologer who, soon after A.D. 679, computed a series of horoscopes that have been preserved among the early history of Islam. The ūždz of al-Sidz was also used by Mâhâshâlah (see below), Nawbahîr, 'Umar b. Farrukhnâlân al-Tabarî and al-Fâzârî to compute the horoscope for the foundation of Baghdad on 30 July 762. Although neither the Pahlavi nor the Arabic texts of the ūždz of al-Čâhrî are extant, its main features are known from indirect sources studied by E.S. Kennedy and D. Pingree, who established, for example, the parameters of the mean motion of Saturn, Jupiter and the lunar nodes using the collection of historical horoscopes compiled by the Jewish astrologer of Basra Mâhâshâlah (d. ca. 200/815) [q.v., and also the art. in DSJ] and computed with this ūždz. Both the ūždz of al-Čâhrî and the ūždz of al-Ārkanwârî— as well as, probably, other early ūždzs—were the vehicles by means of which the astrologers of great conjunctions were introduced in Islam [see kibîn].

The third great ūždz was composed in Sanskrit by Brahmagupta in 665. The same main influence appears in the ūždz of al-Maghribi, translated into Arabic ca. 175/790 as the ūždz of Shâbîrî, translated into Arabic ca. 175/790 as the ūždz of Shâbîrî: it was used by an unidentified astrologer who, soon after A.D. 679, computed a series of horoscopes that have been preserved among the early history of Islam. The ūždz of al-Sidz was also used by Mâhâshâlah (see below), Nawbahîr, 'Umar b. Farrukhnâlân al-Tabarî and al-Fâzârî to compute the horoscope for the foundation of Baghdad on 30 July 762. Although neither the Pahlavi nor the Arabic texts of the ūždz of al-Čâhrî are extant, its main features are known from indirect sources studied by E.S. Kennedy and D. Pingree, who established, for example, the parameters of the mean motion of Saturn, Jupiter and the lunar nodes using the collection of historical horoscopes compiled by the Jewish astrologer of Basra Mâhâshâlah (d. ca. 200/815) [q.v., and also the art. in DSJ] and computed with this ūždz. Both the ūždz of al-Čâhrî and the ūždz of al-Ārkanwârî— as well as, probably, other early ūždzs—were the vehicles by means of which the astrologers of great conjunctions were introduced in Islam [see kibîn].

The first translation of Ptolemy's Almagest was into Syriac. The date is not certain, but the Syriac translation clearly preceded the first Arabic one, prepared either by a certain al-Hasan b. Kuraîyî for the caliph al-Ma'mûn (according to Ibn al-Sâlah) or somewhat earlier by other translators for Yahyà b. Khâlid b. Barmak (fl. 189/805) [see al-Barkârî], in effect the ūždz of Hârûn al-Rashîd (according to Ibn al-Nâdirî). Neither of these translations is extant. The new translation from the Greek was achieved by al-Hadhîdhdjî b. Yûsuf b. Mâjar in 212/827-8. This survives in one complete manuscript and another fragmentary one. A related translation from the Greek is by Išhâk b. Hunayn [q.v.], prepared for the ūždz of Abû 'l-Šârî b. Bâbul (ca. 280/890). Shortly thereafter, this was revised by Thâhid b. Kurra [q.v.], whose version survives in ten manuscripts, only two of which are complete, the version of Išhâk being available only in the form of quotations (by Ibn al-Sâlah). The Išhâk-Thâhid version was edited by Našîr al-Dîn al-Čâhrî [q.v. in 672/1274, whose version survives in several copies. Thâhid b. Aflâh [q.v.] used the translations of both al-Hadhîdhdjî and Išhâk that were available in al-Andalus in the 6th/12th century, and this is confirmed by the Latin translation of Gerard of Cremona, also from that century.

The Muslim astronomers were concerned from the outset to test and to improve what they found in the astronomical traditions to which they were heirs. Al-Ma'mûn's reign marks a turning point in the development of Islamic astronomy. Although al-Nihâwândî [fl. ca. 175/790] had made observations of his own in Qundishâpur [q.v.], the first systematic programme of astronomical observations took place between 213/828 and 218/838 in the Shammasiyah quarter of Baghdad [in 213/828, led by Yahyâ b. Abî Mansûrî and in the monastery of Dayr Murrân in Mount Kâsîyûn, near Damascus (218/833, led by Khâlid b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Marwârî) [see marād]. Al-Ma'mûn may have sponsored these observations for astrological reasons (like his predecessor al-Mansûrî, he was a keen believer in astrology), although it seems probable that the main purpose of the programme was to reach definite conclusions about the problem of contradictory parameters and geometrical models in use in early Islamic astronomy, resulting from the simultaneous application of three main known traditions: Indian, Persian and Greek. The programme seems to have concentrated mainly on solar, lunar and stellar observations but it also determined new parameters for the mean planetary motions. Several ūždzs were written as a result of these observations: the official one was compiled by Yahyâ b. Abî Mansûrî and bore the title of al-ūždz al-mumtahan. Other astronomers who were directly or indirectly associated with the observatories of Baghdad and Damascus also wrote their own ūždzs: among these, the ūždz of Hâbîsh al-Ḥâsîb [q.v.] is the most prominent. This is extant in two manuscripts in Istanbul and Berlin. Only the former has been properly investigated, although it has not been published. The latter is a later recension.
Although Habash (d. ca. 864-74) does not seem to have taken an active part in the Ma'mun observations, he used their results for the compilation of his zīdī. An analysis of both Habash's and Yahyā's zīdīs shows that they are Ptolemaic in character and that they improved certain parameters, especially the solar ones. On the other hand, both zīdīs preserve a certain number of elements from the Indo-Persian tradition.

After al-Ma'mūn, Islamic astronomy followed along the same lines. Observations continued almost without interruption either in small private observatories or in more or less organised institutions with official support. These resulted in the compilation of new zīdīs in which the old Indo-Persian tradition seems to be forgotten (except in al-Andalus—see below, 4), and the tradition of the Almagest and the Handy tables was followed. The authors accepted Ptolemy's kinematic models but used new parameters and destroyed some dogmatic beliefs of the Almagest, such as the invariability of the obliquity of the ecliptic, the constant character of the precession of equinoxes, the immobility of the solar apogee, and the impossibility of annular solar eclipses. Some of the changes introduced are improvements, whilst others are understandable mistakes resulting from the fact that Muslim astronomers relied excessively on the accuracy of observations made in Antiquity and in their own times. In any case, it is obvious that Ptolemaic astronomy was not always followed unquestioningly. In particular, Muslim astronomers made substantial contributions to the development of spherical trigonometry and the solution of problems in spherical astronomy by projection methods.

3. The major Maṣūriṣī zīdīs.

It is possible to mention only a limited number of later zīdīs from the Maṣūriṣī, arranged here more or less according to the geographical location where they were compiled.

Al-Zīdī al-Sāhib of al-Battānī [q.v., and also the art. in DSB], (Rakka ca. 300/910), is a respectable and orderly work, if lacking the originality of the zīdīs of Yahyā and Habash. This was one of the most important works for the transmission of Ptolemaic astronomy to Europe, but it enjoyed far less influence in the Islamic world (not least because there it had more competition). The tables of a zīdī were engraved on the mater and plates of an astrolabe [see Astrolab] in an instrument labelled Zīdī al-sāhibī by Abū Dja'far al-Khāzīn (Baghdād ca. 350/960 [q.v.]), of which an example survives in Berlin. Two zīdīs by Kūshyār b. Lābbān (ca. 400/1000 [q.v.], and also the art. in DSB) entitled al-Zīdī al-dimashkī and al-Zīdī al-būlūgh are extant in several copies of varying content.

The unique manuscript of a zīdī entitled al-Maṣūṣī by Abu 'l-Wāfī al-Būzdjānī (ca. 370/980 [q.v.], and also the art. in DSB) also lacks the tables; nevertheless, the sections on trigonometry and spherical astronomy are extensive and systematic and of considerable historical interest. The later, anonymous zīdī entitled al-Zīdī al-khāzīnī was based on that of Abu 'l-Wāfī, and was clearly of some influence, with some spherical astronomical tables for the latitude of Mardin.

Al-Kānīn al-Maṣūṣī by al-Birūnī (421/1030), dedicated to the newly-acceded Sulṭān Mas'ūd I [q.v. of Ghaza], is much more than an ordinary zīdī, being a great astronomical handbook, full of good sense, containing substantial information about the author's personal astronomical research as well as about the development of astronomy in Islamic regions until the author's time. The Kānīn was not as influential as it should have been (the same is true of al-Birūnī's other productions); some of the trigonometric tables were taken over in the Zīdī-i Hākimī (see below) and the geographical tables, albeit in some slightly modified form, as if read from a map, in the Sandjāri Zīdī by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Khāzīnī (fl. ca. 1120, see the art. in DSB). No recensions or modified versions of the Kānīn have come to light. The Sandjāri Zīdī dedicated to the Saljūq sultan Sandjar b. Malik Shāh, is another imposing work on which much more research needs to be done.

Several zīdīs, including one called al-Zīdī al-Mahānī, are associated with al-Fahhad (Shirwān, ca. 550/1150), none extant in their original form. The Yemeni astronomer Muhammad b. Abī Bakr al-Fārisī, as well as various Byzantine astronomers, used al-Fahhād's work and preserve for us substantial portions of it. Before we discuss later developments in Iran and Central Asia, we will mention the main activity in Egypt, Yemen and Syria.

A monumental work entitled al-Zīdī al-Hākimī al-kabīr, compiled ca. 400/1000 for the Fāṭimid caliph al-Hākim by Ibn Yūnūs [q.v., and also the art. in DSB], is some four times as large as the Zīdīs of Yahyā and al-Battānī. Substantial parts of the work survive in manuscripts in Leiden, Oxford and Paris. Of particular historical interest are the accounts of observations by the author and his predecessors in 'Abāṣīd Baghdad, as well as his career in later Egypt and also the Yemen. Thus e.g. the Geniza astrological almanacs as well as the mediaeval Yemeni ephemerides [see Tārīkh and also below, v. CATEGORIES OF TABLES NOT CONTAINED IN ZIDS, 3] are based on calculations using the mean motion and equation tables of the Hākimī Zīdī. The Mustaḥṣal Zīdī was the most popular zīdī in mediaeval Egypt, and relied heavily on the Hākimī Zīdī. Later Egyptian zīdīs include recensions of those of Ibn al-Sháir and Ulugh Beg.

Altogether, some 18 zīdīs are known from the Yemen, starting with al-Hamāndī [q.v.] in the early 4th/10th century, and the latest from the 13th/19th century. Their historical importance derives not only from the fact that they attest a serious Yemeni tradition of mathematical astronomy for close to a millennium but also from the fact that they provide us 'Abāṣīd and Fāṭimid materials which would otherwise have been lost (see King, Astronomy in Yemen).

Al-Zīdī al-jadīdī of Ibn al-Sháir (Damascus ca. 750/1350; see the art. in DSB) contains equation tables based on the author's new planetary models, which represent the culmination of the Islamic activities to replace those of Ptolemy [see alm al-hayyás]. This work merits detailed investigation. Several recensions were made for Damascus in later centuries, also one for Algiers and another for Cairo.

The major production of a group of astronomers working at Marāgha [q.v.] under Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī and purportedly based on their observations is the Hākimī Zīdī, still in the Ptolemaic tradition. The parameters underlying the solar, lunar and planetary tables were, however, taken from Ibn al-Ālam and Ibn Yūnūs, and the trigonometric tables lifted from Ibn Yūnūs and al-Birūnī. What is new is the calendrical material [see Tārīkh, 2]. There is no influence of the important modifications of the Ptolemaic planetary models conceived by the Marāgha astronomers.

The Zīdī-i Ḥākimī was revised and corrected by Djamshīd al-Kāshī in his Zīdī-i Ḥākimī, a work completed towards 820/1420, before the end of the cycle of observations made by the team of astronomers at the Samarqand observatory. These latter observations were, however, used by Ulugh Beg (790-853/
1393-1449 [q.v.] to compile his Zdj-i Sultanî (completed between 1437 and 1448), which is the last great Polemaic zdi of the Islamic Middle Ages. This zdi is extant in numerous manuscripts, yet to be sorted. The main parts of the zdi, namely, the tables, have still not received the attention they deserve. (See, most recently, E.S. Kennedy, Ulugh Beg as scientist, and The heritage of Ulugh Beg, first published in idem, Studies, nos. X-XI; Recensions were prepared for Damascus, Cairo, Istanbul, Tunis and India.

Two zdi's for Istanbul were compiled by Takiki al-Dean, 488/1580 [q.v.], to remain to be studied. Turkish recensions of the astronomical tables of Cassini (d. 1756) and Lalande (d. 1807) and other European astronomers are available (see Ihsanoglu, *Introduction of Western science to the Ottoman world*).

From India we have the Zdj-i Nâsiri, compiled by Mahmûd b. Umar ca. 650/1250 for the Dihî Sultan Nasir al-Din Abu'l-Mu'izzî Mahmûd b. Shams al-Din Ilutmish [q.v.]. A copy of this appears to be preserved in a private library in Tabriz (Storey, PL, ii/1, 52) but it has never been studied. It could be a work of considerable historical interest.

Later Indian zdi's are based either on Ulugh Beg or on European works (see Khan Ghorî, *Development of zdi literature in India*).

4. Andalusî and Maghribî Zdj's.

For al-Andalus and al-Maghrib, the history of astronomy has been studied more intensively than for other regions of the Islamic world. It is thus possible to place the activity relating to the compilation of zdi's in a clearer historical perspective.

The first zdi's, probably based on an Indo-Persian tradition, were introduced in al-Andalus in the time of 'Abîd al-Râhîmân II (206-38/822-52); one of these was al-Khâzârî's Zdj al-Sindhîn (D. Pingree, *Indian astronomy in medieval Spain*, in Vernet Festschrift, i, 39-48).

This Zdj (see below, rv. The contents of zdi's, 1) was the object of new recensions by Maslama al-Madîrî (d. 398/1007-8 [q.v.]); and his pupils Ibn al-Saffâr (d. 426/1035 [q.v.]) and Ibn al-Sambî (d. 426/1035 [q.v.], as well as by Ibn Hayy (d. 456/1064) and 'Abîd al-Allâh al-Sârûkûstî (d. 448/1056-7), who wrote a treatise on the errors of the Sindîhînd method. Of all these materials, only the dismantling fragment of Ibn al-Saffâr's version is extant in Arabic (M. Castells and J. Samsô, *Seven chapters of Ibn al-Saffâr's lost Zdj*, in *AIHS*, xlv [1995], 229-62), while Maslama's version has been preserved in the Latin translation of Adelard of Bath and in a recension by Petrus Alfonsi. Adelard's version contains materials derived from al-Khâzârî's original zdi, Maslama's modifications and additions and, probably, other later materials, such as the table, attributed elsewhere to a certain al-Kallâs, as yet unidentified, for determining the visibility of the new Moon for a latitude of 41°35' (Saragossa?). Maslama introduced modifications in the chronological and in the mean-motion tables (al-Khâzârî used the Perisan calendar and the era of Yazdîdîrîd III, while the extant tables use the Muslim calendar and the beginning of the Hijrâ). He also adapted the radix positions of the lunar ascending node and of the oblique oppositions and conjunctions of the Sun and the Moon to the meridian of Cordova which, in these tables as well as in a passage of Ibn al-Saffâr's canons, is placed at a distance of 63° west of Arin (not 79°40' as in al-Khâzârî's original Zdj). This correction appears in a horoscope cast in Cordova and dated 326/940, and it has the effect of reducing the length of the Mediterranean to a much more reasonable value than was implied by Ptolemy. Other

Maslama's additions can be found in trigonometric (sine and cotangent) and astrological tables such as those concerned with the equalisation of the houses and the projection of the rays, computed for a latitude of 38°30', presumably Cordova, and much better than the original tables of al-Khâzârî, preserved in another source. (For an overview of the origin of the various tables in the Latin version see van Dalen, *Al-Musîrizî's tables revisited*, 196-211.)

Al-Khâzârî's astronomical tradition was never fully abandoned in al-Andalus or in the Maghrib. It was followed by Ibn Mas'lâm (of 488/1035) in his *Tabulae Jahum* (that is, the Zdj of Djiyânî; Jian in al-Andalus, of which only the canons are extant in a Latin translation by Gerard of Cremona (see H. Hermelink, *Tabulae Jahum*, in *AHES*, ii [1964], 108-12). Arabic passages of these canons as well as tabular materials have been discovered in late Maghribi sources (see Samsô and H. Mielgo, *Ibn Ishaq al-Tamîzî and Ibn Maslâm al-Jyâynî on the Qâbr*, first published in Samsô, Studies, no. VI; A. Mestres, in *Vernet Festschrift*, i, 402-3, 435; Samsô, *ibid.*, ii, 601-10; and idem, in *GAWe*, xi [1997], 91-2).

Far more successful were the *Toledan Tables*, the result of an adaptation of the available astronomical material (mainly al-Khâzârî's and al-Battânî to the coordinates of Toledo made by a group of Toledo astronomers led by the famous kâfî Sâ'id of al-Andalus (d. 462/1070 [q.v.]). Even if the results achieved were not brilliant, the mean-motion tables are original and constitute the result of a programme of observations which must have begun earlier than 460/1068 and which was continued by Ibn al-Zârûkhâlî (Azarquiel) (d. 493/1100 [see AL-ZARKALî]), one of the collaborators of kâfî Sâ'id, until much later. (On the Toledan Tables and Ibn al-Zârûkhâlî's *Almanac*, see G.J. Toomer, *A survey of the Toledan Tables*, in *Oriens*, xv [1966], 5-174; L. Richter-Bernburg, *Sâ'id, the Toledan Tables, and Andalusian science*, in *Kenedy Festschrift*, 373-401; F.S. Pedersen, *Canones Azaqueli*. Some versions and a text, in *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen Age Grec et Latin* (Copenhagen), liv [1987], 129-218; J.-M. Millâs Vallisnera, *Estudios sobre Azarquiel*, Madrid-Granada 1943-50, 72-237; and R. Mercier, *Astronomical tables in the twelfth century*, in *Adelard of Bath, An English scientist and arabisch of the early twelfth century*, ed. C. Burnett, London 1987, 87-118, esp. 104-12. On the date of the Toledan Tables, see Samsô and H. Berrani, *World-astrology in eleventh century al-Andalus: the Epitome on tasyir and the projection of the rays by at-Ittiqî*, in *JHS*, x [1999], 293-312. An edition of the Toledan tables is being prepared by F.S. Pedersen.) These tables, like those of al-Khâzârî, presented sidereal longitudes but added trepidation tables allowing the calculation of tropical longitudes. The topic of trepidation studied by several members of Sâ'id's team (Sâ'id himself, Ibn al-Zârûkhâlî and Abû Marwân al-Ittiqî), together with other theoretical innovations developed by Ibn al-Zârûkhâlî (cycles that regulate the obliquity of the ecliptic, motion of the solar apogee, solar model with variable eccentricity, corrections in the Polemaic lunar model), became standard in the Andalusî and Maghribi tradition. Ibn al-Zârûkhâlî also adapted a perpetual Almanac from a Hellenistic work computed by a certain Ammonius in the 3rd or 4th century A.D., which allowed astronomers to obtain planetary longitudes without all the computation involved in the use of a zdi. (This was published in Millâs Vallisnera, *op. cit.*, 72-237; preliminary analysis in M. Bouteille, *Al-Musîrizî's Almanac*, in *Centaurus*, xii [1967], 12-19, repr. in Kennedy et al., *Studies*, 502-10; corrections
by N. Swerdlow, in Mathematical Reviews, xli/4 [1971], no. 5149; also Samsø, Ciencias de los Antiguos, 166-71.

This kind of table was often used in al-Andalus, the Maghrib and mediaeval Christian Spain (see below on the tables of Zarut).

Ibn al-Kammād (active in Cordova ca. 510/1110) and Ibn al-Hā'im (fl. ca. 600/1200) wrote zijīs in the Zarqallih tradition. The former was probably a disciple of Ibn al-Zarqallih and composed three such works, of which only one, al-Mu'tahab, is extant in a Latin translation, although materials from the other two can be recovered in Castilian translations or in Maghribi sources. Ibn al-Kammād (like Ibn al-Hā'im, Ibn Ishāk, Ibn al-Raqqām in his Śāmīl Zijī, and Ibn ‘Az-zūz al-Kusantmī, on whom see below) apply the Zarqallih motion of the solar apogee (1° in 279 Julian years) to that of the apogees of the other planets, which poses the problem of establishing whether this was Ibn al-Kammād’s contribution or whether it already appeared in the lost work of Ibn al-Zarqallih.


After Ibn al-Hā'im, the main development of Western zijīs took place in the Maghrib. There, already at the beginning of the 5th/11th century, the famous astrologer Ibn Abī l-Rūqdm al-Rayrāwīnī [q.v.] had composed a zijī entitled Hall al-’ād ibn al-Rūqdm al-Rayrāwīnī, which has not survived. No other zijīs are extant until ca. 600/1200, when we have the set of tables prepared by Abu l-'Abbās Ibn Ishāk al-Tamīmī al-Tunīsī (fl. Tunis and Marrakesh ca. 589/1193-1222), which survive, among other materials, in a unique Ḥaydārābād manuscript (copied in Hims in 716-717/1317). According to Ibn Kahlāf Wallān [q.v.], Ibn Ishāk’s tables were based on observations made by a Sicilian Jew; this does not seem to be true and Ibn Ishāk’s authentic tables seem to derive directly from the Andalusi tradition. But Ibn Ishāk’s zijī was left unfinished; it lacked an adequate set of canons and four “editions” at least of this work were prepared, two in the Maghrib, by three different astronomers at the end of the 7th/13th and beginning of the 8th/14th centuries. One of them was the compiler of the Ḥaydārābād manuscript, who, ca. 660-8/1266-81, added to the original zijī an impressive collection of materials (both canons and numerical tables) in which the predominant influence is clearly Andalusi, but the compilation was enormous and ill-suited for practical use. (See now the publications of A. Mestres listed in the Bibli.)

Ibn al-Bannā’ī al-Banā’ī (d. 679/1280) composed zijīs (in Arabic and Persian) of which none survives, but the “editions” of his zijīs were prepared by Muhammad b. al-Raqqām (fl. Tunis and Granada, d. 175/1315). His two zijīs are entitled al-Zij al-shāmīl fī tā’ālīm al-Kāmil and al-Zij al-kāmil fī ji‘ān al-tā’ālīm fī Khulāsah al-ta’ālīm. The former was composed in Tunis in 679/1280-1 by copying, word for word, the canons of Ibn al-Hā'im’s Kāmil Zijī, but omitting all the careful geometrical demonstrations. To this he added the numerical tables of Ibn Ishāk. The Khulāsah Zijī seems to contain a simplified rewording of the canons of the Śamīl Zijī but it adds a few tables adapted to the geographical coordinates of Granada—after Ibn al-Raqqām’s arrival in this city under Muhammad II (671-701/1273-1302)—for which the author uses a latitude of 37°10’, identical to the modern value. (See E.S. Kennedy, The Astronomical Tables of Ibn al-Raqqām, a scientist of Granada, in ZAHIW, xi [1997], 35-72. A partial edition of, and commentary on the Śamīl Zijī is M. Abduh Raḥmān, Ḥadīth i‘ti‘āl al-kāmil al-shāmīl fī tā’ālīm al-kāmil li-Ibn al-Raqqām, diss. University of Barcelona 1996, unpubl.)

A third zijī by Ibn al-Raqqām, al-Zij al-muṣawwīf, is extant in Rabat and Tunis, but the relation between it and the Zijī of Ibn Ishāk has not yet been studied.

The Andalusi tradition was also developed by two astronomers from Constantino who were active in Fez in the 8th/14th century. One of them is Ibn ‘Az-zūz al-Kusantmī (d. 755/1354), who compiled his al-Zij al-muṣawwīf correcting the mean motion parameters in Ibn Ishāk’s zijī on the basis of observations made in Fez ca. 745/1345, later corrected using a peculiar “experimental” method: the mean motions were adjusted for casting horoscopes which could fit the historical reality of well-known events of the past, such as the battle of Faṣṣ Tarīf (El Salado, 741/1340). Other materials in this zijī also derive from Andalusi sources, mainly Ibn al-Kammād, but it also contains interesting information such as tables of planetary velocities (also attested in the Alfonsine tradition), and...
the oldest mention of a lunar cycle of 11,325 days which can be used for the computation of lunar longitudes using almanac techniques. (See Samso, Andalusian astronomy in 14th century 8th/15th century al-Muwafiq of Ibn 'Aziz al-Quaṣṣimini, in ZGAIW, xi [1997], 73-110; idem, Horoscopes and history, Ibn 'Aziz and his retrospective horoscopes related to the Battle of El Salado (1340), in North Festchrift, Leiden 1999, 101-24.) Ibn 'Aziz included in his ZGAI a table for planetary velocities that is also found in many Latin copies; the original compiler of this table has not been determined, but he was almost certainly Andalusian. (See Samso, al-Zijd al-Muwafi, 89-104; 105-45; Goldstein, Chabas and J.L. Mancha, Planetary and lunar velocities in the Castilian Alfonsine tables, in Proc. Amer. Philosophical Soc., cxxvii [1994], 61-95.)

Another person of the same origin, Abu T-Hasan 'Ali al-Kuṣantini, compiled a small ZGAI, the canons of which were written in verse so that they could easily be learnt by heart. This work is the only known Western Islamic document extant in Arabic in which the planetary theory is Indian and not Ptolemaic. In addition to this material, ultimately due to al-Khāzari, this ZGAI also however shows the influence of Ibn Istāk and Ibn al-Bannā'. (See E.S. Kennedy and D.A. King, Indian astronomy in fourteenth-century Fez: the verified ZGAI of al-Quaṣṣimini [sic], in JHA, vi [1982], 3-45, repr. in King, Studies, A-VIII.)

The ZGAI derived from Ibn Istāk were used in the Maghrib until the 13th/19th century, for they allowed the computation of sidereal longitudes which were used by astronomers. We have, however, a limited amount of information about observations made in the Maghrib in the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries which established that precession exceeded the amounts fixed in "Andalusian" trepidation tables and that the obliquity of the ecliptic had fallen below the limits of Ibn al-Zarkalūhī's model and tables. This explains the introduction of eastern ZGAI's in the Maghrib from the 8th/14th century onwards. In them, mean motions were tropical, trepidation was replaced by constant precession and there were no tables to compute the obliquity of the ecliptic. The Tāji al-ṣawā'iṣ of Ibn Abi T-Shukr al-Maghrībī (d. 680/1280) and the al-Zijd al-ṣawā'iṣ of Ibn al-Shārīf (d. 777/1375) were known in Tunisia from the late 8th/14th century onwards, while the Tāji'i ilūtāni of Ulugh Beg was known in the Maghrib towards the end of the 11th/17th, and it became very popular during the next two centuries. There were at least two Tunisian recensions of this ZGAI prepared by Muhammad al-Sharīf, called Sanjdāk Dār al-Tūnīsī, and by 'Abd Allāh Husayn Kuša al-Tūnīsī; the former was produced in the late 11th/17th century and it contains, for the first time in the Maghrib, double-argument tables which combine the equation of the centre with the equation of the anomaly. The transmission was not all one-way; e.g. the Maghribi astronomer Abu 'Ali al-Marrākiši [q.v.], who was active in Cairo ca. 680/1280, mentioned Ibn al-Zarkalūhī and Ibn al-Kādāmī in his monumental book on instrumentation, Maḥbūl wa-muhībūl. Also, the unique Haydarābād manuscript of the ZGAI of Ibn Istāk was preserved in Sana'a, and fragments attributed to the same author are found in various Yemeni sources.

The change of mentality represented by these eastern ZGAI's also reached the Maghrib in the 10th/16th century through a different channel. The Jewish astronomer of Salamanca, Abraham Zacut, left Portugal in 1496 and lived in Fez, Tiemcen and Tunis until at least 911/1505. In one of these cities he compiled a new set of astronomical tables (1501) and his perpetual Almanac was translated from the printed Castilian version of 1496 into Arabic in the Maghrib in the early 11th/17th century by Ahmad b. Kāsim al-Hadjarī. The new Arabic tables were the object of several commentaries. The Almanac represented not only a renewal of the old Andalusī tradition but also the introduction in the Maghrib of Alfonsoine astronomy and of the astronomical research made in Southern France by Levi ben Gerson in the 14th century. It was still used in Morocco in the 19th century. (See Goldstein, The Hebrew astronomical tradition: new sources, in ISt, lxii [1981], 237-51; idem, Abraham Zacut and the medieval Hebrew astronomical tradition, in JHA, xxix [1998], 177-86; and now Chabas and Goldstein, Astronomy in the Iberian Peninsula. Abraham Zacut and the transition from manuscript to print, in Trans. Amer. Philosophical Soc., Philadelphia 2000.)

### 4. The Contents of ZGAI

1. Sexagesimal alphanumerical notation.

The entries in the tables in ZGAI and other corpora of tables are expressed sexagesimally, that is, to base 60, although integers are invariably expressed decimally. (In the modern notation standard in the history of the exact sciences, a number expressed in the form a,b,c,d stands for a x 60 + b + c • 60 + d • 600.) The entries are written in Arabic alphanumerical notation [see aṣāṣā], with the attendant traps for the careless copyist and the trusting reader. One of the challenges to modern investigators is the restoration of original values from carelessly-entered copies. The standard errors are inevitable or careless or compound. "Inevitable" refers to those cases where the omission of a diacritical point or two in one copy of a table invites an ambiguous interpretation in the next copy (thus, 14 ↔ 54 or 38 ↔ 33 or 80 ↔ 100). "Careless" refers to situations where the sloppy rendition of one letter or ligature leads to its misinterpretation as another (thus, 0 ↔ 5, 14 ↔ 15, 40 ↔ 47, 50 ↔ 7, 20 or 21 ↔ 9, 38 ↔ 18, 44 ↔ 47, or 18 ↔ 70). "Compound" refers to a combination of the previous two (thus 14 ↔ 15 or 55 or 38 ↔ 18 or 13 or 150 ↔ 87). (See R.A.K. Irani, Arabic numeral forms, in Centaurus, iv [1955], 1-12; repr. in Kennedy et al., Studies, 710-31.)

2. Chronology and calendar conversion.

All ZGAI's begin with one or more chapters and sets of tables devoted to the definition of the various eras and calendars in use at the time and place of writing, to methods of converting dates from one calendar to another, and to the problem of determining the madhkal, that is, the day of the week corresponding to the first day of a given year and month in a given calendar. The most common are the lunar Hijra calendar and various solar calendars, including the Seleucid (Alexander), the Coptic (Diocletian), and the Persian (Yazdigird) calendar, and, in the West, the Julian (A.D. and Spanish Era). The Persian calendar, using the Egyptian year of 365 days and no intercalation, is particularly convenient for astronomical purposes. Less commonly treated calendars are the Jewish, Syrian, Mālikī, Ṣa'īda and Chinese-Uighur (see taʾṣīhī). A few ZGAI's treat the lunar mansions and the Arab system of dividing the year according to the mansions (see manazil and anwā).

3. Trigonometry.

All ZGAI's contain trigonometric tables, usually of at least the sine (al-ṣawā'iṣ) and the cotangent (al-ṭall) func-
tions. The sine, first used by Indian astronomers, replaced the Ptolemaic chord function (al-watar) among the Muslims. The tangent of the sine was an arc (rather than an angle) $\theta$ of a circle of radius $R$ units, where $R$ is a base, usually 60, occasionally 1. In the Indian tradition $R$ was usually taken as 150; in the Hellenistic tradition it was taken as 60. The mediaeval sine function is denoted by $\sin \theta$ and is related to Ptolemys's chord function and the modern function by: $\sin \theta = \frac{1}{2} \text{Chd}(2\theta) = R \sin \theta$. In timekeeping, the versed sine (al-kutr al-zill) was also used ($\text{Vers} \theta = R - \cos \theta$), and occasionally also the cosecant function ($\text{cosec} \theta$) ($\theta = R / \cos \theta$). The earliest sine tables, from the 3rd/9th century, gave values to three sexagesimal places for each 1° of argument. By the 9th/10th century, accurate tables were available displaying the function to five places for each minute of argument. This was achieved by first deriving a very precise value of $\sin 1°$ and utilising a clever method of second-order interpolation. The cotangent function invariably had the solar altitude as argument, and used a base equal to the length of a gnomon, so that the function measures the length of the horizontal shadow cast by the gnomon. The units for the gnomon length used were 12 digits (ishâ', pl. asîbi'), or 7 feet (kadâm, pl. adâm), although other values were also used. Al-Birûnî has a detailed discussion in his treatise On shadows (frdîh al-makâlî fi amr al-zijî). The cotangent function was also first tabulated in the 3rd/9th century.

Trigonometric functions were occasionally tabulated independently, that is, not in zijîs. Various procedures were used for interpolation in tables [see TAh. bâny al-satrayn]. [See further Kennedy, Zij survey, 139-42; Schou, Beiträge zur arabischen Trigonometrie, in: Isis, v (1923), 364-69, and idem, Die Geometrie der Araber, Bd. I, F. of E. von Bassermann-Jordan (ed.), Die Geschichte der Zeitmessung und der Uhren, Berlin and Leipzig 1923, both repr. in idem, Beiträge, ii, 448-83 and 351-447; al-Birûnî, Shadows, 71-80. See also J.L. Berggren, Episodes in the mathematics of medieval Islam, New York, etc. 1986, (27-56).

4. Spherical astronomical functions.

The study of spherical astronomy, sc. the mathematics of the celestial sphere and of the apparent daily rotation of the sphere, was of prime concern to Muslim astronomers, not least because of the importance of astronomical time-keeping (see mukâtî). The formulae for deriving time from solar or stellar altitude were known from the 2nd/8th century onwards and are discussed in every zijî. (On the basic tables for spherical astronomy, see Kennedy, Zij survey, 140-1; D.A. King, Astronomical works of Ibn Yûnûs; al-Birûnî, Makâlî; al-Marrâkûshî, Makâlî wa-ghayrî; Berggren, Spherical astronomy in Kâshâyî ibn Lakhânî's Jami' Zij, in Kennedy Festschrift, 15-33; Kennedy, Spherical astronomy in al-Kâshî's Khâgânt Zij, in ZIWH, ii (1990), 1-46, repr. in idem, Studies, no. VII.)

We can distinguish between several groups of functions that were regularly tabulated in zijîs:

a. The solar declination as a function of solar longitude. Underlying such tables was a value for the obliquity of the ecliptic, a parameter which changes slowly with time [see mâyîl; shâms; muntakâ].

b. The half-length of daylight for different latitudes, as a function of solar longitude, in equatorial degrees and minutes, or in hours and minutes. Sometimes the latitude-dependent tables would be presented for the climates of Antiquity [see nâm]. The right ascensions as a function of ecliptic longitude, defining the rising time of a given arc of the ecliptic (measured from the vernal point) over the horizon at the equator, and the oblique ascensions, defining the corresponding times for the horizons of different localities [see mâyâl]. Often the latter would be tabulated for a series of latitudes.

c. The solar meridian altitude, and less frequently the rising amplitude of the Sun and the solar altitude in the prime vertical, all for specific latitudes. Likewise the solar altitude in the azimuth of the kibla [q.v.] for specific localities, also tabulated for each degree of solar longitude.

d. Certain functions with no immediate astronomical significance were also tabulated on account of their utility in the computation of other functions. We may mention as examples such "auxiliary" functions as the tangent of the declination (labelled fudâl al-matâlî fi 'ard kullâhî), the sine of the right ascension (gâbîf al-matâlî), and the product of the cosines of the declination and the terrestrial latitude (al-âsîl al-matâlî) (see King, SATMI, i). The culmination of this activity was the compilation of sets of tables of a series of such functions, combinations of which could yield solutions to problems of spherical astronomy for any latitude. Of these only the auxiliary tables of Habâsh al-Hasîb are found in a zijî; see further below, v.

Categories of tables not contained in zijîs, 7.

Numerous other functions are found in the corpus of tables relating to astronomical time-keeping, independent of zijîs; see below, ibid., 8. These collections also contain some more extensive tables for time-keeping; the only variety of these occasionally found in zijîs is a table displaying the time (T) since rising of the Sun or any star as a function of the meridian altitude (H) and the instantaneous altitude (h), for a specific latitude: these tables are trapezoidal in shape since $h < H$ and are called zijî al-keziel, after the name of a shawl.

5. Planetary mean motions, equations and latitudes.

These constitute the hard core of all zijîs. Extensive tables display the epoch positions and the mean motions (wasât, pl. awâsît) of the "planets" (al-kawâkk al-asâfîra or al-mutâhârya), that is, the Sun, Moon and five naked-eye planets. The tables are intended for a specific terrestrial longitude, usually that of the locality where the zijî was compiled; if required, they can easily be modified to the meridian of another locality. The motions for a given number of completed years, months, days and hours are be added to the epoch positions (Ar. âsîl, Lat. radix) to derive the actual mean positions. These then needed to be modified by equations (ta'dâl) to derive the true ecliptic positions (sometimes called al-mu'addâm or al-mu'addâld). The operation of finding the true positions is called taka'tîm (q.v.), an expression also used for ephemeredes. In the Polymael tradition, the equations are calculated by successive applications of a series of auxiliary trigonometric functions for each planet [see shâms, and more especially kâmar and tâbîr]. [See Kennedy, Zij survey, 141-2; Kennedy and H. Sulam, Solar and lunar tables in early Islamic astronomy, in: JAOS, LXXVII (1967), 492-7, repr. in Kennedy et al., Studies, 108-13.] More extensive double-argument tables for the equations are sometimes found in zijîs (see M.J. Tichenor, Late medieval two-argument tables for planetary longitudes, in: ZIWS, xxvi (1967), 126-8, repr. in Kennedy et al., Studies, 122-4; C. Jensen, The lunar theories of al-Baghdâdi, in: AHES, vii (1971-2), 321-8; and G. Saliba, The double-argument lunar tables of Qiyânu, in: JHE, vii (1976), 41-6), and sometimes tabulated separately (see below, Categories of Tables, 6).

The apogees (awâsîl, pl. awâsîd) of the planets need to
be considered in such calculations, and their positions, which vary with time, were also tabulated. Occasionally, especially—but not only—in Andalusian and Maghrībi zijds, we find tables relating to trepidation (al-ḥāl al-wa‘lʿīdār), the presumed oscillation of the equinoaxes; see above, iii. An overview, 4. Additional auxiliary tables enabled the computation of the planetary latitudes (al-ʿard). In the case of the Moon, a single table would suffice, the argument being the nodal distance, derived from the lunar longitude and the position of the ascending node, which was tabulated along with the motions of the Moon. In the calculation of solar and lunar eclipses (see below), also the equation of time (see Taʾdīl al-ʿazmān), that is, the difference between true and mean solar time, with a maximum of around 30 minutes, had to be considered; tables for this function were likewise standard zijds. (See, most recently, Kennedy, Two medieval approaches to the equation of time, in: Centaurus, xxxvi [1988], 1-8, repr. in idem, Studies, no. VIII; van Dalen, Al-Khwarizmi’s tables revisited: analysis of the equation of time, in: Vernet Festschrift, i, 195-252.) All of the necessary instructions for using these various tables are found in the typical zijd.

6. Planetary stations and visibility.

Additional tables enabled the investigation of the direct and retrograde motions of the planets, their stations, and their visibility, which depends on their apparent elongation from the Sun.

7. Solar and lunar parallaxes and eclipses.

In zijds we also find tables for calculating the parallax of the Sun and Moon (iḥtālaṣf al-ʿamanẓar; preparatory to the prediction of eclipses (kisāf for the Sun and ḥisāf for the Moon [see kusṭr]). This was achieved by means of tables of the times of synzygies, of true solar and lunar motions in small critical periods of time, of apparent solar and lunar radii, and others. (See Kennedy, Zīj survey, 143-4, idem, Parallax theory in Islamic astronomy, in: Isis, xlvi [1956], 33-53, repr. in idem et al., Studies, 164-84.)

8. Lunar visibility.

Particular attention was paid by Muslim astronomers to the prediction of the visibility of the lunar crescent on the first evening after a conjunction of the Sun and Moon (see Ruyat al-ḥilāl). From the 3rd/9th century onwards, tables were prepared to facilitate such predictions, underlying which were limiting conditions on various functions based on the apparent positions of the Sun and Moon relative to each other and to the local horizon. Numerous such tables, of varying sophistication and complexity, are found in various zijds. (See, for example, King, Some early Islamic tables for determining lunar crescent visibility, in: Kennedy Festschrift, 185-225, repr. in idem, Studies, C-II; and J.P. Hogendijk, Three Islamic lunar crescent visibility tables, in: JHA, xix [1988], 29-44.)


Tables displaying longitudes and latitudes of numerous localities are standard in zijds. They have been published in various formats, that is, according to locality, source, increasing longitudes and increasing latitudes, by E.S. and M.H. Kennedy, who provided a valuable research tool (Geographical coordinates of localities from Islamic sources, Frankfurt am Main 1987) that is currently being extended by M. Comes of Barcelona. These geographical coordinates were included in zijds in order to facilitate the use of planetary tables for other meridians, for which the longitude difference has to be taken into consideration, and also for computing the ʿibla. A minority of tables also display the ʿibla for each locality.

10. Star catalogues.

In a typical zijd we find a table displaying the ecliptic or equatorial coordinates of selected stars (see Nūdūm, Arbakān al-ʿajāb). Procedures for coordinate conversion are also described. The star catalogue in the Arabian Almagest has been published by P. Kunitzsch (Claudius Ptolemaeus—Der Sternkatalog des Almagest—Die arabisch-mittelalterliche Tradition, 3 vols., Wiesbaden 1986-91; see also idem, Studies, as well as Kunitzsch Festschrift). More research is necessary to establish the relationships between individual star catalogues, not all of which are related in a trivial way to that in the Almagest. Thus, for example, the tables in the Kitāb Sīvar al-kasrāwīk, On constellations, by ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Sūfī [g.e.], and those in the Zīj of Ulugh Beg, are essentially Polemaic (see E.B. Knobel, Ulughbeg’s catalogue of stars, Washington, D.C. 1917; M.Y. Shevchenko, An analysis of the errors in the star catalogues of Polemy and Ulugh Beg, in: JHA, xxii [1990], 187-201; K. Krischnan, A more complete analysis of the errors in Ulugh Beg’s star catalogue, in: JHA, xxix [1993], 269-80). Independent star-tables are found in the Munstahān Zīj, the Hākimī Zīj, the Husnīl li (a Chinese tr. of an independent Islamic Zīj), etc.

11. Tables for mathematical astrology.

Zijds usually contain tables useful for astrological purposes (see Nūdūm, Arbakān al-ʿajāb) notably, for drawing up a horoscope for a certain moment or for a series of such moments, such as each year in the life of an individual. Given the horoscopus or ascendant, that is, the point of the ecliptic instantaneously rising over the horizon [see tāl], one needs to determine the positions of the astrological houses and to assign the Sun, Moon and five naked-eye planets to the appropriate house, and then to investigate the supposed significance of their positions relative to each other. Some zijds contain tables displaying the ecliptic longitudes of the cusps of the houses as a function of the longitude of the horoscope, for a fixed latitude. Occasionally we find tables displaying the longitude of the horoscope as a function of the altitude of the Sun throughout the year or of various fixed stars, also for a fixed latitude. Various tables in zijds serve the astrological notions of the “projections of the rays” (mashāqf al-ʿdāfiḥ, the “year transfers” [ʿaḥāṣf al-sinīn], the “excess of revolution” [iyd al-ḥawar], and the duration of gestation (makhf al-naʿwād fī batn ummāhī) (see Kennedy and H. Krikorian-Preisler, The astrological doctrine of projecting the rays, in: Al-Abḥāth, xlv [1972], 3-15, repr. in Kennedy et al., Studies, 372-84; several papers in Kennedy et al., Studies, 311-84, and idem, Studies, nos. XV-XVIII; idem, The astrological houses as defined by medieval Islamic astronomers, in: Vernet Festschrift, ii, 535-78, repr. in Kennedy, Studies, no. XIX; Hogendijk, The mathematical structure of two Islamic astrological tables for casting the rays, in: Centaurus, xxxii [1989], 171-202; idem, Mathematical astrology in the Islamic tradition (dealing with houses, rays and progressions), in a forthcoming publication including selected papers given at a conference “New perspectives on science in medieval Islam” held at the Dibner Institute, Cambridge, Mass., 6-8 Nov. 1998; see also below, v. Categories of tables not contained in zijds, 12.) We may also find tables of the positions of the elusive, not least because fictitious, astrological body al-Ku’d [g.e.]. Of all the aspects of mediaeval Islamic astronomy, mathematical astrology is the least researched.

12. Analysis of tables and parameters.

Already in the early 1960s, Kennedy applied the electronic computer to facilitate the analysis of medi-
aereal tables, an activity that was continued by some of his students and independently by R. Mercier. A third generation of younger researchers is currently active; statistical techniques have been applied to individual tables and groups of tables, notably by B. van Dalen and G. Van Brummelen. The former scholar has reactivated a file of over 2,000 parameters found in the table at the right place for the complete cycle can be used to calculate positions by simple plugging into the table at the right place for beginning of a given year: the positions for the entire year can then be derived with facility. This was recognized already in Antiquity, and some Islamic tables reflect this, for example, the tables of Ibn al-Zarkālī and Zakūt, which could be used to calculate individual positions. Two other sets of such auxiliary tables specifically for generating ephemerides are known, but there are surely more: an anonymous set for the Sun and Moon, compiled by Ibn al-Majdī in Cairo in the 9th/10th century, and the production continued in various centres until the 13th/19th century. 

5. Tables for determining lunar crescent visibility. 

In addition to the tables in al-ṭā狸, we also find occasional sets of calculations for visibility over a series of months, or lists of minimum apparent distances between the Sun and Moon to assure visibility, with values given to the nearest degree for each zodiacal sign [see RUYAT al-MULĀKH].

6. Double-argument planetary equation tables. 

In the case of the extensive lunar equation tables attributed to Ibn Yūnūs [पा०], these are not presented in a ẓīḏ, although the unique manuscript is labelled as such (see King, A Double argument table for the lunar equation attributed to Ibn Yūnūs, in Centaurus, xvii [1974], 129-46, repr. in idem, Studies, A-V). Numerous later sets from Egypt to India were likewise copied separately.

7. Auxiliary tables for solving spherical astronomical problems for all latitudes.

Muslim astronomers compiled several sets of tables of trigonometric functions with no specific significance but so conceived that ordered applications of them could lead to the solution of problems of spherical astronomy (see already above, iv. THE CONTENTS OF ẓīḏ) 4. Their progress in mathematical methods is well reflected in these tables, of which over a dozen sets are known (these are surveyed in King, SATMI, i-9). The four most significant examples are the following: the ẓīḏ, although the unique manuscript is labelled as such (see King, A Double argument table for the lunar equation attributed to Ibn Yūnūs, in Centaurus, xvii [1974], 129-46, repr. in idem, Studies, A-V). Numerous later sets from Egypt to India were likewise copied separately.

In Mamlūk Egypt, the sine and cotangent functions for each minute of argument were tabulated separately. Such tables, to greater accuracy, were found in the Supplement to the ẓīḏ of Ulugh Beg (see above), and these were also copied separately.

3. Ephemeresides. 

Ephemerides displaying positions of the Sun, Moon and five planets for each day of a given year were compiled already in Baghdaḍ in the 3rd/9th century and the production continued in various centres until the 13th/19th century. [For details, see TAKWĪM.]

4. Auxiliary tables for compiling ephemerides.

Since the motions of the Sun, Moon and planets are cyclical, a given set of tables defining one complete cycle can be used to calculate positions by simply plugging into the table at the right place for beginning of a given year: the positions for the entire year can then be derived with facility. This was recognized already in Antiquity, and some Islamic tables reflect this, for example, the tables of Ibn al-Zarkālī and Zakūt, which could be used to calculate individual positions. Two other sets of such auxiliary tables specifically for generating ephemerides are known, but there are surely more: an anonymous set for the Sun and Moon, compiled by Ibn al-Majdī in Cairo in the 9th/15th century, with tables for the planets contributed by various later Egyptian astronomers (see Kennedy, A set of medieval tables for quick calculation of solar and lunar ephemerides, in Oriens, xviii-xix [1967], 327-34, repr. in idem et al., Studies, 114-21; and idem and King, Ibn al-Majdī’s tables for calculating ephemerides, in JHA, iv [1980], 48-68, repr. in idem, Studies, A-V).

5. Tables for determining lunar crescent visibility. 

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9. Tables for regulating the times of Muslim prayer.

The first tables for regulating the times of prayer were compiled in the 3rd/9th century. All such tables are analysed in King, *474*, ii.

10. Tables for finding the kibla.

Between the 3rd/9th and 8th/14th centuries, Muslim astronomers compiled various tables displaying the kibla, measured from the local meridian, as a function of longitude difference and latitude difference from Mecca [see *Kibla*].

11. Tables for constructing astrolabes and sundials.

A series of Muslim astronomers addressed the problem of calculating the size and position of the various markings on astrolabes and sundials in trigonometric terms, as well as using the better-known methods of geometric construction [see *Asturlab*, *Mizwala*].


There are all manner of astrological tables to be found in works other than *zīds* (Sezgin, *G4S*, vii, 22-5, lists some important sources, mainly unstudied).

vi. Concluding remarks

The scope of the *zīd* literature and Islamic astronomical tables in general is a clear indication of the interest of Muslim scholars in astronomy for over a millennium. It is an accident of Islamic history that a few of these *zīds* became known in mediaeval Europe and that this spawned an interest there too. Alone the computational accuracy of the vast majority of the tables in the *zīd* is a clear sign of the competence of their compilers. Their errors, if they are original and not due to copyists, can provide useful clues to the way in which the tables were calculated. But the accompanying texts also merit our attention, and sometimes the tables cannot be understood without them. The study of Islamic mathematical astronomy is progressing slowly but constantly, and the reader should understand that this brief overview is intended to encourage the reader to consult Kennedy’s *Zīd* survey and the many writings it has already inspired and will continue to inspire in the future.

Bibliography: The following abbreviations are used for various journals not listed in the *Abbreviations for Periodicals*, etc.: *AHES*: Archive for History of Exact Science; *AIHS*: Archives internationales d’histoire des Sciences; *ASP*: Arabic Science and Philosophy; *Centaurus*: Centaurus—International Magazine of the History of Mathematics, Science, and Technology; *HistMath*: Historia Mathematica; *HistSci*: Historia Scientiarum (Brussels); *HS*: History of Science (Cambridge); *JHAS*: Journal for History of Science; *Iss*: Iss—An International Review Devoted to the History of Science and its Cultural Influences; *JHA*: Journal for the History of Astronomy; *JHAS*: Journal for the History of Arabic Science (Aleppo); *Physica*: Physica—Rivista internazionale di storia della scienza; *Sahih*: Sahih—Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation (Barcelona).


An indispensable research tool is Kennedy and Kennedy, Islamic geographical coordinates: E.S. and M.H. Kennedy, Geographical coordinates of localities from Islamic sources, Frankfurt 1987. References are also made to King, SATMF; King, Studies in astronomical time-keeping in medieval Islam, 10 pts., including i, A survey of tables for reckoning time by the sun and stars; ii, A survey of tables for predicting times of the four daily prayers; vii, Universal solutions in medieval Islamic astronomy, Leiden, forthcoming; idem, World-maps for finding the direction and distance to Mecca, Leiden-London 1999.


### ZIHĀF

(a.), refers in Arabic metrics to the optional reduction of a long to a short syllable (CVC → CV; or CV → CV) or of two short syllables to one (CVCV → CVC; CVCCV → CV; or CVCCV → CV).

The alternation between two short syllables in one line and one syllable in another occurs in wāther, kāmil and mutaddiḳ, in the other metres the choice is between one long and one short syllable. Per line of verse, there usually are between four to six anceps positions that allow zihāf reductions.

In indigenous Arabic metrical theory or arād (q.v.), zihāf is presented as a deviation from the standard foot or ḫaṣṣ, and, more particularly, from that part of the foot which is designated as sabab (q.v.). Corresponding to the two types of reduction mentioned above, two types of sabab are distinguished: the sabab ḥād, defined as the moving letter of a quiescent letter (i.e., a consonant with a short vowel followed by a vowelless consonant: CV), the second of which is elided in the case of zihāf, and the sabab ḥālāl or two moving letters (CVCV), the second of which becomes vowelless or is elided. Any such change thus concerns the second letter of the sabab, as is stated in the definition of zihāf as "a non-obligatory change, specific to the second letters of sababs" (thālāt thālātī sabab maḥān muṭālān al-fa-[b] lā ḥāl or ḥāli, at-Damanhūrī, 30). Zihāf provides Arabic verse with versatility: four anceps positions will spawn 16 metrical variants, six as many as 64. It therefore contrasts with īla (q.v.), the other change phenomenon of Arabic theory, which, being obligatory in all lines of the composition, provides rigidity rather than variation and is only a change insofar as it represents a departure from the idealised circle metre or bāṣ [see 'ābāt].

Arabic theory has special names for cases of zihāf where the second, fourth, fifth or seventh vowelless letter of the foot is elided (respectively khābīn, tāyī, kāhīl and ḫāṭīf); cases where the second or fifth vowel elided letter is elided (zāqui and ʿakīl, respectively); and cases where the second or the fifth vowelless letter of the foot is rendered vowelless (ṣamār and ʿāsh, respectively). E.g. in the foot mustafīlān (=CVC=CVC) the variant CVC=CVC is a case of khābīn and CVC=CVC a case of tāyī; in faṣlāṭ (CVC=CVC) the variant CVC=CVC is a case of ḫāṭīf; in muṭāfīlān (CVC=CVC=CVC) the variant CVC=CVC=CVC is a case of ṣamār.

A distinction is also made between single (muqrīf) and double (miqdarī) zihāf (respectively one or two cases of zihāf per foot). The four types of double zihāf are called: khābīn (combines khābīn and tāyī); ḥālāl (ṣamār + tāyī); ḫāṭīf (khābīn + ʿakīl); akāl (ktīf + ʿakīl); and nūk (ʿakīl + ḫāṭīf). E.g. the foot faṣlāṭ (CVC=CVC) with ʿakīl becomes CVC=CVC=CVC. Many of these zihāfīt are rare in practice and some do occasionally occur in ancient, but not in later poetry.

Arabic metrical theory discusses three aesthetic categories of zihāf good (ḥasan), acceptable (zdīh) and bad (kāhīl). In faṣlī, e.g., the reduction of the long third or tenth syllable counts as "good" (it belongs to the system and is found in any poem in this metre); the reduction of the long sixth syllable of either hemistic, which is seldom found in later poetry, counts as "acceptable". The rare case of the reduction of the seventh syllable of the second hemistic in Maḥādāyā, 47 l. 2 (verse by Murākāhī) is "bad".

In Persian prosody, where Arabic metrical concepts are forced upon an essentially different type of metre, zihāf occurs as a technical term, but its function is different: it is not an element of variation within the same poem, but is used to distinguish one metre from the other, rather like īla.

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An extract from the solar and lunar tables in a Yemeni copy from ca. 650/1250 of the Zīj of Kushyār Ibn Lābbān, compiled in Iran ca. 400/1000.
(From ms. Cairo DM 400, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)
An extract from a set of Tunisian tables, copied ca. 1600, of the kind known in mediaeval scientific Arabic as *shabaka*, which enable the user to determine the solar longitude at any date. (From ms. Cairo DM 689, fol. 1v, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

Solar tables in the astronomical handbook of the early 7th/13th-century Coptic scholar al-As'ad b. al-`Assil, copied ca. 1200/1800. The entries are written partly in Arabic alphanumerical notation and partly in the cumbersome Coptic numerical notation. (From ms. Cairo DM 910,1, copied ca. 1800, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)
The tables of a zidi engraved on an astrolabe. This is the sole surviving example of an instrument known as Zīdī al-sqfah, "The astronomical handbook on the plates of an astrolabe", devised by the mid-4th/10th-century Khurasanī astronomer Abū Djaʿfar al-Khāzīn, and constructed by Bāḍī al-Zamān Hībat Allāh in Baghdād in 514/1120-1. (Photo provided in the 1970s by the late Alain Brieux, Paris.)
Lists of festivals in the calendars of the Magians and the Christians, as well as the dates of the heliacal risings of various bright stars and lunar mansions in the Christian (Syrian) calendar. (From ms. Berlin Ahlwardt 5751, pp. 194-5, courtesy of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Preußischer Kulturbesitz).)

Part of the star-catalogue from the Hākimi Zīdī of Ibn Yūnus, giving the ecliptic coordinates (tūl and ‘ard, longitude and latitude) for some 58 stars calculated for 400 Yazdigird [= A.D. 1032]. (From ms. Cairo MM 188,2, fol. 81v, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)
An extract from the geographical tables of the 8th/14th-century Damascus astronomer Ibn al-Shāṭir, from a copy of an Egyptian recension of his Zīj for Cairo by the 9th/15th-century astronomer al-Kawm al-Riṣhī. (From ms. Cairo DM 637,1, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

An extract from an early-12th/18th-century ‘Irākī recension of some anonymous 9th/15th-century geographical tables displaying longitudes, latitudes, kiblihs and distances to Mecca of some 275 localities. (From ms. London B.L. add. 7489, fol. 58v, courtesy of The British Library.)
A table from a Mamlûk Egyptian manuscript showing a table for calculating the length of life of an individual from the longitude of the ascendant at his birth. The table was compiled by the late-2nd-century Hellenistic astrologer Vettius Valens. (From ms. Cairo DM 1108,4b, fol. 20v, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)
Parts of a table displaying the hour-angle at the beginning of the 'ār prayer for each zodiacal sign of solar longitude and each degree of terrestrial latitude from 10° to 50°. (From ms. Cairo MM 33, fols. 6v-7r, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

An extract from some tables in an Ottoman navigational compendium copied in 1276/1859. The precise purpose of the tables has not been determined. (From ms. Cairo DM 570, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)
An extract from a sexagesimal multiplication table displaying the products of the numbers $m \times n$, where $m$ and $n$ are integers from 1 to 39. (From ms Cairo Zakiyya 740, fol. 1v, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

An extract from a set of sine tables attributed to the late-4th/10th-century Egyptian astronomer Ibn Yunus. (From ms Berlin Ahlwardt 5792, fol. 13v, courtesy of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Preußischer Kulturbesitz).)

An extract from the sine tables in the Zīd-i Sultānī of Ulugh Beg completed in 842/1438-9. (From an unidentified manuscript in Cairo, courtesy of the Egyptian National Library.)

An extract from a set of sine tables attributed to the late-4th/10th-century Egyptian astronomer Ibn Yunus. (From ms Berlin Ahlwardt 5792, fol. 13v, courtesy of the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Preußischer Kulturbesitz).)
ZIHAF — ZINA 509


(ZIMMÂM (A., pl. azjmâa), lit. "rein, halter", refers to a department of the central administration in the mediaeval caliphate and then comes to refer in Fatimid times to a person in control, one holding the reins of power.
The dîwân al-azimma, an office of control and audit, is traditionally said to have been founded by the 4Abbasid caliph al-Mahdi in 162/778-9 (al-Tabari, iii, 522), when it seems that the task of overseeing and controlling all the dîwâns of the administration was too much for a single hand. H.F. Amedroz suggested that every dîwân came to have a zînâm attached to it by way of control but that all the azjmâa might be held by one man, who had a general function of control over all the dîwâns (Abbasid administration in decay, from the Tajân al-Umam, in JRAS [Oct. 1913], 829-32); M.G. Morony has, however, noted the existence of a department concerned with the registration of documents, headed by a sâhîb al-zînâm (in the tradition of Ibn al-Mukaffa and al-Madâni), in much earlier times and going back to the Sasanids of Persia (Iraq after the Muslim conquest, Princeton 1984, 66-7).

Under the Fâtimids, the term had a wide range of meanings, including director of the treasury and major domo. It appears also in military and naval contexts, meaning "officer, commander", alongside such terms as šâfî, nîsâ, muhaddam and matawûlî, but it must be pointed out that the structure of command in the Fâtimid armed forces and navy is vague.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): See the sources mentioned in D. Sourdel, Le vizînât 'abbdside, Damascus 1959-60, i, 112-14; Paula Sanders, Ritual, politics, and the city in Fâtîmid Cairo, New York 1994, index s.v. zînâm.

ZINA or ZINÂ (A.), unlawful sexual intercourse, i.e. intercourse between a man and a woman who are not married to one another nor in a state of lawful concubinage based on ownership (the relationship between the owner and his female slave). The Kûrån disapproved of the promiscuity prevailing at that time in Arabia and forbade e.g. the prostitution of slave girls by their masters (XXIV, 33). Several verses refer to unlawful sexual intercourse. Some of these mention that it is a sin (fâhidha) and that it will be punished in the Hereafter (XVII, 32, XXV, 68-9). Most verses, however, deal with the legal aspects. Making zînâm a punishable offence was a means to enforce the uniform system of marriage introduced by Muhammad. IV, 15-16 lay down that both parties to it must be punished and required four witnesses for proving the offence. The punishment mentioned in IV, 15 for women committing zînâm, viz. detention in their homes, is commonly regarded as abrogated by XXIV, 2, which verse stipulates that fornicators must be punished with one hundred lashes. XXIV, 3 ("The male fornicator (zînd) shall only marry a female fornicator or a polytheist and the female fornicator (zînja) shall only be married to a male fornicator or polytheist") was regarded as problematical by later commentators. They generally hold that the verse has been abrogated by later verses.
The Kûrån does not mention the punishment of stoning for zînâm. The enforcement of this penalty is based on the sunna. Nearly all haddîth collections include three haddîth that are central in the legal arguments about the punishment for zînâm: one to the effect that the Prophet has enforced this punishment in a case of unlawful intercourse among Jews on the basis of the Torah (cf. V, 43-4); a second one, transmitted by Abû Hurayra and Zayd b. Kâlid al-Djûhânî relating that the Prophet, in a case of intercourse between a young man and a married woman, sentenced the woman to stoning and the young man to flogging and banishment for a year; and a third one in which 'Umar b. al-Khattâb asserts that there was a revelation (sûrat al-rådîm) to the effect that those who are muhysan [q.v.] and have unlawful intercourse are to be punished with stoning, but that this verse was left out in the final version of the Kûr'ânic text, cf. Ibn Hadjâr, Bulâgh al-mâinâm, nos. 1250, 1232, 1236. The haddîth related by Abû Hurayra and Zayd b. Kâlid al-Djûhânî has been the basis of the fiqh doctrine, as we shall see. The jurists have argued that this haddîth has specified the meaning of XXIV, 2 (or, according to some, even abrogated it). J. Burton has plausibly argued that the story about the verse of stoning was put into circulation by Shâfî'î scholars who did not accept that a sunna can abrogate a Kûrånic revelation and were forced to find a source with higher authority for the lawfulness of stoning for fornication (Burton, Origin).

All Sunni schools of jurisprudence agree that zînâm is to be punished with stoning if the offender is muhysan, i.e. adult, free, Muslim (except in Shâfî'î law, where a dîwân can also be muhysan) and having previously enjoyed legitimate sexual relations in matrimony (regardless of whether the marriage still exists). The Hanafis and Hanbalis require that both partners in the act be muhysan for stoning to be applied. Persons who are not muhysan are punished with one hundred lashes if they are free and with fifty lashes if they are slaves (cf. IV, 25), followed, according to all schools except the Hanafis, with banishment for the period of one year (six months for slaves). The offenders must have acted out of their free will; a woman who has been raped (mustakhaba) cannot be punished with the hadd penalty.

About homosexual intercourse, liwât [q.v.], there is difference of opinion. The Shâfî'îs and Hanbalis regard it as zînâm. If the act has been testified to by four male eyewitnesses, the active partner, if he is muhysan, is to be punished with stoning, the passive partner with flogging and banishment. The Mâlikîs do not require liwât for the imposition of stoning. According to the Hanafis, homosexual intercourse can only be punished on the strength of ta'zir [q.v.].

Shî'î doctrine on zînâm is somewhat different. Here zînâm, in addition to heterosexual intercourse, includes a great variety of sexual behaviour: buggery, both with men and women, lesbian intercourse and petting. Furthermore, Shî'î legal doctrine defines muhysan as an adult, free Muslim who is in a position lawfully to have sexual intercourse and whose partner is actually available and not e.g. imprisoned or absent on a journey. The punishments are the same as in Sunni Islam. However, a non-muhysan can be sentenced to death if there are aggravating circumstances such as incest (intercourse between close relatives), rape or intercourse between a non-Muslim man with a Muslim
woman. Homosexual intercourse with penetration (ikab) is, according to the Shi’atr doctrine, to be punished with death by way of ‘hadd’ punishment, whereby the ikab has the choice between execution with a sword, by stoning, by throwing the offender from a high wall or by burning him. If there has been no penetration, and in cases of sexual activity between women (mushāhaka [see småk]), the ‘hadd’ punishment is one hundred lashes.

Minimal proof for zina is the testimony of four male eyewitnesses. The Shi’atr, however, also admit the testimony of women, if there is at least one male witness, testifying together with six women. All witnesses must have seen the act in its most intimate details, i.e. the penetration (like “a stick disappearing in a kohl container [makhula],” as the fik books specify). If their testimonies do not satisfy the requirements, they can be sentenced to eighty lashes for unfounded accusation of fornication (‘kadfi’ [q.v.]). If the accused admits the offence, the confession must be repeated four times according to the Hanafis, the Hanbalis, and the Shi’atr.

Circumstantial evidence is not admitted, with one exception: under Mālikī law, pregnancy of an unmarried woman is regarded as evidence of fornication. However, even if the act has been proved, punishment can be averted by ghubha [q.v.]. viz. uncertainty about the unlawfulness of the proven act, due to circumstances that confer to it a semblance of legality, such as intercourse between two parties to a marriage that is null and void, between the master and a female slave of whom he is a co-owner or whom he has acquired on the strength of an invalid purchase, or between a blind man and a woman whom he takes for his wife or female slave.

In Saudi Arabia and in those countries where Islamic criminal codes have been introduced, zina is a criminal offence to be punished according to the prescriptions of the fik (Libya, Law 70 of 1973 on the introduction of the ‘hadd’ punishment for zina, which actually does not impose stoning but only flogging: Pakistan, Offence of Zina (Enforcement of Hudood) Ordinance, 1979; Penal Code of Sudan, 1991, arts. 146-52; Criminal Code of Iran, 1991, arts. 63-134; Penal Code of Yemen, 1994, arts. 163-281). According to reports of human rights organisations, the punishment of stoning has recently only been enforced in Saudi Arabia and Iran.


**ZINDIK**

1. The word. Zinda, zandākī, abstract/collective noun zandaka, is an Arabic word borrowed (at least in the first instance) from Persian, and used in the narrow and precise meaning “Manichaean” (synonym: Mānuṣ, or the quasi-Armenic Manāndi), but also loosely for “heretic, renegade, unbeliever”, in effect as a synonym for mulhid, murtadd or kafir. The earliest attestation of the word, in any language, is in the Middle Persian inscription of the Zoroastrian high priest Kirdir on the so-called Ka’ba-ye Zardusht, from the end of the 3rd century A.D. (precisely at the time when the Sasanid state was busy combating Manichaeism), which boasts of the author’s success in suppressing various foreign religions and their followers, among them Jews, Buddhists, Brahmanists, Christians and zindik (see Ph. Gignoux, *Les quatre inscriptions du mage Kirdir*, Paris 1991, 60). Then, in the 5th century, the Armenian Christian author Eznik, in his polemics against Manichaeism, uses the word zandik to designate the followers of that religion, and it is applied in the same way by the Armenian historian Elībe (whose date is the subject of controversy). Similarly, in Zoroastrian religious books in Middle Persian there are a fair number of passages where zandik is used unambiguously in the sense “Manichaean” (collected in de Menasce). But also in Arabic, zindik is quite commonly used for “Manichaean”, that is, as the name for the follower of a specific religion; the usage as a vague term for Muslim or non-Muslim “heretics” is clearly secondary, though widespread. Muslim law denies Manicheans the status of ahl al-dhimma, putting them in the same legal position as renegades from Islam, and it is evidently for this reason that the words zindik and mulhid became interchangeable. A parallel for this semantic development is the German word Ketzer, originally a deformation of the self-designation of the dualist Christian sect of the Cathari (i.e. xibīnos “pure ones”) but then applied indiscriminately to all religious dissenters, finally becoming the usual German word for “heretic”.

Al-Ma’sūdī (Murūq, ii, 167-8 = § 594) says that the name zindik first appeared at the time of Mānī, and for the following reason: Zoroaster had once brought to the Persians a book called the Avesta (hastāh, together with a commentary called the zand, which was a clarification of the allegorical interpretation (ta‘wil) of the Avesta. Thus whenever anyone “introduced into their religion anything that was at variance with the revelation, namely the Avesta, and turned towards the allegorical interpretation, namely the zand, the Persians called him a zandī.” The Arabs, he continues, changed this to zindik. “The dualists (šamānaya) are zandīkā, but with these are grouped together anyone else who believes in the doctrine of pre-creativity (kidām) and denies the creation of the world.” Similarly, Al-Samānī (Anūḥ, s.v. zandī) says that Mānī was called a zindik because he claimed that his book Shēbukrağan was the zand, or commentary (tafsīr), of Zoroaster’s book; ‘Abd al-Djabbār (Ṭaghūt, i, 170) also says that Mānī produced a taafsīr of the Avesta, but he does not link this with the name zandīk. On the other hand, al-Khārāmī (Maftūh al-ulâm, 37-8) says that it was Mazdak who brought forth a book which he called the zand and which he claimed contained the ta‘wil of the Avesta, and that consequently his followers took the name zandī. And al-Bīrūnī (al-Aṣḥār al-bābīya, in F. Rück, *Documenta islamica medie*, Berlin 1952, 79; missing in Sachau’s edition), after saying much the same thing, goes on to claim that the name zandik is applied to the Manicheans only “in a figurative and metaphorical sense”, as it is also to “the bāṭinīs in Islam”. In other words the real zandākā are the Mazdakites. This is naturally wrong, for, as mentioned, the word zandik was used already by Kirdir, 300 years before the time of Mazdak. But the explanation given by al-Ma’sūdī is also quite untenable. The zandī, which the Persians believed to have been revealed by their prophet, is not an “allegorical interpretation” of the Avesta, but a translation into Middle Persian (with commentary)
of what the Zoroastrians of the Sasanid period perceived to be the literal meaning of the scripture; there can consequently be no question of the Manichaean having turned away from the Avesta to the (Zoroastrian) *zanid*, as al-Mas'udi implies (see Darmesteter). Nor is there any evidence that the Manichaean produced a *zanid* of their own (as al-Sam'ani and ʿAbd al-Dżabbar claim) or that they considered their religion to be an allegorical interpretation of the Avesta (as Schaedler has argued). In fact, extant Manichaean writings make it quite clear that they did not accept the Avesta as a genuine part of their revelation. It seems rather that the etymology offered by al-Masʿudi and his successors results from an analogy between Manichaean and “the *bîtîmîya* in Islam”, i.e. Ismāʿīlism, and specifically from an attempt to tarnish the latter by association with Manichaeanism. But this analogy is spurious. Manichaeanism was not an esotericist, but a literalist religion, one which saw truth in the literal meaning of Mānī’s own writings.

From the vantage point of modern linguistic knowledge it would seem more likely that Middle Persian *zanid* was borrowed from Aramaic *zdâdik* “righteous” (thus already Bevan, in Browne, LHP, i, 159–60). We know from Syriac authors that Manichaeans used *zdâdik* as a designation for their “elect”, that is, the full members of the Manichaean community, just as Muslim authors (Ibn al-Nadîm, al-Birnûnî, etc.) use the equivalent Arabic *zdîdûn* for the Manichaean “elect” and *samīdûn* for the lower-ranking “auditors”.

The so-called dissimilation of the geminated stop to nasal plus stop can be observed in other Aramaic loan words in Persian, e.g. Persian *gâmîba* “Saturday”, versus Syriac *gâbbîlî*: or Persian *gund* (cf. Ar. *gund*) “army”, versus Syriac *gadda*. It is naturally possible that already in Middle Persian the loan word *zanid* was reinterpreted as *zdâdik* “follower of a *zanid*”, but this is hardly the original meaning.

2. The history of Manichaeanism, especially in the Arab and Islamic world.

The name of the founder of Manichaeanism appears in Arabic as Mānî (Greek Μάνης, Latin Manes, Syriac and New Persian Mānâ, in Persian poetry rhyming with *yâdî* = *mâdâlî*). He was born in 527 Seleucid (A.D. 216–17) in Babylonia and was brought up in a community of Chaldaean, a Persian Christian bardic sect (Ibn al-Nadîm’s *muhâllâsîla*). As a young man Mānî began to receive revelations from his supernatural “Twin”, who eventually instructed him to leave the Elchasaites and propound his own gospel. He travelled extensively in the Persian empire, preaching. Early in the reign of the second Sasanid ruler, Shābuhr (Ar. Sâbûr) I, probably in 240, or shortly thereafter, Mānî attacked himself to the court of the emperor. Two of Shāhuhr’s brothers converted to Manichaeism and the king himself was the dedicatee of Mānî’s *Shēhâbûragnî*, a systematic account of his faith. Mānî retained the favour of Shāhuhr’s son, Hormizd I, but fell out with his successor, Wahrân (Ar. Bahrân) I, who had the prophet thrown into prison, where he died, probably in 274 or 277. Manichaean texts, imitating Christian imagery, sometimes speak of Mānî’s “crucifixion”, just as those composed in the Buddhist environment of Central Asia refer to his death as an “entry into nirvâṇâ”; Muslim authors, misled by the former phrasing, generally state that Mānî was actually crucified/gibbed/gated (*zâlâbâ*).

The prophet’s death was followed by a severe persecution of the Manichaean in the Sasanid realm, but missionaries had already put down firm roots outside of the empire, in Roman territory (especially in Egypt) and in Central Asia among the Iranian (mainly Sogdian) population. There is evidence for Manichaean missions among the Arabs as well. A Coptic text reports on how, during the reign of the Sasanid Narseh (ruled 293–302), the Manichaean were protected by a king called Amârû, in which we must see a Coptic spelling of the Arabic name ‘Amr. Narseh’s own inscription at Paûlû mentions, in the list of his vassals, two kings of this name: “*marî* king of the Lakhmîds” (evidently the “Amr b. ‘Adî of Arab tradition”) and “*marî* [king] of the sons of Abga’z” (perhaps an otherwise unrecorded Muslim dynasty) or even “*marî*” (eastern Arabic at Edeûsa), but it is debated which of the two is the intended by the Coptic text (see the relevant articles by Târdieu and de Blois, with different conclusions). A later tradition, reported by Ibn al-Kalbî, Ibn Kutayba and others, says that before Islam some of the Arabs were Christians, some Jews, some Zoroastrians (mâqûsûs), and others *zandîkas*; this last religion was followed, it is claimed, by some of the Kuraysh, who had it from the al-Hûrî (references, and discussion of the conflicting versions of this story, in de Blois, *The Sabians*, 48–50, where it is suggested that the *sâbûtân* of the Kurûnîn [see *sânî* and *sânîa*] might have been these Arab Manichaean). The fact that *zandîka* are mentioned alongside other specified religions would seem to indicate that the word is used here to mean “Manichaeans”, and not indiscriminately “heretics”, but it is naturally debatable whether the story has any historical value.

Despite harassment by the Sasanîds, a Manichaean community survived in Babylonia (Irkûk), which remained the seat of the archegos (Ar. imâmûh, though his authority was contested by the Manichaean in Transoxania (in Arabic called the Dinawariyya, from the Sogdian word for “elect”). After the Muslim conquest, Manichaean benefited from the tolerance (or indifference) of the Omayyads. The archegos Mîhr, who flourished at the time when Khâlid b. ʿAbd Allâh al-Kasrî (?–2) was governor of Irûk (ca. 105–20/617–38), and who (according to his enemies) accepted luxurious gifts from the Muslim governor, made attempts to regain the allegiance of the Dinawariyya, but he was faced by dissent within his own community; this led to the formation of a rival faction under a certain Mîhîsî, who enjoyed the support of the Muslim authorities (cf. al-Mâṣmûdî, *Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaçdudî, 397–8) quotes, from a pro-Mîhîr Manichaean source, what must be a wildly exaggerated account of the successes of the Mihîsîyya and what he simply calls “the Manichaean” (evidently meaning the followers of Mîhîr, from which emerges that the former upheld the (in fact orthodox Manichaean) doctrine of the eternal damnation of the souls of sinners while the latter held the (revisionist) view that all particles of light (i.e. all souls) would eventually be liberated from darkness). Ibn al-Nadîm (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaçdudî, 397–8) quotes, from a pro-Mîhîr Manichaean source, what must be a wildly exaggerated account of the successes of the Mihîsîyya in winning over the followers of the Dinawariyya and the Mîklsîyya, but he goes on to indicate that the Mîklsîyya in fact survived at least until the time of al-Mu’tasîm (218–27/833–42). A Sogdian Manichaean text (published by Sundermann) contains polemics against certain “Syrian” co-religionists, evidently Manichaean from the Near East who had recently emigrated to Central Asia, and mentions the Mîhîrî and Mîklsî fans, unfortunately in a broken context.

The only systematic Muslim persecution of Manichaean that we know about began in 163/779 by order of the Ābâsîlī caliph al-Madhî and continued at least until the end of the reign of al-Hâdî in
170/786. The sources do not give a clear indication of the reason for the persecution, but it is surely no coincidence that it occurred shortly after the conversion of the Uyyghur rulers to Manichaeism in 762; Manichaeism became the state religion of an important neighbouring kingdom and was evidently henceforth perceived as a threat to the security of the caliphate. A special inquisitor, called zadik al-zandika, ferreted out the suspects, who were confined in a particular prison (habs al-zandaka). Those who abjured their beliefs were required to spit on the portrait of Mani and released; those who refused were beheaded. After 170/786 we have reports only of sporadic persecution, and the Manichaean succeeded in maintaining a limited presence in Baghdad until another two centuries. Al-Ma'mun (198-218/813-33) is said to have organised a debate between the Manichaean leader Yazzidunbihk and Muslim theologians and to have given the former safe conduct and assigned guards to protect him from the mob, but other reports speak of the persecution of Manichaean by the same caliph. Ibn al-Nadfil wrote that in the days of Mu'izz al-Dawla (334-56/945-67) he had personally been acquainted with "about 300" Manichaean in Baghdad, but that "now (i.e. in 377/987-8) there are not even five in the capital", though they still survived in Sogdiana, their leader residing in Samarkand. And about a decade later al-Biruni (after, ed. Sachau, 295) similarly speaks of a thriving Manichaean community, in Samarkand, where they were called zab'alin. On the other hand, Ibn al-Nadfil's story, from a non-Manichaean source (ed. Taqjaddud, 400-1), of how the Manichaean migrated back and forth between Transoxania and 'Irak and how, at the time of al-Muktadir (r. 295-320/908-32), the Manichaean in Samarkand were protected from their Muslim overlords through an intervention of "the king of China", bristles with anachronisms and has little historic value.

After the 4th/10th century, there is no firm evidence for Manichaeism anywhere in the Islamic world, but it survived in Central Asia, even after the fall of the Uyyghur kingdom to the Khirzhiz in 840, in the remnant Uyyghur principality in the Turfan (g.v.) basin (in modern Xinjiang), probably until the time of the Mongol invasions.

3. Muslim accounts of Manichaeism and of the so-called zandika in Islam.

The earliest substantial Muslim description of Manichaean cosmology of which any trace survives is by Abu 'Isa al-Warrak (g.v.) from about the middle of the 3rd/9th century, extensive and explicit quotations have been preserved by Ibn al-Malahimi and briefer extracts (quoted at second hand, via a lost work by al-Hasan b. Misa al-Nawbakhti) from Abu 'Isa form the main substance of the accounts by 'Abd al-Djabbar, al-Shahrastani, Ibn al-Murtad and others, though both al-Nawbakhti and those who copied from him also had other documents at their disposal. Abu 'Isa is the principal source of the picture of Manichaeism in Muslim theological writings, a picture which, without being exactly wrong, is excessively schematic, overly cerebral and largely ignores the religious content of Manichaeism, namely, its ethics and its doctrine of personal salvation.

The most extensive, and most valuable account of Manichaeism by a Muslim author is in the Fihrist of Ibn al-Nadfil. This contains a sketch of the life of Mani, a detailed summary of the Manichaean cosmology and eschatology, a description of their ethics and cultic practices, of the Manichaean sects after the prophet's death and a long list of books by Mani and his pupils. Much of this is evidently derived from authentic Manichaean writings in Arabic that were not used by any other extant author, but it is interspersed with data from Muslim sources. Two uncredited quotations from Abu 'Isa's version (Fihrist/ Taqjaddud, 393:3-5 and 393:23-394:21; cf. Ibn al-Malahimi, 562:5-9 and 563:1-565cult., respectively) have been inserted, confusingly, into a much better account of the cosmological myth, and there is also some worthless material, e.g. the absurd statement that Mani taught that Jesus was sent by the devil. Al-Biruni had access to translations of Mani's own books, from which he brings some important quotations. Otherwise, Muslim accounts are of limited value. The verbose refutations of Manichaeism and other forms of dualism in Muslim writers are of real interest only for the history of Islamic theology. See also gjanawiyi, where much of this is assessed differently.

After the above-mentioned account of Manichaeism, Ibn al-Nadfil append a list of "the theologians who outwardly professed Islam but inwardly professed al-zandaka", of poets who fell into the same category, and of "the kings and grandees who were accused of al-zandaka", lists which can be supplemented from other sources. It is, however, impossible to confirm that any of these people were really Manichaean and it is more likely that the only thing they have in common is that their enemies accused them of not being good Muslims, and consequently "secret zandis". It is clear that zandik was used quite freely as a term of abuse; it is consequently futile for modern historians to attempt to construct a picture of the "zandika in Islam" as a coherent intellectual movement.

For example, the previously-mentioned Abu 'Isa al-Warrak was himself suspected of Manichaeism evidently only because he wrote about (but also refuted) that religion. The poet al-Ma'arrif was accused of being a zandik by his contemporaries mainly because he was a vegetarian, like the Manichaean elect. Many of the Sufis, beginning with al-Hallaj, were accused of zandika, though their whole world outlook is diametrically opposed to Manichaeism dualism. Even in the case of the famous litterateur, and universally decried zandik, Ibn al-Mukaffa (g.v.), the evidence that he was ever really a Manichaean is not conclusive, and the term al-Misma'i (quoted by 'Abd al-Djabbar, -Mughni, v. 20; also in Ibn al-Malahimi, 590) reports, on the other hand, that Ibn al-Mukaffa was a dualist who taught that Light manipulated (dabbara) Darkness and introduced itself into Darkness only for its own advantage; the idea that the mixture of Light and Darkness was intentionally provoked by the former is indeed a specifically Manichaean doctrine which distinguishes it clearly from Zoroastrianism and from other forms of dualism. But al-Misma'1 goes on to say that "he rejected the disgusting stories which the Manichaens told about the war between the two principles". The implication is thus that Ibn al-Mukaffa was not a member of the Manichaean church (for which the cosmological myth was an indispensible article of faith), though he shared some of the theoretical premises of Manichaeism.


Until the end of the 19th century, Manichaeism was known only from reports in non-Manichaean sources, but the subsequent spectacular discovery of a large number of Manichaean manuscripts in Egypt (in Coptic and Greek) and Central Asia (mainly in Middle Iranian languages and Old Turkish) means that it is now possible to form a very precise picture of Manichaean doctrine and practice from original
sources. But there is much disagreement about the place of Manichaeism in the history of religion. Some scholars still regard Manichaeism as an essentially Iranian phenomenon, the后代 of Zoroastrianism, but the prevalent view is that its roots lie mainly in Western traditions, in Christianity or Gnosticism, and that, although Mānt was aware of Zoroastrianism (and of Buddhism), the influence of Iranian and Indian doctrines on his teaching was at best superficial.

As a dualist religion, which posited two co-eternal opposing principles of good (light) and evil (darkness), Manichaeism stands in a very stark contrast to Islam, with its implacable monotheism. Muslim theologians were quite right to insist on this difference. At the same time, the two faiths do have some points of contact. Both teach that God has instructed mankind with the same message at different times. Some Manichaean sources see Mānt as the successor of the Judaic tradition like Adam, Seth, Enosh, Shem and Enoch, others mention only the Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus as his predecessors, yet others combine the two series. Mānt, like Muhammed, is the "seal of the prophets" (discussed, with controversial conclusions, by Colpe and Stroumsa) and the Paraclete predicted by Jesus. The Buddha, Zoroaster and Jesus taught the pure religion, but did not combine their teachings to writing; the books that their followers now read were written after the deaths of the prophets and corrupted their teachings, but Mānt wrote down his own teachings and produced a definitive written account of the true religion (for a similar view in Islam, see taḥrīf). Finally, both Manichaeism and Islam deny that Jesus actually died on the cross. But it is doubtful whether any of this indicates a direct influence of Manichaeism on Islam. It is more likely that both share a common substratum in Jewish Christianity.

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(F.C. de Blois)
1. THE ZIRIDS (BANU ZIRI) OF IFRIKIYA

This was the first great Sanhadja Berber dynasty in North Africa, originating in the central Maghrib and established in al-Kayrawān in 361/972 by Bulūgūn b. Zīrī [q.v.] on the departure of the fourth Fatimid caliph al-Mu'izz [q.v.] to Egypt. The dynasty, collateral with the Hammadīds of Kalāt Banī 'l-Hammād [q.v.] and the Zīrids of Spain (see 2. below), ruled for some 176 years (361-534/972-1148) until the last amīr, al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī, lost the kingdom to the Normans of Sicily.

With the approval of the Fātīmids, the dynasty's progenitor Zīrī b. Mānād had founded a principality at Susa in 398/1008, ca. 30 years after the anti-Fātīmīd Zanjātā Maḥrūwā [q.v.], allies of the Umayyads of Cordova. Zīrī's most signal service to the Fātīmīds was the relief of their capital al-Mahdīyya when it was about to fall into the hands of the Khāridjītes rebel Abū Yazīd [q.v.] in Shārīf 334/September 945. Before moving to Egypt, and in recognition of Zīrī's loyalty, the caliph al-Mu'izz appointed Zīrī b. Bulūgūn governor of Ifrīqiya and all the territory he could wrest from the pro-Umayyad Zanjātā in the Maghīb. On assuming power, Bulūgūn campaigned vigorously in the Maghrīb and, in the course of his last campaign (368-73/979-84), he took Fās and Ṣīğilmās, but died on the return journey (21 Dhu 'l-Ḥijdja 373/25 May 984). Five years before Bulūgūn's death, Tripolitania (but not Sicily) was ceded to him by the Fātīmīd caliph al-Ḫāzīz.

Unlike his father, al-Mansūr b. Bulūgūn (373-543/972-1148) began to act in every way like an independent ruler. As soon as he assumed power, al-Mansūr declared to the notables of al-Kayrawān, "I am not one of those who get appointed and dismissed by a stroke of the pen, for I have inherited the kingdom from my father and my ancestors" (Bayān, i, 240).

Bāḍīs b. al-Mansūr (386-406/996-1016 [q.v.]) entrusted his uncle Hammad b. Bulūgūn with campaigning against the Zanjātā and promised to let him rule any territories he conquered. Having succeeded in his campaigns against the Zanjātā in the central Maghīb, Hammad, who founded the Kal'a in 398/1008, carved out for himself an independent entity immediately to the west of Ifrīqiya.

The realm of al-Mu'izz b. Bāḍīs (406-54-1016-62) was large, but the Berbers had held in Ifrīqiya, and his reign was the most luxurious and ostentatious (Ibn Khaḍlūn, vi, 158). Ifrīqiya seems to have enjoyed economic prosperity at the start of al-Mu'izz's reign, as attested by the abundance of the wheat crop particularly in the Bāḍīja region, a fact which probably encouraged al-Mu'izz in 440/1049 to renounce his allegiance to the Fātīmīd caliph al-Mustanṣir and to proclaim his allegiance to the 'Abbāṣīds. The Fātīmīd caliph retaliated by encouraging the Arab nomadic tribes of the Banū Hādīl and the Banū Sulaym [q.v.] in Upper Egypt to overrun and ravage the Zīrid kingdom, thus ridding himself of a troublesome group of people and ensuring that they would bring about the downfall of the Zīrids. Al-Mu'izz's army was routed at Ḥayḍarān, between Kābis and al-Kayrawān, on 11 Dhu 'l-Ḥijdja 443/14 April 1052, and in 449/1057 al-Mu'izz had to abandon al-Kayrawān and take refuge with his son Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz in the port of al-Mahdīyya on the coast. The Hālālīs, meanwhile, occupied large parts of the interior. Ibn Khaldūn was the first historian to stress the destructive role of the invaders, comparing them to a cloud of locusts. More recently, however, it has been argued that the invasion was not so destructive and that, prior to the arrival of the Hālālīs, the Zīrid state was disintegrating and in decline.

With most of their territory overrun and ravaged by the Hālālīs, the Zīrids turned their attention to the sea; they built a fleet and sought to interfere in Sicily's affairs. In 416/1025-6, a Zīrid fleet, on its way to Sicily, was destroyed by a storm off Pantelleria. Between 417/1026 and 426/1035 the Zīrid fleet frequently raided Byzantine territory in the Adriatic and the Aegean Seas.

Tamīm b. al-Mu'izz (454-501/1062-1108 [q.v.]) inherited a kingdom politically divided and economically weak. As a result of the Hālālī invasion, Tamīm's authority was confined to the coastal strip stretching from Sūṣa to Kābis. In 480/1087, in retaliation for Zīrid maritime raids, a combined Genoese and Pisan fleet occupied and sacked al-Mahdīyya and its suburb Zawfla and, in order to get rid of the invaders, Tamīm had to pay them a sum of 100,000 dinārs. It was also during Tamīm's reign that the Normans of southern Italy completed in 484/1091 their conquest of Muslim Sicily. After a reign of almost 50 years, Tamīm left the kingdom in a worse state than before.

Yahyā b. Tamīm (501-9/1108-16) built a large fleet and launched several raids against Genoa and Sardinia. Under 'Alī b. Yahyā (509-15/1116-21) relations worsened with Roger II of Sicily after the Zīrid had sought the help of the Almoravid sovereign 'Alī b. Yusuf for launching joint naval operations against Sicily. In 517/1123 an Almoravid flotilla occupied and sacked Nicotera in Calabria, an operation which Roger believed was instigated by the Zīrid, and so he launched a counter-attack against the Zīrid fort of al-Dīmās; this was, however, checked, thanks largely to the resistance of the Hālālī Arabs. In 529/1135 the Normans occupied the island of Djerba [see DJARBA] but, although it was nominally under Zīrid suzerainty, the Zīrid amīr of al-Mahdīyya failed to come to its rescue.

From the close of the 4th/10th century, the economy of Zīrid Ifrīqiya was in steady decline due to a number of factors, namely, the transfer of the Fātīmīd caliphate to Egypt, the destructive effect of the Hālālī invasion, the Norman occupation of Sicily, the frequent hostilities with the Hāmādīds and the Normans, the disruption of trans-Saharan trade as the caravan routes shifted from Ifrīqiya westwards to Almoravid Morocco and Hāmādīd Bīdīya (Boutique and Kharījī) to Egypt, and the rise of the Italian maritime city-states and their growing control of Mediterranean trade.

Following further sea raids by the Almoravids on Norman territory, Roger II decided to seize al-Mahdīyya at a time when the Zīrid state was weakened by successive years of drought and famine. In the reign of al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (515-43/1121-49), the Zīrid capital surrendered (343/1148) to a Norman fleet under the command of George of Antioch, and thus the Zīrid dynasty came to an end. Al-Ḥasan sought refuge with his Hāmādīd cousin, Yahyā b. 'Aẓīz, who kept al-Ḥasan under surveillance in Algiers lest he establish contacts with the Almohad caliph 'Abd al-Mu'tāmin in Marrāḳūš. Al-Ḥasan, however, joined 'Abd al-Mu'tāmin when the latter took Algiers in 547/1151. In Marrāḳūš, al-Ḥasan kept urging the Almohad caliph to liberate al-Mahdīyya from Norman occupation until eventually this took place on 10 Muharram 555/22 January 1160. An Almohad governor was installed in the city, but al-Ḥasan was allowed to reside in Zawfla, where he spent eight years. On the death of 'Abd al-Mu'tāmin, al-Ḥasan was ordered by the new Almohad caliph, Yusuf b. 'Abd al-Mu'tāmin, to move to Marrāḳūš, but on his way to the Almohad capital, al-Ḥasan died in Tamesna (563/1167).
On the death of Samuel Ibn al-Naghrilla (448/1056), his son Joseph succeeded him as vizier, but, unlike his father, was detested by the Muslims of Granada because of his arrogance and the many favours he bestowed on his co-religionists. He is accused in Andalusian sources of having poisoned Buğuggin, heir presumptive to Bādīs, and of having conspired with the amīr of Almeria, Ibn Sumādī, to surrender Granada to him on condition that "a state for the Jews is established in Almería with himself as prince" (Bayān, iii, 26%). An uprising took place against the Jews in Granada on 10 Safar 459/30 December 1066, as a result of which Joseph Ibn al-Naghrilla and some 3,000 Jews were massacred.

Bādīs' growing domestic troubles in the last five years of his reign whetted the appetites of his neighbours: al-Mu'tādīd unsuccessfully tried to wrest Málaga from Bādīs (436/1046), while Ibn Sumādi of Almeria seized Guadix. Despite his advanced years and domestic troubles, Bādīs nevertheless repulsed the 'Abbābīd assault on Málaga, and recovered Guadix from Ibn Sumādī (459/1067) and Jaén from his rebellious son Māksān.

By the end of Bādīs' reign, Granada grew into an important city surrounding the citadel on the west bank of the Darro (Hadarro). The Zīrids established their court in the old Alcazaba district, now part of the Albaicín. Two of the gates to the Zīrid fortress and large stretches of the wall which protected it have survived. A bridge on the Darro, still called "Puente del Cadi", was built in 447/1055 by the kādi of Granada 'Alī b. Muhammad b. Tawba and named after him kānarat al-kādi, as was the adjoining mosque immediately to the south of the bridge. Mu'amal, a macāt of Bādīs, is credited with a number of public works in Granada, such as the public fountain at Bāb al-Fiṣṣkārān and the popular promenade along the bank of the Genil named after him (Haṣṣer Mu'amal), which survived until the time of Ibn al-Khaṭīb three centuries later.

'Abd Allāh son of Buğuggīn b. Bādīs, succeeded his grandfather on the throne of Granada (465/1073), while his brother Tamīm became independent ruler of Málaga. Taking advantage of 'Abd Allāh's youth, his neighbours (al-Mu'tādīd b. 'Abbābīd of Seville in particular) cast covetous eyes on 'Abd Allāh's territory. To avoid being attacked by al-Mu'tādīd, who was in alliance with Alfonso VI, King of Castile, 'Abd Allāh concluded an agreement with Alfonso whereby he undertook to pay him an annual tribute of 10,000 dinārs. Fortunately for 'Abd Allāh, al-Mu'tādīd became ennobled with the amīr of Toledo, Al-Ma'mūn b. Dhi l-Nūn [see mu'tādīd], who had managed to annex Cordoba for a few months. A few years later, al-Mu'tādīd pre-occupied with Murcia where his favourite vizier Ibn Ammār [q.v.] sought independence (471/1079). 'Abd Allāh seized the opportunity to get rid of his all-powerful vizier Simādī and assumed himself full power in his kingdom. The Zīrid then mounted successful expeditions against his brother Tamīm in Málaga and Ibn Sumādī of Almeria, both of whom had been encroaching upon his territory.

To check Alfonso's growing threat after his capture of Toledo (478/1085), 'Abd Allāh joined al-Mu'tādīd in appealing to the Almoravid sovereign Yūsuf b. Tāshquf [q.v.] for assistance and, subsequently, took part in the battle of al-Zallaka [q.v.]/Sagrajas (479/1086) and in the siege of Aledo castle. Growing suspicious and disillusioned, however, after the abortive siege of Aledo (481/1088), 'Abd Allāh began to


2. THE ZĪRIDS OF SPAIN

This line was established in Granada by Zāwī b. Zīrī [q.v.] shortly after the fall of the 'Amīrids [q.v. and see ABBASIDS] at Al-Andalus and civil strife in al-Andalus. The dynasty, under four successive amīrs, lasted for almost 80 years (403-83/1013-90) until the last amīr, 'Abd Allāh b. Buluggīn [q.v.], was deposed by the Almoravids, who annexed Granada and Málaga to Morocco.

Following Zāwī's departure for Ifriqiyā (410/1019), his nephew 'Abd Allāh b. Māksān (420-29/1019-38) assumed power in Granada. 'Abd Allāh impressed on his Sanhadja kinsmen the imperative need for unity since, like his paternal uncle Zawī, he was very conscious of the Andalusians' hostility to, and numerical superiority over, the Sanhājī. He entrusted running the affairs of the kingdom to a Jewish vizier, Samuel Ibn al-Naghrilla (ha-Nagld; Abu 'Ibrahim Isma'il, in Arabic sources), a thing unprecedented in Muslim Spain.

'Abd Allāh was succeeded by his son Bādīs, whose long reign (429/1038-73) marked the zenith of Zīrid power in Spain. Initially, Bādīs had to deal with a rival to the throne, his cousin Yīdīr, as well as his neighbours who cast covetous eyes on his kingdom, hence Bādīs' suspicion throughout his reign of Andalusian and Berber elements among his subjects, and reliance even more than his father on Samuel Ibn al-Naghrilla and, later, on Samuel's son Joseph (Yūsuf) for running the affairs of his kingdom.

Bādīs managed to rid himself of Yīdīr and triumphed over Zuhayr, the amīr of Almería who, on receiving news of 'Abd Allāh's death, had marched against Granada in the hope of seizing it.

Bādīs grew in stature, becoming the redoubtable leader of the Berbers in opposing the aggressive and anti-Berber policy of al-Mu'tādīd b. 'Abbāb [q.v.], king of Seville. Bādīs became so furious at al-Mu'tādīd's annexation of the Berber-held principalities of Morín, Arcos and Ronda in 445/1053—thanks partly to the pro-'Abbādid sympathies of their Arab populations—that he is said to have seriously considered the massacre of the Arab population of Granada, had it not been for his Jewish vizier Samuel, who eventually managed to persuade Bādīs not to do so lest all Andalusians should rise against him. In 446/1054, al-Mu'tādīd seized Algeciras and, to forestall a similar fate for Málaga, Bādīs proceeded to annex Málaga to his kingdom.

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strengthen his fortresses as a precautionary measure, probably having learnt a lesson from the failure of the Almoravids to seize Aledo castle. At the same time, the Zirids sought to win over the Şanşadja in Granada by enlisting more of their numbers in his service, thereby redressing the imbalance which, under Bādīs, had been tilted in favour of the Zanjāta whom ʿAbd Allāh refers to as the outsiders (al-jrz/al-barzn), a step taken by him at that particular time probably in order to ingratiate himself with the Şanşadja Almoravids.

But once more and again in his memoirs (see below), ʿAbd Allāh claims that his defection in the eyes of the Almoravids was the work of the fāthlr ‘Ībn al-Kulayʿī and a number of disgruntled functionaries who had defected and falsely accused him of collusion with Alfonso VI against the Almoravids.

Yūsuf b. ʿṬāšūḥīn’s third crossing to al-Andalus (483/1090) had no objective other than the deposition of ʿAbd Allāh, who initially seems to have been on the verge of resistance but soon decided to surrender after seeing his fortresses fall one by one to the Almoravids without resistance. ʿAbd Allāh’s Şanşadja troops, on the one hand, had sided with their Almoravid kinsmen, while the masses in Granada welcomed the Almoravids because they sought to be free from the payment of taxes other than alms and tithe.

Having surrendered to the Almoravids (10 Rādjab 483/27 November 1096), ʿAbd Allāh, who was exiled to Ağmāt [g.r.] in southern Morocco. Soon afterwards, his brother Tāmlm was removed from Malaga and banished to al-Sus [g.r.], but was allowed later to settle in Marrūḵūsh, where he died in 488/1095.

It was during his exile in Ağmāt that ʿAbd Allāh, the last Zīrīd amīr of Granada, wrote his memoirs, the Tibyān, in which he chronicled the history of the Zirids since their arrival in al-Andalus up to the author’s deposition by the Almoravids. Among the salient points emphasised in the Tibyān are: the division of the Tibyān, in which he chronicled the history of the Muslims in 5th/11th-century Spain into two distinct and hostile groups (Andalusians and Berbers); the practice of dividing property by lottery among the Berber chieftains in al-Andalus; the reasons which led to the practice of dividing property by lottery among the Berber chieftains in al-Andalus; the reasons which led to his dark-coloured complexion and his versatile tongue. His nickname ʿAbd Allāh b. Bulugh-nān, Tibyān, ed. and annotated A.T. Tfbi, Rabat 1978, 23-36; idem, ʿIbrahīm b. al-Kifa, Tafṣīr al-Maghrīb wa ‘l-Maṭbūʿ, al-Tripoli-Tunis 1984, 200-18; C.E. Bosworth, The New Islamic dynasties, Edinburgh 1996, 35-6 no. 13. (A.M. TIBI)

ZIRIYAB, ABU ‘L-HASAN ALI b. NAFI’, the greatest musician of Muslim Spain. His nickname ʿAbd Allāh b. Bulugh-nān, which means “slave of Allāh, sea, lake”, was derived from his dark-coloured complexion and his versatile tongue. Born, probably around 175/790, into a family of mawāli of the caliph al-Mahdī, Ziryāb was educated, at an early age, by ʿIbrāhīm al-Mawsīlī [g.r.]. ʿIshaḵ al-Mawṣīlī [g.r.] introduced him to Hārūn al-Raṣīd (170/93/786-809) who, as later sources tell us, was greatly impressed by the young musician. This seems to have provoked ʿIshaḵ’s jealousy to the extent that Ziryāb was forced to quit Baghdad. Several years later
we find him in the service of the Aghlabid ruler at Kayrawan, Ziyadat Allah I (201-23/817-38). After falling into disgrace he turned to the Umayyad court at Cordova, where in 207/822 he was received by 'Abd al-Rahmân II (206-38/822-52) who treated him with the greatest consideration. Being well versed in poetry, history, astronomy and geography, Ziryab was considered the perfect boon companion (nadim). He propagated also the latest fashion in cooking, clothing and the other arts of the sangîf of the eastern capital. In Cordova he founded a music school in which he taught the theory and practice of the Mawgîl school of Baghdâd. Ziryab died in Cordova, about forty days before his patron, at the end of Safar 238 or beginning of Rabî' I/middle of August 852.

His pupils and three of his eight sons, in particular, 'Abd al-Rahmân, secured the survival of his musical teachings. The philosopher and musician Ibn Bâdjudja (d. 533/1139 [q.v.]) was still credited with a method of cleaning the silk used for the two lower lute strings. In the 18th and the 19th centuries, new Muslim families settled in Cordova. Another novelty attributed to Ziryab was the use of the quill feather (kâdîma) of a vulture (nâr) instead of a wooden plectrum. He is also said to have used gut of young wolves for the production of the two lower strings of the lute, and to have propagated a different method of cleaning the silk used for the two higher lute strings. Finally, he pretended that his own mother was lighter by about one-third than other lutes. Ziryab practised the eastern style of beginning a measured song (bassit, 'amin) with an unmeasured recitative (nâjid; istihlâl), and he followed the eastern scheme of increasing lightness and tempo in text and music in a performance, thus supporting the development of the later musical form of the vocal "suite" or naqsh (q.v.). A collection of his song texts (K. fi âdâb Ziryab, described as "a very exact collection" (dâwân negbir djdme)), was edited by the brother of one of his sons-in-law, the adh Aslâm b. Ahmad b. Sa'd b. Aslam b. 'Abd al-Azîr.


(Z.H. Farmer [E. Neubauer])

**ZISHTOWA.** The usual Ottoman Turkish rendering of the Bulgarian town Svishtov. In the Ottoman registers it appears variously as Zigtowa, Zigtovi and Zishtowo. The town is situated on the right bank of the river Danube in its lower course, in the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Nore, where a small fortress was erected probably in the 12th-13th centuries A.D.; it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1388. In 1598 it was put to fire by the Wallachians. In 1791 the separate peace treaty between Austria and the Ottoman Empire was signed in Svishtov. In 1810 it was destroyed by a Russian detachment and was in fact built anew. After the Russo-Turkish War in 1877-8, the town became part of the Bulgarian state.

Under the Ottomans, the settlement was first the centre of a nahiya and from the 17th century, a kadâ in the sangâk of Nikopolis. In the 18th and the 19th centuries, the town rose as a trade centre. With the opening of Austrian navigation along the lower course of the Danube in the 1840s, and the construction of its port, Svishtov became the most important point on the lower course of the river.

After the seizure by the Ottomans, a small garrison was stationed in Svishtov, but the majority of the population were Orthodox Christians, sc. Bulgarians and Vlachs; in the 18th century Greeks settled there too. The Muslim mahalle appeared only in the 17th century, including an imam and a mevlevi данном. After the Treaty of Karlowitz [see KARLOFCA], many Muslim families settled in Svishtov. Another European settlement showing that there was a mosque in the town, the "New mosque" in the fortress, a mekteb and an 'imaret. In the 18th and especially in the 19th centuries, new Muslim places of worship emerged, such as the Vîrdîrn Dâm (al-Dâm) 'collection' (divân adîhât djdme), dedicated to the visit of Sultan Mahmud II is preserved in the town museum. Some of the mosques were preserved until the 1920s, but only one remains today. Under the Ottomans, a few churches were built.

There emerged around the port a significant business nucleus with khan and warehouses. In the 1870s there were in Svishtov 746 workshops, 179 magazas, 17 khan, 6 tanneries and 22 watermills. In 1765-6 a clock tower was built (today a monument of culture) as a wekkî of the cemaât Hüseyn Ağha b. 'Ali. In the middle of the 19th century, Hâdzi Emin built all the wekkîs in Svishtov. A two-metre column dedicated to the visit of Sultan Mahmûd II is preserved in the town museum.

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Ziya Gok Alp

Ziya Gok Alp [see Gokalp Ziya].

Ziya Al-Hak

Ziya Al-Hak, conventionally known as Zia ul-Haq. Born on 23 May 1943 to a modest family in the eastern Pangi area of Zulqarnain, Zia founded political parties and promoted policies.

Zia at last decided to send him away from Istanbul to the island of Cyprus. This decision was taken due to the political and social unrest in the country during the 1970s. Zia's presence in the country was causing unrest among the people.

Bibliography:


Ziya Pasha

Ziya Pasha, Atiq Pasha, a renowned Ottoman poet and essayist of the Tanzimat [q.v.] era.

Ziya Pasha's given name was 'Abd ul-Hamid Ziya. He was born in Kandilli on the Bosphorus in 1829, the son of Ferid ud-Din Efendi, a native of Erzurum who worked as clerk in the Galata customs, and 1fir Khamim. After graduating from the School of Literary Education (Mekteb-i Ulum-i Edebiyye), and having learned Persian and Arabic, he worked as a scribe at the Grand Vizierate (Saddret-i 'Uyund Mektubi Odasi) and published, initially there together with Namik Kemal, the newspaper Adliyye Idjrd [q.v.].

As a poet, Ziya Pasha remained true to Djamdat. From 1979 onwards, Zia promulgated a series of Islamic laws hailed by Mawdudi as the first steps towards the installation of an Islamic state. The first series, known as the "Hudood Ordinances", created a category of "Islamic crimes", such as adultery, rape, theft, forgery, etc. These crimes were to be dealt with by special courts instead of the ordinary courts. The second series of measures envisaged the Islamisation of the economic sector. Two Islamic taxes, the zakat and the 'udhr, were created. Bank loans were regulated on a basis of the Kur'anic prohibition of usury, riba [q.v.]. The law envisaged a division of the risks run by the borrower and the lender. Interest was fixed on the basis of a common agreement, and indexed according to the financial performance of the banks.

In 1993 the war in Afghanistan entered a new phase with the Soviet Russian retreat. Zia at last organised elections, which marked a decline in support for the Djamdat. He then decided to seek the support of the Muslim League and the ethnic parties. The break was made, and the Djamdat then accused Zia of using Islam for political ends. In the economic sphere, Zia introduced reforms which, aided by favourable economic circumstances, brought about a growth in the national income of 7%. On the international level, partly thanks to the Afghan War, he managed to get increased American support whilst at the same time moving closer to China. Inter-ethnic troubles persuaded him, certainly in a very gradual fashion, to move towards democracy. In 1988 he announced that new elections would take place, but on 17 August of that year he died in an aeroplane accident whose circumstances remain obscure.

As a poet, Ziya Pasha remained true to Djamdat.
poetry, using (with only rare exceptions) *kaside*, *ghazel*, *terki-bit*, *terki-bit-bend*, etc. The main merits of his poems are their straightforward language and, above all, the innovative use of satire.

Besides his articles in newspapers (mainly in *Mulkhiir* and *Hurriyet*), and his translations from French (of works by Molière, J.-J. Rousseau, Fénélon et alii), he published the anthology *Khurabati* in 1874. This consists of three volumes of Turkish, Persian and Arabic poetry, and an introduction (in *methnewi*) which is not consistent with his previous literary opinions as expressed in his essay *Shi'r ve inshad* (Hürriyet, no. 11, 1868). He included a considerable number of his own poems in this anthology, a fact which was severely criticised by Nâmik Kemâl in his *Tağıri-i Khurabat* and *Tağıri*.

Ziya Paşa's important satirical work is *Zefir-nâme*, which he wrote in Paris to criticise *Abbâr Paşa*. It consists of a *kaside* of 66 verses, the *tağrîni* of this *kaside*, and a commentary on the same. In *Rüya*, which resembles Weyst's [q.v.], *Kâhâ-nâme*, he criticised *Abbâr Paşa* and the Sublime Porte, and in *Wârâîî-t Sultanî-i Semye*, which consists of two letters, *Fyard Paşa* [q.v.].


**ZİYAD b. ABIHİ**, Abu l-Mughîra, governor of *Irāk* and the eastern provinces of the Umayyad caliphate during the reign of Muʿawiyah b. Abî Suufyân [q.v.].

Ziyad was born out of wedlock in al-Taʾif, probably some time in the first year of the *Hijra*, A.D. 622, or in 2/625-4, and died in al-ʾHawwârî (or al-Thawârî or near al-Kufa) in Ramāḍān 63/673. His name is variously given as Ziyad b. ʿAbayd, Ziyad b. Sumayya, Ziyad b. Abu Suufyân, Ziyad b. Umâmihi (Ibn Abî l-Ḥadîth, xvi, 179-80) and Ziyad al-amîr (Ibn ʿAsâkir, xix, 164-5). A *Shiʿi* tradition relates that *Āisha* [q.v.] was accustomed to call him Ziyad b. ʿAbûhi (the son of his father), since his father was not known (Bihâr al-amârî, xlv, 309). Lammens thought that this offending *nîsa* appeared during the *Abûsâdî* era, while Ziyad himself used the *nîsa* Ibn Sumayya or Ibn Abî Suufyân (Lammens, 43).

The sources diverge on the origin of Ziyad's mother, Sumayya. According to al-Baladhuri, she was a female slave of a Yaʾqûrî living in the suburbs of Kaskar (the place on which Wâsit is built). Having been ill, he performed the *badâd* and was treated successfully in al-Taʾif by the physician al-ḤâWalî b. KBada al-Thâlîfî [q.v. in Suppl.]. He gave Sumayya to al-ḤâWalî, who was the natural father of Nâfiʿ and of the Companions (sâhabî) Nufayl [q.v.]. Later, al-ḤâWalî gave Sumayya to one of his wife's slaves, ʿAbayd, who was *rizmî* (not necessarily of Byzantine origin, in many cases of Syrian origin). An allusion to this non-Arab origin appears in a version of Ziyad's reply to Muʿawiyah's letter: "He will find that I am a Persian [warrior]... after his adop-

*Ziyyad was born on the bed of ʿUbâyid* (al-ndlîrî ʿUbâyid), al-Balâdârî, *Anasb*, iv, 163-4). He was thus, according to *gâhîlî* usage and Muhammad's precepts, the legal offspring of ʿUbayd, the owner of the bed (U. Rubin, *Al-ʿadâd li-firâsh*, 5-7). *Awâna al-Kalîbî [q.v.] claimed that Sumayya was a female slave of the *dhikhr* [q.v.] of Zaydward in Kaskar. She was given to al-ḤâWalî, who was invited to the region to treat the Sâsânid king (Kûrâ), and later attended the *dikhrâ* (Ibn ʿAsâkir, 173).

Some traditions relate that Sumayya was the mother not only of Ziyad, but also of the Companion ʿAmâr b. Yâsîr [q.v.]. Modern research proves that there were two different women named Sumayya, both connected with al-ḤâWalî (G.R. Hawting, *The development of the biography of al-ḤâWalî ibn Kalada and the relationship between medicine and Islam*, 131-2). Abû ῾Ubâya [q.v.] reports that Ziyād (or his family) claimed that his mother was Sumayya (or Asmāʾ) bt. al-ʿAwar, from the Banû ʿAbî Shams b. ʿAzîd Maḥtân of Tamîm (al-Balâdârî, *Anasb*, iv, 169; Aḥâbbîl, xvii, 67).

Ziyad became a Muslim during the caliphate of Abî Bakr [q.v.]. He was one of the first Muslim settlers in the great garrison town of al-ʿAsrâb [q.v.]. He arrived with his half-brothers Nâfiʿ and Abû Bakra, accompanying the son-in-law of al-ḤâWalî b. Kalada, ʿUrba b. Ghaswân al-Mâznî, the first governor of the new settlement. Ziyad was in his teens when his unusual abilities were first noticed. He began performing little jobs in the *dvâs* [q.v.] of ʿAsrâb before the caliphate of ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭâb [q.v.].

Ziyad's first appearance in the public arena took place when he was very young. Al-Mâdzînî reports that Ziyad was 14 years old when ʿUrba asked him in 14/635 to be the distributor (*kâsim*) of the money of al-ʿUbulla (Apollogos), in southern *Irāk* (al-Tabarî, i, 2388). He distinguished himself as an intelligent, open-minded secretary, who was devoted to his master and to public service. He showed an unusual aptitude for accounting and had an excellent command of epitolaory art. The sources report that Ziyad was impressed by some of Ziyad's letters and by the fact that the governor (*tâmil*) of ʿAsrâb, Abû Mūṣâ al-ʾAṣărî [q.v.], appointed him as his *lucum tenens* when he had to leave the city to take part in the conquests. ʿUmar summoned Ziyad to Medina and subjected him to a test. The results were remarkable. The caliph granted him 1,000 dhirms which he used to manumit his father ʿUbayd (al-Balâdârî, *Anasb*, iv, 164-5) or his mother Sumayya (al-Sâsâfî, xv, 12).

It seems that in the same year he was appointed secretary (*kâsim*) [q.v.], in the service of ʿUba. After ʿUba's death in 15/636, Ziyad pursued his career under four of his successors: Abû Mūṣâ al-ʾAṣarî, al-Mâghîra b. Shuʿba [q.v.] of Thakîf, both on behalf of ʿUmar, Abû ʿAbd Allâh b. ʿAmir on behalf of ʿUthmân and ʿAbd Allâh b. al-ʿAblâs on behalf of ʿAli b. Abî Ťâlib [q.v.]. (Ibn ʿAsâkir, xix, 169).

Ziyad's reputation grew when he was invited to Medina in 17/638 to testify in the case of al-Mâghîra, who had been charged with adultery. Three witnesses, including two of Ziyad's half-brothers, Abî Bakra and ʿAbûlî b. Maḥdî al-Bâdjalî (Talhibîb, iv, 305) so attested as required in Küran, XXIV, 4, but Ziyad gave a partial testimony which meant the acquittal of al-Mâghîra and the lodging of those three. ʿUmar did
not conceal his relief (Abu al-‘Arab Muḥammad b. Ḥajjāb, Ḥaḍir, xii, 227-46).

In 36/656, after the battle of the Camel, ‘Alī appointed his cousin ‘Abd Allāh b. al-‘Abbās governor of Baṣra and named Ziyād responsible for the collection of the real estate taxes and the treasury (‘alā t-khāriḍ wa-bayt al-māl). ‘Alī’s appreciation of Ziyād’s talents was so great that he ordered his cousin to accept Ziyād’s advice. However, Ibn al-‘Abbās soon left the city to take part in ‘Alī’s preparations against Muʿāwiya. He designated Ziyād as the governor of the province (Ibn Ḥābīb, al-Muḥabbir, 295; Ps.-Ibn Kūṭayba, al-Māmā wa l-yiṣṣā, 105-6). At the end of the hostilities at Sīfīn (37/657), ‘Alī sent Sahīl b. Ḥunayn as governor of Fārs, but the Muslim army there expelled him. ‘Alī then sent Ziyād, who won their confidence and was therefore able to collect the taxes (Muḥammad b. Ḥibbān al-Buṣṭī, al-Sha‘b al-nahayrat, wa-ayyād al-alwāḥa, ed. Sayyūd ‘Aṣṣa Bēk, Beirut 1987, 345). It seems that Ziyād stayed in a fortress in Fārs for three or four years, and considered himself a representative of the legal government of ‘Alī, even after ‘Alī was murdered in 40/661. As a result of this, the fortress was called Ka‘āt Ziyād (Ibn ‘Asākir, xix, 173) and later, Ka‘āt Maṣṣūr (Ibn al-Dīwāzī, al-Muṣtaqam, v, 160). Buṣr b. Abī Arṭā, the emissary of Mu‘āwiya, seized the offspring of Ziyād (al-‘Abī, Al-Mughrā, treated him with clemency. Ziyād forewarned Ḥudjār on several occasions and made it clear that he was ready to execute him if he continued to curse Mu‘āwiya publicly (ṣūb aẓhara la’na Mu‘āwiyah). Ziyād succeeded in isolating Ḥudjār and his supporters. In 51/671, Ḥudjār was arrested and sent to Damascus. He was put to death in Ḥurayrī as his deputy in Kūfah. Ziyād is considered the first governor of these two towns together (aṣṣal al-man ḍjmūr a labyrinth). He had to face two hostile groups, the Khāridjītīs (Ibn al-‘Abbās, al-Mughāra) and the ‘Alīds in Kūfah, in addition to the problems raised by the different clans. He used one group to control another. The Khāridjītīs transplanted their activities outside Baṣra. The ‘Alīds persisted in their agitation in Kūfah under the leadership of Ḥudjār b. ‘Adī al-Kindī (Ibn al-‘Abbās, al-Mughāra). Ziyād’s predecessor, al-Mughrā, treated him with clemency. Ziyād forewarned Ḥudjār on several occasions and made it clear that he was ready to execute him if he continued to curse Mu‘āwiya publicly (ṣūb aẓhara la’na Mu‘āwiyah). Ziyād succeeded in isolating Ḥudjār and his supporters. In 51/671, Ḥudjār was arrested and sent to Damascus. He was put to death in Ḥurayrī as his deputy in Kūfah. Ziyād is considered the first governor of these two towns together (aṣṣal man ḍjmūr a labūr a’lī).

In spite of his internal preoccupations in Basra, Ziyad used Khurāsān as a base to continue the conquests in the East. His lieutenants al-Hakam b. 'Amr al-Ghifari, Ghalib b. Nu'aym al-Isfahani, and early Islamic era, with the purpose of using them to establish a permanent Arab settlement in that area. They formed the nucleus of the later Al Khurāsān. His deliberate intention was to establish a permanent Arab settlement in this province (M. Sharen, *Black banners from the East*, 66 n.).


Ziyad was considered a first-rate orator. The question of the authenticity of his inaugural speech remains open, even though it is found in sources belonging to different genres and tendencies: *adhab*, rhetorical, historic, and polemics (al-Dhāqānī, al-Bayān wa l-tabaḵīn, ii, 61-6; Ibn Kutayba, *Cīyān al-ʿabāhī*, ii, 241-3; al-Tabaḵarī, ii, 73-5; Ibn ʿAbī Rabbīh, al-Bīd al-farīd, iv, 110-13; Ibn Abī ʿl-Hāḍid, ʿShāh ʿAḥmad al-balīgah, xvi, 200-3). Fragments of Ziyad's speeches and utterances are often cited as examples of excellent oral or written expression. Ibn Abī ʿl-Hāḍid (i, 278-9) charged him with trying to imitate 'Alī's style, considered as the highest level of Arabic after the Kurʿān and the sayings of the Prophet.

Shīʿī sources tried to discover early signs of his treachery and his dishonesty in the interval between the battle of the Camel and Ṣiffin. Thus it is reported that ʿAlī reprimanded Ziyad for mistreating his emissary (Ibn Abī ʿl-Hāḍid, i, 296). This reprimand is attributed to Ziyad's talent and ingenuity to the fact of his being an offspring of illicit intercourse, since such offspring are intelligent (al-*awṣīm al-zinā nadīghīn*) (al-Maḍjīlī, ʿBāḥr al-anwār, lit. Tabriz n.d., vii, 522).

Ziyad is supposed to be the first author of a treatise on *maṭājīl* [q.v.] (GAŠ, i, 261). If this is true, then he evidently collected reports on vices, immoral practices or customs, and on the proper constitution among the different tribes in the Qahtīliyya and early Islamic era, with the purpose of using them against his detractors.

The interest in Ziyad's history started at a very early stage. Treatises called *Aḥbār Ziyād b. Abīth* were composed by Abū ʿAlīkhān, Abī Suwaylī, Muhammad al-Kalībī and ʿAbd al-Azīz b. Yalīyya al-Dīlahī (GAŠ, i, 262). In the literature of the *awṣīl* [q.v.], Ziyad occupies a noticeable place. He is often included in the category of the three or four shrewd politicians and statesmen (dāhibīya, pl. *dāhibī*) among the Arabs, the other three being Muṣ'awīya, al-Muṭāḥira and *Abīth* b. Abī Suwaylī.
Ziyād b. Abī Ḥiḥī — Ziyād al-ʿAḍjam


(Edward A. W. Hasson)

Ziyād b. ʿAlī b. Ḥārizī (see Ziyād b. ʿAlī b. Ḥārizī al-Khuzāʿī, Arab commander in the service of Abū ʿAbd Allāh at the time of the ʿAbdāsī Revolt (d. 155/752-753).

He was one of the nakīs [q.v.] chosen by Abū Muslim from the leaders of the Arabs in Khurāsān in 1340/747-8. With the triumph of the ʿAbdāsī cause, Abū Muslim appointed Ziyād governor of Bukhārā and Sogdīa, where he suppressed a rebellion of the discontented Arab garrison in Bukhārā led by Sharkī (or Shurayk) b. Shiyāq al-Mahārī (133/750-1). Shortly afterwards he commanded the Arab expedition sent into the land of the Turks beyond the Syr Darya in order to combat a Chinese army which had appeared in Central Asia and had attacked Caç or Shāhī (the later Taṣḥīṣt [q.v.]). In a great battle near Talas or Taṭārā [q.v.], known mainly from the Chinese sources, Ziyād won a great victory over the Korean general Kao hsiyen-chih and wrought great slaughter in his army (Dhuʿ al-Hīdāya 133/July 751); Chinese sources, Ziyād won a great victory over the ʿAbdāsīs (Agh., v, 104-6), but his score against Ziyād (Agh., xiii, 151, 155, xiv, 105; Ibn Sallām, Taḥkāk, 696) and ʿAbdād b. al-Husayn (Agh., xiv, 106), whose patronage he sought.

He associated himself at an early stage with the Umayyad general al-Muhallab b. Abī ʿṢūfa [q.v.], whose victory over the Khāridjītes near Nahār Tustar he applauded in a ʿaṣāf, of which five verses have been preserved by al-Dinawarī (al-Akhbār al-awdī, ed. al-Maymūn, 8) Abū Umāma, poet of the Umayyad period. Of Persian origin, he was a muwātī of the ʿAmīr b. al-Ḥarīṭī, a branch of the ʿAbd al-Kays [q.v.]. For his biography, the primary source is the K. ʿAbd al-Kays Allāh b. ʿAbd Allāh being provided by Ibn ʿAbī Ṭālib and Ibn ʿAbī ʿAlī. According to Yākūt (Iṣāqād, iv, 222), in 23/643 he is said to have participated with Abū Mūsā al-ʿAlāʾī and ʿUṭmān b. al-ʿAṣī in the conquest of İṣṭaḵrār, where he is said to have subsequently lived, according to Ibn Sallām (Taḥkāk, 693). In fact, he spent his entire life in the entourage of governors of Khurāsān and of Fārs such as ʿAbd Allāh b. Ṭāfṣar (Agh., iv, 104-6), ʿAbd Allāh b. al-Khaṣṣāhrādy (Agh., xii, 151, 155, xiv, 105; Ibn Sallām, Taḥkāk, 696) and ʿAbdād b. al-Husayn (Agh., xiv, 106), whose patronage he sought.

But his status as a moāwādī did not prevent Ziyād from gaining a reputation as a political satirist or from being recognised as “our ḫāṭā” by the ʿAbbāsīs (Agh., xi, 167). The other poet of the court of al-Muhallab with whom Ziyād exchanged invective was Kaʿb al-ʿAlāʾī, of the Azd, in a conflict which erupted between the latter and the ʿAbd al-Kays. Ziyād attacked Kaʿb, vowing that he would make “him and the people of the target of every tongue” (Agh., xii, 58-9). Even al-Farazdāk, who intended to attack the ʿAbd al-Kays, abandoned his project in the face of Ziyād’s riposte (Agh., xiv, 107-8; Ibn Kutayba, Shīr, ed. Shākir, 431; verses also in Ibn Sallām, Taḥkāk, 695-6). Ziyād also satirised the Banū Yaḡkūr, in circumstances which vary according to the sources: Ibn
ZIYĀD AL-AL-DJAM — ZIYĀDIDS 523

Kutayba (Shfr, 430) mentions the name of the Yashkun poet Katada; Ibn Sallam quotes two of Ziyad’s verses about this tribe. Tahābād, 699; according to Agh., xi, 171, cited by al-Baghährī, Kẖṯēn, ed. Hārūn, vi, 126, the Banū Yadkhur approached their poet, Suwayd, asking him to reply to Ziyād, but he refused.

The acknowledged imperfections of his spoken Arabic did not prevent the recognition of his poetry, from the time of al-’Aṣmā’i onward (Fuhūlat al-’U’dān, ed. Khafājī and al-’Amynī, Cairo 1935, 31), as a hadīyya and as linguistically irrepres-sable, to such an extent that his verses are cited as grammatical or lexical loci probantes by, among others, Suwayhad; al-Mubarrad, Kāmil, ed. Wirtge, 178, 324, 365-6, 632, although al-Mubarrad gives elsewhere a corrected version of the verse most cited as a grammatical hadīyya; Ibn Khalli-kān, biography of Khālid al-Tamîmī, no. 215; Abū ‘Ubayda, Muṣṭafā al-’Udān, see Khāṣa, x, 208-9, and Sezgin, GāS, ii, 373-4; and al-Wahlābī, Munārīdī tādāgnīm al-udrābī al-arab, s.v. He is also quoted several times in the LA. Some of the verses attributed to him have also been attributed to al-Akhlāṣī or to al-Farazadâk (Ibn Khalli-kān, biography of Yazd b. al-Muhallab, no. 816; the biographer adds here that he has seen the ḍīwān of Ziyād, as is also claimed by al-’Aynī, al-Makākīd al-nasayyīn fī ṣāḥid ẓāhirī al-’ajība, Bālāk 1299, iv, 597, see Ibn Ḥadād, Isbāba, iv, 190-200).

Ziyād’s best known poem, and the best preserved (in particular by al-Yazdī, K. al-’Aṣmā’, and by al-Bakrî in his ḍīwān al-kullā’ī’s Amādī, the Sunt al-lu’dālī, is his ḍīwān on the death of the Muḥallab’s son Abū Firās al-Mughīrā, who predeceased his father in 82/701. This elegy has been translated and published, with discussion of the sources, by F. Krenkow, The elegy upon al-Muhallab Ibn al-Muhallab, in Islamica, ii [1926-7], 344-54; the remainder of Ziyād’s production survives only in fragments, recently collected by Y. Bakrār, Shīr Ẓiyād al-Ṭafjam, Damascus 1983. By means of a detailed analysis of the sources and the fragments, Bakrār aims at defining more clearly to build a new capital in Tihāma. After performing the Pilgrimage in 203/818, he pressed on south into Yemen. There he fought many hard battles against recallant tribes and succeeded in winning control over the whole of Tihāma. In 204/819, he built the new capital, as he had been instructed, and it was named Zābīd (g.v.). Before his death in 245/859, he extended the territory of the dynasty far beyond Tihāma: to Hadratwāt (g.v.), along the southern coast to al-Sẖīrī (g.v.) and Mirbāt in modern Umān, to Aden [see ‘Adān] and Abyan (g.v.) and north along the Red Sea coast to Ḥāfiy Ibn Ya’qūb.

Ziyād was followed in power by his son, Ḫrām (d. 283/896), by his own son, Ziyād (d. 289/902), by his own son, (Ibn) Ziyād (d. 299/911), who was succeeded by one Abu ‘1-Dhaylī. The latter died in 371/981 and this is the last name and last firm date in the history of the family; 409/1018 is, however, mentioned specifically as the date of the demise of the dynasty.

Ziyyādids, a dynasty of southwestern Arabia centred on Tihāma (g.v.) between the years 203-409/818-1018, but having control also in the northern highlands of the Yemen [see al-Yāmān] and along the Indian Ocean coast. Unfortunately, our sources are late and little informed, there are discrepancies in the dates given and even the names of the later members of the family are unknown.

The dynasty is named after Muhammad b. Ziyād, who traced his pedigree back to the Umayyad dynasty and who, during the caliphate of the Ābbāsid al-Ma’mūn (g.v.), became the protégé of his minister, al-Faḍl b. Sahl (g.v.). In 292/817 a letter arrived at the Ābbāsid court with news of a rebellion of tribes in Tihāma. Al-Faḍl b. Sahl advised al-Ma’mūn to despatch Muhammad b. Ziyād there in order to crush it. Ibn Ziyād was duly sent with the additional order to build a new capital in Tihāma. After performing the Pilgrimage in 203/818, he pressed on south into Yemen. There he fought many hard battles against recallant tribes and succeeded in winning control over the whole of Tihāma. In 204/819, he built the new capital, as he had been instructed, and it was named Zābīd (g.v.). Before his death in 245/859, he extended the territory of the dynasty far beyond Tihāma: to Hadratwāt (g.v.), along the southern coast to al-Sẖīrī (g.v.) and Mirbāt in modern Umān, to Aden [see ‘Adān] and Abyan (g.v.) and north along the Red Sea coast to Ḥāfiy Ibn Ya’qūb.

It is perhaps all this that Blachere refers to when he writes (HLA, 512) that, while the work of Ziyād remains inaccessible to us, his biographical data “make this individual one of the most interesting figures from the point of view of our knowledge of relations between the Arab world and Iran, in poetry, at this time”.

ZIYĀNIYYA, a Maghribī branch of the Šūfi order of the Shadhiliyya [q.v.].

The eponymous founder was Muhammad b. `Abd al-Rahmān Ibn Abī Ziyān (d. 1145/1735), a descendent of the Prophet (ṣaḥīḥ) originally from the Moroccan southwest (Wādi Dra’a, near Fīqūg). At an early age he went to Sidjīlima and was initiated into Śūrīm by a mukaddām of the Nāṣirīyya [q.v.], Śīfi Muhammad b. ‘Aza. On the latter’s death, he left for Fās in order to complete his education in the Islamic sciences, notably under Muhammad b. `Abd al-Kādir al-Fāsī (d. 1116/1704). According to Rinn, he was also expelled from Fās by Sultan Mawlāy Ismā‘īl (Marabout et Khouan, Algiers 1884, 412); but the hagiographical work devoted to Ibn Abī Ziyān, the Ṭabārat al-anṣās wa l-amrīb al-ṣaḥīḥmīyā fi l-ṭarīqī al-ṣawwādīyya al-ṣīṭḥīyya, mentions that it was his care for a “decent obscurity” which impelled him to return to his ancestral land (tr. of this work by A. Cour, in RMM, xii [1910], see 365). There at Kanadha (or Kenaqda) he founded a ṣaḥāba which became a beacon in the region. The brigands of the Sahara feared the saint, famed for his miracle-working and for his extremism among the Ziyaniyya, usually from father to son.

The office of shaykh was often transmitted hereditarily among the Ziyāniyya, usually from father to son. The order’s influence spread particularly in Algeria, notably at Algiers and Oran (see the table in Depont and Coppolani, op. cit., 500). The Ziyāniyya remained faithful to the Shadhili spirit, in both their ṣiḥḥ [q.v.] formulae and their stress on knowledge of the esoteric sciences, and furthermore, in the sobriety of their behaviour (see Cour, 579). When the fame of Shaykh Ibn Abī Ziyān had spread throughout Morocco, he enjoyed the favour of Mawlāy Ismā‘īl (ibid., 579), and this positive attitude of the holders of political power towards the Ziyāniyya became generalised. Under the Protectorate, the French authorities appreciated the benevolent and pacific role of the leaders at the Kanadhā ṣawwād, and Depont and Coppolani note that these last “gave appreciable services” to the French forces.


ZIYĀRA (A., pl. ziyārāt), pious visitation, pilgrimage to a holy place, tomb or shrine.

1. In the central and eastern Arab lands during the pre-modern period
2. In the central Arab lands from 1800 to the present day
3. Amongst the Copts in Egypt
4. In the Maghrib
5. In Persia and other Šī‘ī lands
6. The Turkish lands, including the Balkans and Central Asia
7. In Muslim India
8. In Indonesia
9. In Central and West Africa
10. In the Horn of Africa

1. In the central and eastern Arab lands during the pre-modern period.

Unlike the ḥajj [q.v.], the canonical pilgrimage to Mecca, and the lesser pilgrimage, the ka‘bah [q.v.], the ziyāra lacked the authority of Scripture. Mediaeval Arabic and Hebrew sources frequently refer to Jews and Christians making a ziyāra to tombs and shrines of holy persons (cf. J.W. Meri, Sacred journeys to sacred precincts. The cult of saints among Muslims and Jews in medieval Syria, D. Phil. thesis, Oxford Univ. 1998), and Near Eastern Jews routinely undertook pilgrimages to holy places in the Holy Land, Bilād al-Shām, Irāq and Persia.

The first and most fundamental sense of this word applies to visiting the graves of the dead (ziyārat al-kubur), as is reflected in the various Sunan collections (see Wensinck, Handbook, s.v. graves), but never specifically in the context of saints and prophets. Other related expressions which appear in mediaeval sources include ṣafar “journeying” and ṣafar lā y ṣiyrat al-kubur “journeying to visit graves”. Ḥudūth traditions generally refer to the Prophet’s stricture against visiting Christian places of worship, and his concern that Muslims would follow idolatrous and polytheistic practices and raise tombs above the ground [see Māṣūfī].)

The Prophet urged visiting the tombs of the deceased to pray and supplicate on their behalf. Ziyāra also appears in other contexts. Devotees made a ziyāra to mosques and other holy places, many of them associated with holy persons and their legends, e.g. springs, wells, caves, mountains, etc. Ziyāra was also made to dead saints (awliyyā‘), prophets, mystics and other holy persons [see wali]. Another type of ziyāra was made to such venerable objects as the Prophet’s sandal (cf. al-Yūnīsī, Dhāli la‘īr al-zamān, Hadīyārāhād 1934-61, ii, 43-6; Meri, op. cit., 123-4). Devotees also visited living holy men (sāḥifs) or other such individuals revered for their piety, learning, spiritual insight and baraka [q.v.]. (cf. M.M. Chamberlain, Knowledge and social practice in medieval Damascus 1190-1350, Cambridge 1994, 132-3; Meri, op. cit., ch. 2).

One of the earliest records of Muslim theologians discussing the proper etiquette (adab) of visiting tombs dates from the 2nd/9th century. Al-Hasan al-Bāṣrī (d. 110/728 [q.v.]) expressed concern with the manner and custom of properly conducting oneself when visiting tombs; he rebuked people for forgetting its solemn purpose and for engaging in unacceptable behaviour, such as eating (al-Turkumānī, K. al-Luma’ī, fi l-ḥuwaqqid wa l-khiddīqat wa l-bihādīq, ed. S. Labīb, Cairo 1986, i, 214).

(a) Šī‘ī ziyāra in Arab lands

All Šī‘īs, wherever they resided, recognised the importance of making the ziyāra to the tomb of the Prophet’s grandson al-Husayn and the other Šī‘ī Imāms. Although the ziyāra was not in fact obligatory as the ḥajj was, a similar obligatory status, merits and recompense were nevertheless ascribed to it. The major Šī‘ī tālibat [q.v. in Suppl.] or pilgrimage cities were almost a “secondary kibla”. The threat of divine punishment for not performing the ziyāra figures promi-
nently in ziyāra traditions. Shi'ī upheld the intercession of the Imams for their followers, in contrast to the Sunnis, among whom the orthodox scholars like al-Qazwīnī and Ibn Kāyīm al-Dā'wīyya denied the intercession of saints but only attributed it to the Prophet.

Ziyāra traditions arose in the context of Sunni-Shī'ī antagonism precipitated by the massacre of al-Husayn at Karbala' [q.v.]. Performing canonical prayer (ṣalāt al-farā'īda) was equivalent to the obligatory prayer to that of the recommended prayer. Other Shī'ī traditions mention that performing the pilgrimage to Karbala' on the day of 'Arafa equals "one thousand Pilgrimages, one thousand lesser pilgrimages and one thousand military expeditions with the Prophet..." (al-Shaykh al-Mufīd, K. al-Mazār, Kum 1988, 20).

Since the ziyāra did not represent a legal substitute or alternative to the ḫadījī, the award of merit surpassing those of the ḫadījī was explicit. Al-Husayn's son ʿAbd Allāh likened the requirements of setting out on a ziyāra to al-Husayn to those of the ḫadījī. "What is incumbent upon us (mā yalzamūnā) is what is incumbent in the ḫadījī." Ibn Kūliyya, Kamil al-ziyārat, Beirut 1997, 250-1. A number of traditions further address the commendable status of ziyāra (cf. ibid., Najaf 1336/1437-8, 141).

Shī'ī placed greater emphasis on ziyāra ritual than did Sunnis. In fact, no Shī'ī theologian opposed making a ziyāra. The institutionalisation of ritual contributed to the formation of pilgrimage centres in the towns and cities of 'Irāk. Similarly, the devotional role ascribed to the Shī'ī Imams and the Family of the Prophet in Fātimid Egypt continued with the successor Sunnī dynasties (G.S. Taylor, "The institutionalisation of the sacred in the Islamic tradition of 'Iraq" in J. Martin and M. D. Macur, eds., Fātimid Egypt, Leiden 1994, 196-97). The cult of saints and the legal ziyāra (al-ziyāra al-sharī'īyya), which associates with pagans, Jews and Christians, and the legal ziyāra (al-ziyāra al-sīrdīt), which is enjoined by the Prophet. The former, tantamount to polytheism, is when "the visitor intends that his supplication be fulfilled at the tomb or that he supplicate the deceased, supplicate for rain through him and make a request of him or take an oath by God, requesting a need" (Maghīnī fatawā, al-Riyāḍ 1991, xxvii, 31-2). However, Ibn Taymiyya does not deny the possibility that supplication can be fulfilled, going so far as to say that "if anything is granted, it should be attributed to the personal merit of the tomb's patron" (Rīdā' al-sīrāt al-mustakīm mukhālabat ahl al-dā'irāt, Cairo 1950, 374). While some theologians acknowledged the symbiotic nature of the relationship between the living and the dead, Ibn Taymiyya argues that "in the legally permissible ziyāra, the living does not have need for the dead by making a request of him (mas'alē) or seeking his intercession (tauwaṣṣūl). But rather, the dead derive benefit from the living, and God the Exalted has mercy upon the living who supplicate for the dead" (Maghīnī fatawā, xxvii, 71).

Ibn Taymiyya's disciple Ibn Kāyīm al-Dā'wīyya (d. 1275/1350 [q.v.]) continued his master's crusade against ziyāra practices which threatened orthodoxy and in a scathing polemic against them argued that mediaeval Syrians in performing ziyāra were observing rites (maṣūlī) similar to those of the Pilgrimage to Mecca (Ibn Kāyīm al-Dā'wīyya, Ighāṣat al-labīf min maṣūlī al-dā'irāt, Beirut 1986, i, 220-21, 304). Concerning such parallels, see Meri, The etiquette of devotion in the Islamic cult of saints, in The cult of saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Essays on the contribution of Peter Bousen, ed. J. Howard-Johnston and P.A. Hayward, Oxford 1999, 263-86; idem, Sacred journeys.

During the early 20th century, the puritanical Wahhābiyya [q.v.], adherents of the doctrines of Ibn Taymiyya, destroyed the monuments that stood over the tombs of the Companions throughout the Hijāz.

(c) Affirming the ziyāra

Writing in defence of the ziyāra in his Rīdā' 'ulum al-dīn, Ābu Ḥamīd al-Qazwīnī [d. 505/1111 [q.v.]:...
took the opponents of ziya\ra to task by affirming the existence of saints and the permissibility of making a ziya\ra to them. But he, too, qualified the true meaning of ziya\ra, which he did not merely associate with saints. The presence of holiness made a pilgrimage site efficacious. Muslims possessed a universal sense of the holiness of the dead which manifested itself in the devotee's physical and spiritual contact with the site. Al-Ghaz\ai stresses the universality of the interpersonal experience of self-surrender and embracing the dead with all one's senses, a recurring theme in the pilgrimage guides (op. cit., iv, 492).

Ziya\ra should be conducted in accordance with the Sunna of the Prophet. For al-Ghaz\ai, the goals of ziya\ra were contemplation, remembering death and obtaining blessings, a view with which even the Hanbalis would agree. However, the devotee may obtain blessings only through his own contemplation and supplication and not through the dead saint. The exception is the Prophet. Al-Ghaz\ai cites two traditions, one of which commends ziya\ra: “Visiting tombs is altogether recommended for remembrance (ghik\r) and contemplation (tibh\r). Visiting the tombs of the righteous is recommended for the purpose of seeking blessings [and] contemplation. The Messenger of God . . . forbade visiting tombs and then permitted that afterwards” (iv, 490). Al-Ghaz\ai then quotes a canonical Tradition related by ‘Ali in which the Prophet changed his mind about permitting Muslims to visit the dead.

Unlike the Hanbalis, al-Ghaz\ai did not distinguish between ziya\ra to the tombs of loved ones and those of saints. The goals were one and the same—supplicating to God on behalf of the dead. Since the Prophet visited his mother’s grave, it is permissible for Muslims to visit all graves and remember the dead. However, the Prophet never kissed, lay upon or rubbed against tombs.

(c) Pilgrimage literature

Pilgrimage guides are collectively referred to as kutub al-ziya\rat. The guide was a companion for learned pilgrims to remember and invoke blessings upon the dead saint and to make a pilgrimage to his tomb or shrine. Although they reflect a variety of influences and traditions from the early period, pilgrimage guides provide a real sense of the variety of ziya\ra ritual and thus constitute an important source for understanding the veneration of holy persons. Guides occasionally mention Jewish, Christian and common holy sites.

A number of factors contributed to the emergence of pilgrimage guides as a devotional genre. The Islamic territorial expansion from the 1st/7th to the 3rd/9th centuries led to Muslim scholars recording and commenting on the burial sites of the Prophet’s Companions who had settled in the garrison towns and of those martyred in battle. Similar traditions, of varying degrees of authenticity, concerning the prophets and other scriptural figures are also frequently mentioned. Ziya\ra traditions evolved from fada\'il traditions which emphasise the Islamic nature and sanctity of a location by identifying the burial place of a prophet, martyr or hero. Such traditions extol the merits of particular cities, holy sites and saints. The systematic compilation of traditions contributed to the emergence of regional histories and pilgrimage guides for such cities as Cairo, Damascus, Aleppo, K\u\fa and Na\d\jas, and of other literary genres which often mention pilgrimage sites.

The only known specimen of pilgrimage literature for the entire Islamic world and parts of the Christian Mediterranean and Byzantium during the late 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries is the Syrian savant and ascetic ‘Ali b. Abi Bakr al-Haraw\i’s (d. 611/1215) K. al-ziya\rat li ma‘rifat al-ziya\rat (ed. J. Sourdrel-Thomine, Damascus 1953). Almost all of our knowledge of pilgrimages to shrines in the Arabian peninsula derives from this source. The author records sites and popular traditions concerning them, based on first-hand knowledge and second-hand accounts. Al-Haraw\i regularly includes popular traditions, which he indicates in a number of ways: “It is said,” (kam\ma ‘l-sahih anna . . .), “according to local custom” (kam\ma ‘l-dhakaru/yadhkurun), or “according to what the people of the site mentioned” (kam\ma ‘l-dhakaru al-maw\sad\fi). He often questions these traditions by stating that “the truth is . . .” (wa ‘l-sahih anna . . .).

The Ish\drat provided a basis for later medieval pilgrimage guides and regional histories, particularly in al-Sh\arm. Unlike other pilgrimage guides, however, there is no evidence to suggest that it was employed during a ziya\ra. In fact, the author dedicated the work to the ‘Ab\bas\i caliph (Y. R\a\ghib, Essai d’inventaire chronologique des guides à l’usage des pèlerins du Caire, in REL, xi [1973], 272-3). Moreover, it is not as explicit a guide as Egyptian pilgrimage guides in providing directions and distances. The Ish\drat is akin to a travel itinerary, but it does not provide distances between places or mention the time spent in a given location. In fact, the guide is a compilation from memory, trustworthy sources, and notes which may have survived being appropriated by the Franks in 588/1192. All pilgrimage guides employ a common language to refer to pilgrimage sites, a language not merely descriptive in nature but one indicative of the rituals that devotees performed and the sacred nature of sites.

In the absence of a universal tradition of pilgrimage guides, many traditions emerged which reflected a variety of local and regional practices as attested in the diversity of guides. Pilgrimage guides throughout the Islamic world tend to be derivative in nature, often relying upon previous traditions. The earliest known pilgrimage guide is of Sh\i provenance, the K. al-ziya\rat of the Kufan jurist al-Hasan b. ‘Ali b. Fad\al al-Taymi al-K\uffi (d. 224/838-9). No correlation exists between the early period pilgrimage guides and al-Hasan’s text. The earliest known Sh\i guides include those of al-Kufi (see above), Ibn K\u\fa’s (d. 368/978-9) K\u\fa al-ziya\rat, his disciple Muhammad b. Muhammad al-Nu\m\m al-Harib\i (al-Shaykh al-Muf\fd)’s (d. 413/1022) K. al-Ma\z\agr and Ibn D\uw\d al-Kummi’s (d. 368/978 or 379/989) K. al-Ma\z\agr al-ka\bir. Such guides describe ritual behaviour and supplications pronounced before undertaking a pilgrimage, such as the types of rituals and rites which al-Shaykh al-Muf\fd refers to as man\s\k. He and Ibn K\u\fa cite traditions indicating that Sh\i’s placed
great emphasis on the ziyya to ‘Ali’s tomb in Najaf and that of al-Husayn in Karbala. One such tradition of Abu ‘Abd Allah b. al-Husayn states that “making a ziyya to al-Husayn and so on is equal to and more meritorious than twenty pilgrimages to Mecca” (Ibn Kūlīyya, ed. Nadja, 161). A similar tradition concerns visiting al-Husayn on the day of ‘Arafa.

Since prescribed ritual acts constituted a central part of Shi‘i ziyya devotion, Shi‘i scholars and Imams exercised control over its rites and urged devotees to make the ziyya according to the traditions of the Imams to the extent that not doing so was considered un-Islamic and would result in a shorter lifespan.

This is in contrast to the Sunni ziyya, in which little control existed. For the Shi‘i, performing the ziyya had many benefits in addition to receiving the temporal benefits of performing the ka‘bah and ‘umra, as well as dispelling sadness and expunging sins. Wherever they resided, Shi‘is observed the same rites and rituals. The formalisation and codification of ritual was a necessary corollary to the development of central pilgrimage centres, which did not exist for the Sunnis.

Nor were local cults insignificant. However, local ritual practices were not preserved in pilgrimage guides, but have only survived in local histories. The Shi‘i Hamadhání ruler of Aleppo Sayf al-Dawla b. al-Zayyat (d. 333/944-47 [q.v.]) was a devotee of saints who patronised and constructed shrines in Aleppo and its outlying villages.

It was incumbent upon the Shi‘i pilgrim to abstain from worldly pleasures. Ziyya to the shrine of al-Husayn in Karbala was a special experience which demanded the full participation of the devotee in the martyrdom of al-Husayn and the expression of great sorrow, not merely the sadness one expresses over the death of relations but rather its ultimate manifestation requiring the pilgrim to experience physical and emotional debilitation.

Unlike the majority of Sunni guides, Shi‘i ones were written by prominent theologians, such as the aforementioned Ibn Kūlīyya and his disciple al-Shaykh al-Mufid. The latter’s K. al-Muṣanṣir al-‘Aliyya was divided into two parts, the first of which concerns the merits (fad‘alat) of Kūfa, its [congregational] mosque and the Eufratites, etc. This is followed by a description of the ziyya to ‘Ali’s tomb and a discussion of the necessity of visiting that of al-Husayn and the merits of performing the ziyya to it, especially on various holy days. So highly developed were the ziyya rites that Shi‘is pronounced formulaic expressions at every stage. Shi‘i guides could perhaps be regarded as manuals for theologians who would instruct illiterate and common visitors.

Shi‘is also prayed special ziyya prayers as at the tomb of the first Imam ‘Ali, which consisted of a series of supplications and recitations of particular chapters of the Kur‘ān, placing the right and left cheek on the ground and pronouncing imprecations against the enemies of ‘Ali and those who wronged him.

These guides do not mention places in Syria to which ‘Iraqi Shi‘i pilgrims undertook pilgrimage, as no Imams were buried there. However, the Shi‘is of Syria and Lebanon performed many of the same rites and rituals mentioned in these guides at local shrines as those done at the shrines of the Imams in ‘Iraq and Persia. In spite of the absence of evidence concerning Shi‘i ziyya rituals in Syria, Aleppo and Damascene Shi‘i theologians would have travelled to the holy cities of ‘Iraq, and theologians who hailed from the east and settled in al-Shām would have disseminated the proper teachings of the Imams and taught proper ziyya rites.

The earliest surviving Egyptian pilgrimage guide, which served as a basis for later works, is the Marqūd al-zawwār ilā kubur al-abnār of the Shāfi‘i jurist consult and hadith scholar ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Uthmān (d. 615/1218) [publ. Cairo 1995]. Like other guides, it begins with the sacred topography of the pilgrimage centre, in this case Dhabal al-Mu‘tāmat and the Karafa cemeteries. This is followed by descriptions of mosques and their endowers, historical accounts concerning the ziyya and traditions concerning the dead hearing the living, discussion of the propriety of walking in the cemetery with sandals, formulas pronounced upon entering the cemetery, pilgrimage etiquette, and various ritual acts (making sacrifice, prayer, etc.). Finally, the author lists tombs, their efficacious qualities, associated rituals and their endowers.

The guide was not merely descriptive but also prescriptive. In fact, it is replete with instructions and directions to the pilgrim as he walked from station to station. A contemporary of Ibn ‘Uthmān, Maqdī al-Dīn b. Muhammad b. ‘Abd Allah al-Nāṣikh (d. 696/1296-97), a minor Egyptian official in the service of the vizier Ibn Hanna, wrote a second guide, Maṣāḥih al-adhāb wa-bughyat al-tulūb fi al-zīyara (ibid., 43).


Pilgrimage guides developed much later in al-Shām than they did in Egypt. However, most of our knowledge of medieval Syrian ziyya derives from historical sources. In contrast to Egypt, where ziyya literature was known in Fātimid and Mamlākī times, the earliest extant pilgrimage guide for Syria dates to the early 10th/16th century. The absence of institutionalised Sunni control over the ziyya as with the later maqāyis al-zīyara, and of an early tradition of scholarship centered around pilgrimage traditions, prompted the later appearance of guides. However, poems such as the one recited to the Damascene historian Ibn ‘Ashkiri (d. 572/1176 [q.v.]) on Mt. Kāfsan, praise the performing of the ziyya to its pilgrimage sites. Muslims were accustomed to writing poetry about their holy places. Brief descriptions of pilgrimage sites are also found in geographical works like al-Dimashqī’s Nakhbat al-dahr and fuller accounts in travel itineraries like the Rihlas of Ibn Djabayr and Ibn Battūta, who routinely mention the pilgrimage sites in a given locality.

1828, consistently enumerates the congregational mosques, madrasas, shrines (mashhads), pilgrimage sites (masādir) and blessed sites (amākin mubarakā). The centrality of these designations in al-Zahirī’s work and the emphasis that he places on “blessed places” indicate the contemporary importance attached to places of pilgrimage. The 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries are characterised by increased activity in the compilation of pilgrimage traditions and descriptions of pilgrimage places and the rituals and legends associated with them. These works represent a transition from an oral to a written "tradition" among scholars and historians in al-Shām. Historians such as Ibn āsākir, Muhammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAzīzī (d. ca. 556/1161) [q.v.], Yahyā b. ʿAbĪ Ţayyī (d. ca. 625-30/1228/33) [see ān ʿAbĪ Ŧayyī], Ibn al-ʿĀdīm (d. 660/1262), Ibn Shaddād (d. 684/1285) and Ibn al-Shīnā (d. 890/1485) [q.v.] include in their histories detailed inventories of tombs, shrines and other monuments for the Mirdasīd, Ḥamdānīd, Ayyūbid and Mamluk periods. Their works provide significant details concerning the founding of monuments, their efficaciousness, legends associated with them, and the practices and beliefs of the common people and their encounters with the holy. Some of these traditions are based on the personal experiences of the writers or their contemporaries. Notable is the prominence accorded to ẓiyāra traditions concerning the tombs of the Family of the Prophet, his Companions and the Followers throughout these works.

Ibn āsākir devotes a number of chapters of his Taʾrīkh to places of prayer, tombs and shrines in and around Damascus to which the ẓiyāra is made. One section includes nineteen traditions concerning the burial places of prophets and Companions narrated by a number of Companions and several reports by the Damascene historian Abū Zunāʾ (d. 270/884), who is critical of the authenticity of a number of tombs, stating e.g., “Regarding Mudrīk b. Ziyādī, I did not find any mention of him, except on the tablet on his tomb from an unverifiable source.”

Like al-Harawī’s Ḥālrāt, the works of Ibn al-ʿĀdīm and Ibn Shaddād reflect a popular level of discourse and also mention the activities of the people. Ibn al-ʿĀdīm, who was a contemporary of al-Harawī, from whom he personally heard a number of accounts, devotes a chapter of his Taʾrīkh to “the pilgrimage sites (masādir), tombs of prophets and saints and the noble localities (mausāṭīn) in Aleppo and its districts, which are known for the fulfillment of supplication” (ed. S. Ṣakkār, Beirut 1988-9, i, 439). The account includes 57 pilgrimage places for Aleppo and its districts, including accounts taken from al-Harawī and the author’s father.

Ibn Shaddād dedicates three chapters of his al-Khawṣūʿī to pilgrimage sites in Aleppo, Damascus, Jordan, Palestine and Lebanon. He relies extensively on al-Harawī for Palestinian and Damascene ẓiyāra and on Ibn al-ʿĀdīm and Ibn Abī ʿṬayyī for Aleppoan sites. The Hanbali juristprudent Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Ḥāḍir (d. 744/1343), who was a member of the Makkātí family, also composed a number of no longer extant works, including a pamphlet concerning the ẓiyāra and another on the ḥaddīth concerning the lives of the prophets and their graves. He also includes unique details concerning Ayyūbid pilgrimage sites.

Ibn Ẓūlūn (d. 953/1346) [q.v.], a prolific historian and commentator on the political and social climate of Mamlūk and early Ottoman Damascus, was one of the many devout believers who made the ẓiyāra on a regular basis to tombs and shrines in his native Damascus, judging by his numerous works which mention or are devoted to Damascus’ pilgrimage sites and saints, including Muḥṣinah b. al-Ḥāḍirī fī hawādith al-ẓanām and ʿAbd al-Ḥāḍirī ʿal-ʿamūšyāra fī taʾrīkh al-Sūleimān. Ẓūlūn was not only a means for fulfillment of personal supplications; the devotee was to obey the words of God the Exalted, ‘Let there become of you a community that shall call for righteousness’ (Kūrān, III, 104). The guide, which includes over one hundred pilgrimage sites for Damascus and outlying villages and a number of other Syrian localities like Aleppo and its surrounding villages, tombs, shrines, mosques, minarets and sacred groves, opens with the praise of Damascus and its congregational mosques and proceeds to the southern, eastern and northern parts. The sixth chapter includes pilgrimage sites in the outlying villages. This is followed by a number of northern Syrian localities. Ibn al-Hawrānī includes ẓiyāra sites in the villages of the north, east and west. The guide then indicates that the devotee reflects upon himself and his sins which prevent him from nearing God. He experiences a cathartic state in which he rebukes and scolds himself and then weeps. Then he supplicates and reads from the Kūrān, while being sincere in reaching his goal, and refrains from speaking foul words. Ẓiyāra was not only a means for fulfillment of personal supplications; the devotee was to
remember God and the Afterlife, pray and read the Kur'an. This is the ultimate purpose of ziyara. This is the ultimate purpose of ziyara. This is the ultimate purpose of ziyara.

Kadi Mahmud al-Adawi’s (d. 1032/1623) Book of Ziyara (Damascus 1596), which is an acknowledged imitation of Ibn al-Hawrani’s Ishdrdt, relies upon many of the same sources and a number of literary, devotional and historical works, and mentions 98 saints’ tombs and other pilgrimage sites. An emphasis on biographical details renders this a biographical work rather than a pilgrimage guide to be employed during the ziyara. Al-Adawi is not explicit about the purpose for which the guide is to be used. However, it may be assumed that it served as a similar commemorative function to Ibn al-Hawrani’s Ishdrdt, but does not stress pilgrimage etiquette.

Ya’fus al-Faraji b. Mustaafa al-Dhikni al-Hasani al-Matrufi (d. 1095/1684), the author of the guide al-Nabхиta al-latifsas fi ‘l-mazāriz al-Zaydisa is explicit about the purpose for which devotees should use it. Al-Dhikni intended that the guide be employed during pilgrimage as an aid to remembering the saints who were buried in a particular location, perhaps even suggesting that the pilgrimage should visit as many pilgrimage sites as it possibly can.

During the eighteenth century, the Damascene Sufi ‘Abd al-Ghanî al-Nabulusi (d. 1143/1731) undertook several journeys through Bilad al-Shâm, Egypt and the Hijaz in which he meticulously recorded details of the pilgrimage sites he visited, and in one of his several travel works, al-Hadrat al-unsia fi ‘l-tabia al-kudsiya, he undertook a 44-day journey from Damascus to Jerusalem in which he visited numerous shrines.


2. In the central Arab lands from 1800 to the present day.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, the visitation of the tombs of saints and other holy sites has continued to be a common feature of popular religious life in Egypt, Greater Syria, ‘Iraq and Arabia (for Shi’i ziyara, see 3. below). As a result of enhanced security and comfort of travel provided by modern means of transport, there has been a remarkable increase in the number of pilgrims visiting important shrines such as those of Ahmad al-Badawi in Tanmi (q.v.). The same holds true for the ziyara to the Prophet’s tomb and to the old cemetery of Medina (see also MADINA and BAKT AL-GHARAB). — A visitation that is, of course, in most cases performed before or after the hadj (q.v.). In this connection, it is to be noted that the destruction of tombs and shrines in Mecca, Medina and elsewhere in Arabia, at the hands of Wahhabis, has not in the long term resulted in a dramatic decrease of visitations to these places, at least not to the most important ones. (For a survey of the sites in Medina demolished since 1926, see e.g. Yusuf Raghda al-Amili, Maktaba wa ‘l-Madina bayn al-mâtî wa ‘l-hâjd, Beirut 1997, esp. 401 ff.) However, any ziyara there is to be performed, at least in principle, according to the strict rules of the Wahhabiyah and under the control of its representatives.

In other countries of the Arab East, the situation varies. For a number of reasons, including urban development measures and the confiscation of waqf (q.v.) property by the state, many shrines (in particular the smaller ones) have become neglected or have even been demolished. Others, however, still flourish, and in fact a number of new ones have sprung up recently. Moreover, there are old shrines which, for one reason or another, have lately acquired a popularity they never had before. An interesting example of this phenomenon is the shrine of Sayyida Zaynab (Kahr al-Sitt) near Damascus, which is visited mainly, but not exclusively, by Shi’i Muslims (see Meri, in *BEO*, no. 25 [1996] of the journal *Al-Mawisim*). In the case of Sayyida Zaynab, as well as with regard to Muslim sanctuaries in Jerusalem (see also – see al-zaynab), Hebron (see al-zaynab), and other mazâriyya in Palestine (see, in particular, Canaan, in *BEO*), it is obvious that political circumstances, as in the past, have a considerable (positive or negative) influence on the actual performance of the ziyârah and on the number of pilgrims participating.

In general, the ziyara is popular especially with lower and middle-class women. Many educated Muslims now shun or even vehemently denounce all traditional forms of saint veneration, and in particular most of the ziyara practices. At best, they demand that the rites be reformed according to the teachings of the Salafiyah (q.v.), i.e. be stripped of all words and deeds that, in their opinion, are bid’â (q.v.).

More or less sharp criticism of what goes on at popular festivals (see mawisim and mawltd), such as prostitution and various forms of exploitation of the credulous, is to be found in modern Arab literature. This criticism is voiced in works written by religiously conservative authors as well as by modernists and (even more so) by secularists. There are, however, many such writers who also point to the spiritual dimensions and social values which find expression in the ziyârah and related practices (for Egypt, see Wieland, in *BEO*).


3. Amongst the Copts in Egypt.

Coptic Orthodox sites for ziyāra can be found throughout Egypt, shaping an entirely Christian topography. The origins of sites range from the 1st to the 20th centuries. The itinerary of the Holy Family during their flight to Egypt is marked by numerous holy places. Nowadays, Copts include holy rocks and trees in their ziyāra, while St. Mary and Jesus became patterns in their coffins. Nowadays, Copts include holy places. Thus, Copts include holy rocks and trees in their ziyāra, while St. Mary and Jesus became patterns in their coffins.

Evolution of the traditional pilgrimages, in N. van Doorn and K. Vogt, Between desert and city. The Coptic Orthodox Church today, Oslo 1997, 212-29.

Martyrs, saints (such as Mār Girgīs, Abū Sayfayn, Sitt Dimyāna) and the Virgin Mary account for the majority of ziyāra sites, yet there are numerous local saints, most of whom were venerated during the Fatimid and Ayyubid eras. The Coptic Church reformed that started in the 1950s, many pilgrimage centres have been restored and re-shaped into new shrines which draw each week thousands of pilgrims who are in a process of rediscovering their Coptic heritage and history. An example of this development is the shrine of St. Menas in Maryūt, which was a large pilgrimage centre from the late Roman Empire until the 9th century. In 1959 the Coptic Church built a new monastery, Dayr Abū Minā, near the site, and the relics of St. Menas were transferred from Cairo to Maryūt. The site gained in reputation after the remains of the pop- ular Patriarch Kyrilos VI, who died in 1971, were laid there as well.

Concomitant with Islamic Egypt reinforcing its reli- gious roots, Copts are purifying their ziyāra practices from discordant practices. The most influential figures in this field have been Patriarch Kyrillos VI, who died in 1971, and he curing all, he made live and made perish, gave power to certain men or deprived them of it,” he asserted (Fitūḥah, ch. 485). Furthermore, in his life- time, the saint had been the object of a cult associated with both “th[e] elite” and “the masses”, and his entire mystical doctrine was based on the principle of his assumptions. The goals of ziyāra are manifold: to pray for healing, to pronounce vows, or to deliver wishes, and his entire mystical doctrine was based on the principle of his assumptions.
of alms. After his death, his prestige increased—the
city was symbolically placed under his protection—as
it is clear that it is a late phenomenon, the reason
being that the exact site where the pious individual
became progressively structured around a new and
the expectations and the hopes of individuals and of
groups, and the greater its size, the greater the pres-
tige radiating from the “place of pilgrimage”. For this
to happen, a subtle equilibrium must be established
between the expectations of individuals and of groups
and their fulfilment in such a manner as to replen-
ish the source. The expectations of individuals and of
groups thus have the power of life and death over
places of pilgrimage. Saints can experience success in
their lifetime and sink into oblivion at their death.
However, one such as Abū Ya‘azza (to take an exam-
ple from a rural setting), or Abu ‘l-
 มาซ้า (to take an exam-
ple from an urban setting), were
across an extensive geographical area. Thus Maghribi
enterprise, زيّارّة, which is easily transformed into local
pilgrimage, is definitely one of the essential elements of
the cult dedicated to Maghribi saints [see walât.
Although in the majority of cases this collective
 زيّارّة to a saint develops on the latter’s death, there
are cases where it comes into being in his lifetime.
The تاغخونف of Ibn al-Zayyāt al-Ṭāifiable [see تاغخونف]
entails examples of individual instances. Tracing the
life of a saint of Tāḍālī, who died in 536/1141, this hagi-
ographic treatise relates that “his tomb was revered,
and people come even now (early 7th/13th century)
in search of healing by contact with the earth that
covers him” (تاغخونف, 106). With regard to the famous
Abū Ya‘azza Yalannur al-Hazmīrī or al-Haskurfi
(ج. 573/1177), we read that “people came [to him]
from all countries, he nourished them [at his own
expense], he gave fodder to their mounts”. Such gen-
erosity was expensive. To cover it, the saint would
accept alms from his “brothers in God”, sc. his dis-
ciples. There were also “the residents of neighbouring
villages [who] gave hospitality to those who came to
visit him” when their number was too large for them
to be accommodated in his زيّارّة (تاغخونف, 164).
In order to understand how a local pilgrimage came
into being, it is necessary to recognise that a مازّة
is a social invention. It is a place which, because it
is endowed with a symbolic efficaciousness, crystallises
the expectations and the hopes of individuals and of
groups, and the greater its size, the greater the pres-
tige radiating from the “place of pilgrimage”. For this
to happen, a subtle equilibrium must be established
between the expectations of individuals and of groups
and their fulfilment in such a manner as to replen-
ish the source. The expectations of individuals and of
groups thus have the power of life and death over
places of pilgrimage. Saints can experience success in
their lifetime and sink into oblivion at their death.
Men and women, “great” and “small”, sought their goodwill. How is devotion to
be manifested to a patron whose benevolence is
sought, other than by periodically rendering him hon-
age? It is thus that these have developed one of the most
outstanding expressions of Maghribi religious life, the
مَجْزَة. This would come to rival the other forms of
devotional travel (حُمٰجَة, مُرَكِّبَة, etc.), becoming
one of the principal institutions of Maghribi devotion
virtually until the mid-20th century, and persisting
in certain areas even today (F. Réssy, Pèlerinages ou
In its nature, زيّارّة presents a double characteris-
tic: it can be individual or collective. It engages indi-
viduals in a personal movement as it involves groups
concerned for their collective destiny. Ultimately, it
evokes urban as well as rural social structures. In
other words, it is unitary in its status of “distance
covered”, whilst it is plural or multiform in terms of
its content and its usages. Men as well as women,
city-dwellers as well as rustics, artisans as well as peas-
ants, scholars as well as the illiterate, governors and
governed—all contribute to making of it a ritual ges-
ture deriving its particularity from a precise arrange-
ment combining energy, movement, space and time
and setting out the specific requirements which are
to be met in each instance.
In its capacity as an individual journey, زيّارّة was not a feature of mediaeval Maghribi religiosity. Born
in the central lands of Islam around the mid-8th cen-
tury, it is seen, in the Maghrib, to belong in a con-
tinuity which makes of it an eminently spiritual jour-
ney. Leaving aside this form of زيّارّة, one may con-
centrate on the form that engages and sets in motion
crowds and numbers. In this capacity as a collective
enterprise, زيّارّة is a social invention. It is a place which, because it
is endowed with a symbolic efficaciousness, crystallises
the expectations and the hopes of individuals and of
groups, and the greater its size, the greater the pres-
tige radiating from the “place of pilgrimage”. For this
to happen, a subtle equilibrium must be established
between the expectations of individuals and of groups
and their fulfilment in such a manner as to replen-
ish the source. The expectations of individuals and of
groups thus have the power of life and death over
places of pilgrimage. Saints can experience success in
their lifetime and sink into oblivion at their death.
Thus, the body of Idrīs II, the founder of the
Maghribī Śarṭilism, in the 9th/10th century, was broadly a
phenomenon simultaneously religious and political.
Also, when the body of Fās, was “discovered” in 1437, it is obvious
that the “discoverers” had a substantial interest in
restoring the prestige of the Idrīsīds and their reli-
Conditioned by more than a century of belief in the
ancestral prestige of the غرفة [ق.], society readily
accepted the discovery. Moving to al-Kayrawān, the
same considerations are seen presiding over the cult
of Abu Zam’a al-Balawi, a Companion buried in
Tunisian soil. The veneration offered to him seems
to have been linked to the belief that he was buried
with some hair of the Prophet, whose barber he was.
Although it is not known when this veneration began,
it is clear that it is a late phenomenon, the reason
being that the exact site where the pious individual
is buried is not known. The presumed site became the object of ritual interest in the 5th/11th century when a cemetery was created nearby. In the 8th/14th century, local Shi`ism included it among prominent sanctuaries of the town. Consecrated as an “official” maqṣūra, the presumed tomb of the saintly man was surmounted by an octagonal cupola which later was enlarged to become an architectural complex of the zaïla type (S. Bergaoui, La zaïla Sahâbiyya de Kairouan à l’époque moderne, in St. Isavi [1997], 103-32). Returning to Marrakûgh, and moving on to the 10th/16th century, the town is seen “inventing” a pilgrimage to the tomb of the kâdi Lyâd (d. 544/1149) [see ‘Iyad b. Moṣâ]. As to the reasons why the Moroccan city acquired a tomb four centuries after the death of its occupant, no doubt the need was felt for a man of impeccable orthodoxy to validate the ritual process which was being established under the name of zaïra to the sahabî naqâl (H. de Castries, Les sept patrons de Marrakesh, in Hesperis, iv [1924], 245 ff.). Neither in his lifetime nor on his death did the theologian enjoy any particular charisma: “his tomb was little known for the place [where it was sited], was not much frequented until God revived the place though the good offices of al-Fallâh [a Šī`ī saint, died in 1570]”, writes the author of a biographical dictionary of the celebrities of Marrakûgh (al-Marrakushi, Filém, in K. Felchen, Le culte des saints à Marrakesh, Rabat 1996, 91). Examples of the “invention” of pilgrimages could be further multiplied, such as that established at the tomb of Ibn ‘Abbâd al-Rûndî (d. 792/1390) at Fas (P. Nwyia, Ibn Abbâd de Ronda, Beirut 1961, 77-80); such items constitute one of the most thoroughly documented chapters of Maghribi hagiography. Before the 9th/15th century, little information is available concerning these collective pilgrimages. Only one is genuinely known of: that which was witnessed by Ibn Kunufûdî (d. 810/1407 [f.e.]) in 769/1367, when he was a judge in the land of Dukkûla, not far from the town of Asfû, on the Atlantic coast of Morocco. He describes it as an assemblage bringing together “an incalculable number of persons”. From the information supplied it is possible to gain an impression of the sociological position of the pilgrims; those present included ‘uṣâmâ, Sûfis, and members of the general public. Ibn Kunufûdî saw taking place, in the course of these proceedings, trance sessions in which sick people were encouraged to participate; they emerged, he claims, miraculously cured. This pilgrimage took place regularly, but unfortunately it is not known how and under what circumstances it came into being and who precisely was revered there. Other details, such as the question e.g. as to whether women participated in the event, are not available. It is not until the 10th/16th century that the sources begin to describe such assemblages. Numerous ‘uṣâmâ lent their authority to these pilgrimages. There were also many who, without denouncing the principle, deprecated the aberrations and the excesses which accompanied them. Because jurists were often called upon to make rulings on the rites involved in these pious visits, judicial material concerning the phenomenon is abundant from this period onward. The 11th/17th century, in particular, yields a rich harvest of judicial and hagiographical material. A Salâfī scholar of Constantine, Abu al-Karîm Lâfûn, devotes an entire work to denouncing “blameworthy innovations” (sing. ṣid`a [f.e.]) in evidence in the cult of saints in his land. At the same time, he supplies a vivid portrayal of religious life in the region of Constantine. Among numerous examples, there is the following. A man acquires the reputation of a saint. He founds a zaïla which resounds all day long with no pilgrims but fâkhs who come, in large numbers, to congregate around the master. It is they who are responsible for the stewardship of the enterprise and they who visit tribes and villages in the locality to collect the “piety tax” (ṣibayâ and legal alms. The reputation of the saint is extended to cover almost the whole of the Constantine region. Each year, an immense procession (râkî)—the term is also used to denote the cavalcade of pilgrims to the Holy Places—consisting of city-dwellers, peasants and nomads traverses the land in the direction of the zaïla. The pilgrims bring all kinds of offerings: “camels, horses, cattle, sheep” on the part of country people, “râghifs, pieces of cloth, money” on the part of the city-dwellers. To stimulate their pious generosity, the saint reminds them that “he who brings nothing, leaves with nothing”. As a result, rather than make the pilgrimage empty-handed, the less affluent prefer to beg. But it is not only the common people who make the journey; the upper classes also come flocking to fatten the favours of the saint. They offer “horses, clothes and money” (Manshîr al-ḥidâya, 133-4).

At the same time, another scholar, Abu ‘l-Ḥasan al-Yûsûf, denounces activities that were taking place at the eastern extremity of the Maghrib. Analysing a venerated place in the “riḥîq of Sâle”, he states that “it is a place of pilgrimage (maqṣūra) where people seek the baraka of saints who used to be there”. But he adds immediately that “of the latter, in our times, it appears that only one, Yahyâ b. Yûnûs, is very well known to the public, and even he is neglected in the records. Marrâid kings are also there: they are known.” And in conclusion: “All that could be mentioned as sanctifying this place besides these two elements, and which is found in certain pseudo-historic writings, is without foundation or authority” (quoted in Berque, Al-Toua, Paris 1958, 60).

To give a durable framework to these local pilgrimages, the marabouts often made contractual agreements (sing. ṣawt) with their flocks. Investigating, during the 1970s, the contractual relationship of the pilgrimage centre of the Moroccan town of Boujad, Dale Eickelman heard it said that accords had linked the client tribes of the region to the zaïla brotherhood of the Shârkâwâ since the time of the founder, Sîdî Muḥammad al-Shârkî (d. 1010/1601) (Moroccan Islam, Austin, Texas 1976, 169). Credit is due to Jacques Berque for having been the first to draw attention to stipulations of this kind. From the late 1940s, he discovered among the Sâskâwâ of the High Atlas şawts between tribes and local saints; an example was published in his Structures sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris 1955, 21978, 278. These contractual agreements were not confined to Morocco; for some which used to be current in the central Maghrib, i.e. in Algeria, see Houari Touati, Entre Dieu et les hommes, Paris 1994, 259.

Currently, some of these local pilgrimages continue to function with virtually the same degree of fervour as in former times. Such is the case of the Sbî of Timimoun, which annually attracts thousands of pilgrims. But a tâ`âm such as that of the Flîta—organised by the tribe in honour of its saint, Sîdî M’hammed b. ‘Uda, who lived in the 11th/17th century—has not been held since the “Armed Islamist Groups” (GIA), fanatical adversaries of the cult of saints, destroyed this Algerian sanctuary in 1993. In the mid-1950s, it still featured among the most spectacular gatherings...
of the plain (E. Dermenghem describes it as "one of the finest moussems of this type" in his Le culte des saints dans l'islam maghrébin, Paris 1954). The same applies to that held in the High Atlas in honour of Lalla 'Aziza, a saint of the 8th/14th century. Revisiting the site in the footsteps of Berque, twenty years later, the sociologist P. Pascon observes en passant that "a returning emigrant declared openly that he would not sacrifice in accordance with outdated customs... In May 1976, to widen the road, the great katānā [g.s.] of Lalla 'Aziza was pushed into a ravine by a bulldozer... That year, in July, there was not enough attendance to justify the slaughter of a single bull at the sanctuary of the saint" (Structures sociales du Haut Atlas).

These examples show that all kinds of factors have combined to hasten the decline of the great ritual assemblies of the Maghrib. Some result from socioeconomic transformations, others from the assimilation of the majority of the population, and yet others from new modalities of religious socialisation of which the major promoter was initially the nation state, a role adopted today by political parties in Algeria and by groups which are tolerated in Morocco but prohibited in Tunisia, all of which regard themselves as Islamist.

Bibliography: Given in the text.

5. In Persia and other Shi'i lands.

(a) Shi'i ziyāra connected with the maqādha tradition

Shrine culture connected with a maqādha [g.s.]--"place where a martyr died", is a well-established tradition in Shi'i Islam. The concept of ghābāda or martyrdom suffered in the "path of God" [see ma'tufa] played an important role in the development of belief in the sanctity of the Imams' shrines. In Shi'i piety, all Imams are revered as martyrs, and their tombs are sites for annual visitation by Shi'is, who believe that their devotion (wa'āya [g.s.]) to the martyred Imams, expressed through these pilgrimages, will win forgiveness for their sins and a share in the final victory of the messianic Imam al-Mahdi [g.s.]. Pious Shi'is also look upon the shrines as places where they can share in the Imam's sanctity.

The Shi'i shrines are richly endowed, and lavish gifts were bestowed by various Muslim rulers, especially by Shi'i ones. Towns grew up around them, and the sacred areas (haram) were adorned with magnificent and costly ornamentation. All the shrines have some architectural features in common. The tomb lies in a courtyard surrounded by arched halls and cells. Its walls are resplendently decorated with coloured tiles. The entrance to the main rectangular building is through a golden outer hall. In the middle of the central golden-domed chamber lies the shrine, surrounded by a silver enclosure (gharib). Two golden minarets usually flank the entrance to the shrine.

The shrines are important centres of Shi'i learning, and important seminaries (mahdasa [g.s.]) grew up around them. Every Shi'i longs to find a last resting place in the holy precincts of the beloved Imams, and this has resulted in the development of extensive cemeteries at all the shrines, especially at Karbalā', Najaf, and Maqāh [g.s.], and in areas near these shrines.

Of all the Imams, it is al-Husayn b. 'Ali [g.s.] who enjoys the status of the "Chief of Martyrs", having suffered the torments of thirst and hunger in the desert and having been slaughtered by his enemies at Karbalā'. His tomb was probably the first maqādha in Shi'i piety, and was regarded as holy immediately after his martyrdom in 61/680 (al-Majdīṣī, Bihār al-
amūz, ci. K. al-Mazār, is a volume devoted to the merits of ziyāra to Karbalā'). The maqādha of 'Ali at Najaf, near Kūfa, became a public shrine in the early 'Abbasid period (al-Shaykh al-Mufid, K. al-Irshād, Tehran 1351 =1972, i. 14). The maqādha at al-Kāzimayn, near Baghdād, enshrines the tombs of al-Kāzim and al-Djāvād, the seventh and ninth Imams. In Sāmarrā', [g.s.] are buried al-Hādī and al-'Askarī, the tenth and eleventh Imams. The eighth Imam 'Ali al-Riḍā is buried in Sanābād, in the district of Tūs, around which grew up the city of Mashhad. The tombs of Fāṭima, the Prophet's daughter, and other Imams buried in the graveyard of al-Bāki in Medina [see Bākī al-Qibr himself] were levelled to the ground by the Wahhabis in 1925. These Sunnis puritans regard the Shi'i practice of venerating maqādhās as polytheistic (gīrīk) (Goldzihé, Mush. St., Eng. tr. ii, 333).

Besides the Imams, there are numerous shrines dedicated to the ancient prophets like Adam, Noah, Jonathan, and others in and around Najaf, and around other towns in 'Irāk, Palestine, Syria, and southern Turkey. The Imams' sons and daughters (ināmzāda [g.s.] and sayyida or bībī) also receive special reverence in the ziyāra tradition. Among the ināmzādas, the most famous are the shrines of Sayyid Muhammad, the son of 'Ali al-Hādī, in Balad, some 56 km/35 miles south of Sāmarrā', Shāh 'Abd al-Azm al-Husaynī [g.s.] in Kāy, and Shāh Cūrgāh in Shīrāz. The very unusual makhād al-sīk for al-Husayn's miscarried fetus is located west of Aleppo opposite Mount Dāvashān, where women pray for fertility (Yākūt, Būdūn, ii, 156, 308). Miraculous healing powers are attributed to all these places. Among the shrines dedicated to holy women among the ahl-bayt [q.v.] are those of Sayyida Zaynab b. 'Ali and Sayyida Rukayya b. al-Husayn in Damascus; Sayyida Zaynab and Nafisa in Cairo; Bibi Fāṭima, daughter of Māsā al-Kāẓim, the seventh Imam, in Kum; Nādirj Khātūn, the twelfth Imam's mother, and Hākima, the daughter of 'Ali al-Hādī, the tenth Imam, in Sāmarrā'. In addition, the tombs of famous Shi'i scholars are also visited in reverence for their contribution in keeping the Imams' teachings alive. Thus in Najaf the tombs of Shaykh al-Tūsī and 'Allāma al-Hilī are visited; in al-Kāzimayn, al-Shaykh al-Mufid and the Shārifs al-Murtadā and al-Radī; and more recently, on the road to Kūm, the shrine of Ayatūlah Khūmaynī [g.s. in Suppl.].

Besides the mausoleums there are numerous historical places connected with the events of 'Aḥārūrā' [g.s.] at Karbalā' as described in the manuals (makhād al-zā'ir and similar titles), forming a special genre of pious literature, listing the holy places and the recommended rituals of visitation composed by prominent Shi'i scholars (see al-Majdīṣī, op. cit.). Kūfā boasts of several historical mosques connected with the Imams and their prominent disciples, which draw huge crowds.

(b) Rituals connected with ziyāra

Ziyyara to the tombs of the Shi'i Imams and their descendants is a religious recommendation for the Shi'is (Ibn Kawlawayh al-Kummi, Kāmil al-ziyāra, Najaf 1356/1937, 294). From early days, it was common for both the Shi'is and Sunnis to undertake pilgrimages to these and other shrines. Unlike the hāqiqā, ziyyara to these shrines may be undertaken at any time, although certain days are specially recommended, and in regard to some shrines, pilgrimage is associated with a special lunar month or season of the year. Thus the ziyyara of Sayyida Zaynab in Cairo is performed in Rajab; whereas that of Imam al-Riḍā in Maqāh is recommended in Dhu 'l-Ka'ba. That of
imâmzâda Sultan 'Ali near Kâshân is held on the seventh day of autumn. It is only the ziyâra of al-Husayn at Kârbâlî that, besides on major occasions like 'Aqîda, is recommended every Thursday evening. On these evenings, the masghâd is thronged with crowds of pilgrims from many lands.

The performance of ziyâra is regarded by the pilgrims as an act of covenant renewal between the holy person and his devotees. This is a covenant of love, sincere obedience and devotion on the part of the believers. Through ziyâra, one participates in the sufferings and sorrows of the Prophet and his progeny. He who cannot undertake the arduous and expensive journey to the shrines of the Imàms can go to the wilderness, or up onto a high roof in one's house, and then turn towards the kibîa and pronounce the special salutations (ziyâra-nâma) meant for various specific occasions. Although distinction is made between the ziyâra of the Imàms and of other holy persons, Shî'î scholars have regarded it as permissible to show all of them honour and respect by addressing them in a prescribed way, some of these salutations being narrated directly from the Imàms. However, the ziyâra of the Imàms is followed by two units rated directly from the Imàms. However, the ziyâra functioned as substitutes for the shrines of certain Imàms in the Kızîl Ored oblast of Kazakhstan, is set forth by the family of its custodians as “the Second Mecca” of the Kazakhhs.

In eastern Turkistan, pilgrims would in the first place make a circuit of the tombs of Satûk Bughrâ Khan at Artûsh, of Abû Khâda Hâdîyat Allâh at Kâshgâr and Ishàk Wall at Yarkand. But at the present time, the great pilgrimages of Sinkiang/Xinjiang are made to the tombs of Ordâm Pâdîghâh at Yangi Hîsâr and Tûnîkh Khâdîîgân at Turfan (see Abdulrahîm Hâbiullah, Uyghûr etnograjisi, Şinjiang Khâlîk Nâşirîyati, Ürümchi, i, [1993], 349).

The curator of these holy places is either simple keepers (turbedîr) or descendants of the saint, usually Sûfîs. Their main function is to act as intercessors (ggaddî) for the pilgrims but they also instruct the visitors about the appropriate acts of devotion at the sites they control. Finally, they administer the alms and the offerings (money, cereals, animals, etc.), which are called, in Turkey and the Balkans, adak, ndîr and sometimes ndîz, or vow. In Central Asia, one also finds the terms sadaka and the Arabic-Persian Turkish compound ndâz–ndâzmanîk. Women, kept away from places of devotion in orthodox Islam, form the greater part of visitors to a ziyâra; most saints are reputed to be able to solve problems strictly affecting women (sterility, marriage, etc.) and to cure all sorts of ailments (see Lillian Masolovîc-Marsol, Tombes de saints musulmans et guérison; une approche anthropologique, in Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique, Ankara 1996). But the reasons for pilgrimage are various, and concern men also: simple devotion, mystical interest, cures, social success, etc. The actual acts of devotion are, as a general rule, the same as those practised in the rest of the Islamic world but with some local peculiarities. Circumambulation (tawaf) is made round the tomb, habitually in an upright position but occasionally on all fours as at Hâdîîgî Bektûsh in Anatolia, and at certain tombs is accompanied by fumigations (odoriferous and medicinal plants). Tawaf may also be made round a holy object situated near the tomb, such as a hundred-year old tree at that of Bahît al-Dîn Nâshâhband. Veneration may also be focused on an object other than the actual tombstone: a black stone and ram’s horns at the previously-mentioned shrine; a cauldron that of Ahmad Yasawi at Turkistan [q.v.] in Kazakhstan and at Hâdîîgî Bektûsh; and suchlike. As well as circumambulation, the pilgrim sometimes kisses the tomb or the doorstep or the sides of the door leading into the funeral chamber, or any other object connected with the saint. Another usage, especially common in the Turkish world, is to hang pieces of cloth on nearby trees or the windows of the mausoleum. One sometimes even comes across inflated sheep’s skins (e.g. tomb of Mûsâ Kâzîm at Khoţan in eastern Turkistan). The practice of settling down in a tomb, for some hours or a whole night, is attested at several tombs. The texts read by the person filling the role of intercessor are restricted to some Kur’ânic sûras (generally the Fâtihâ).
and XXXVI, Yasin) and other formulae consecrated by centuries of practice, but also Persian poetry (e.g. ʿUmar Khayyām in Tadjikistan) or Turkish chants called gulbenk or taşgilmān (Hadđīj Bektash). Certain prayers, or 'taqīyyāt' (in the form ziyâra) and other formulae consecrated by centuries of practice, but also Persian poetry (e.g. at Taqī-ī Sulaymān; see Zāim Khchenelou, Le mythe et le culte de Salomon dans l’espace musulman, doctoral thesis, EHESS, Toulouse 1998). Although condemned by Islamic orthodoxy, the ziyâra has maintained itself in the Turkish world because of its important role in popular religion. The rites of pilgrimage have admittedly undergone changes and have often disappeared round certain tombs under Marxist regimes in the Balkans, Central Asia and Sinkiang, as also in Kemalist Turkey. Also, the effects of desacralisation have deeply modified the functioning of the ziyâra in certain high places (e.g. at Hadđīj Bayrān, Taqī-ī Sulaymān and Afdaq Khadjā). Within Turkey, with the relaxation of Communism in the former USSR, the ziyâra has been reconstituted on new foundations but still connected with the old traditions. In Sinkiang, although ziyâra is sometimes forbidden and sometimes tolerated but still regarded with disapproval, it remains a much-followed practice in popular circles (see Th. Zarcone, Quand le saint legitime la politique. Le mausolée de Afdaq Khadjā à Kashgour, in Central Asian Survey (1999).


(Th. Zarcone)

7. In Muslim India.

Except in the north-east of Pakistan, where it can denote the place (generally a tomb) to which pilgrimages are made, elsewhere in the Indian subcontinent the term ziyâra (in the form ziyâra) signified an actual pilgrimage. A tomb which is visited is called a maqâm, or, if it belongs to a famous saint, a dângîh, i.e. a palace, since the saint is treated as the true master of the territory, like a sultan (see under 6.). The greatest place of pilgrimage in India are the tombs of the five great saints of the Châtiâyya brotherhood. It is said that a visit to these five tombs is worth a pilgrimage to Mecca. There are other saints, more localised but also very famous, such as Ghâzî Miyyân (g.v.) at Bakraîkh in northern India.

These visits may be made by individuals on any day, especially in the evening; individual and collective visits take place once a week, generally on a Thursday evening, or once a month. Big festivities are always organised once a year on the anniversary of the death of the saint. They are known as ‘urs, i.e. "mystical nuptials", and not mawâlid "birth", as they are in the Arab world; they give rise to large pilgrimages where the faithful are present in great numbers. Here special attention will be paid to the great feasts in order to analyse the different elements of the pilgrimage.

Firstly, there is the journey itself, travelling from the place of residence of the pilgrim to the sanctuary and then back again. This is done, as it is for marriages, in a procession, with standard-bearers, musicians and even dancers, who are considered to be a good omen, at the front. The most famous procession in Indian history was the one to the sanctuary of Ghâzî Miyyân in northern India, which was the one that the Mughal emperor Akbar (963-1014/1556-1605 [g.v.]) liked to watch.

Then comes the veneration of the tomb itself, when the faithful all approach one by one to honour the saint who resides there. They touch the tomb, leave perfumes and flowers there, and often make a circumbulation. This is the tawaf, which in India is often performed clockwise, considered to be a good omen for Hindus, in contrast to a counter-clockwise motion in the Arab world. This is a sign of acculturisation which seems to have been only little noticed.

Then there is the transaction which takes place between the believer, the saint and God. This is the most important moment for the pilgrimage and gives rise to conflicting interpretations. The strictly orthodox view, which is expressed in the wording of the invocation, the du’â’, demands that the offerings and prayers be addressed directly to God, beseeching Him to grant merit to the saints and the faithful. The spontaneous interpretation by the faithful is quite different; in exchange for their prayers and their offerings they invoke the intercession (jâb’ilâ) of the saints to obtain favours for themselves, which are more often of a material rather than of a spiritual nature. The Muslim conquerors used to pray for victory; today, politicians continue to come and beg for success. These transactions may take the form of a vow, a sort of commercial bargaining, where the believer undertakes to perform this or that offering in return for this or that favour.

A fourth element which is not always present is communal. Animals are sacrificed in the name of the saint, or the first fruits of the harvest are offered to him, and these are then consumed in a banquet.

A fifth element, which could be termed the ecstatic, uses music and dance as a medium. Ideally, it concerns mystical chants which are performed by specially trained musicians or kawwsārs, and they may well induce ecstatic dances. The most beautiful climactic, which is repeatedly found in Indian Sufism, in particular at the tomb of Mu’in al-Dîn Châjid at Agimer,
arises by dying from exhaustion in an ecstatic dance. These dances, however, may also change into a fair, like the great Hindu fane celebration with the dancers and prostitutes. Such pilgrimages allow the faithful to leave their everyday environment, to establish contact with the divine world by the intermediary of saints, and even to have a foretaste of the Hereafter through ecstasy. They return home with the hope of favours in this world and assurance for the Hereafter. Even though these great pilgrimages have borrowed Indian elements (they are often called melâ, a fair, like the great Hindu gatherings), they still remain Islamic in their greatest features; they are focused on the tombs of the saints and not on deities, and they appeal to the rites and mystical techniques characteristic of Muslims.


8. In Indonesia.

Undertaking pilgrimages to spiritually or magically potent sites is a well-established practice in most parts of Indonesia. Spread throughout the archipelago, there are numerous sacred sites. Most of them are of local importance only but some attract visitors nationwide. Sites for ziarah (thus the Bahasa Indonesian form) can be divided in two main categories: graves of religious and worldly Muslim leaders such as kings, and high nobles; and sites that are considered laden with power due to their natural environment. The most popular Muslim saints are the wali sanga, the founders of Islam in Indonesia [see wâli. 7]. The graves of originators of pesanren [q.v.] (kâit), can have local fame and are visited weekly, especially by alumni and students of the pesanren (Z. Dhôfiher, Tradisi pesanren, studi tentang pandangan hidup kâiti, Jakarta 1985, Eng. tr. The role of the Kâiti in the maintenance of traditional Islam in Java, Tempe, Arizona 1999). Most graves are part of a mausoleum, with the main saint in the middle and his students and family members buried around him. The reasons for undertaking a ziarah vary from making a request to the saint, praying to God and fulfilling a vow, to seeking blessing, power and esoteric knowledge (ngeluh).

Especially on Java, numerous pre-Islamic sites for ziarah still testify of the gradual process of Islamisation that accommodated syncretistic Javanese Hindu-Buddhist beliefs and practices (agama itawu). These influences on what later became orthodox Islam (Islam santri) shaped the customs practiced at many sites of ziarah (for a description of Javanese beliefs, see Koentjaraningrat, Javanese culture, Singapore 1985). Furthermore, pre-Islamic beliefs in the potency of certain natural areas, such as spiritually significant cosmic mountains, resulted in holy graves being placed on top of mountains. Pre-Islamic influences are especially noticeable in various architectural elements, such as the entrance gates to the graves of the wali sanga like Sunan Ampel and Sunan Giri in east Java and Sunan Bayat in Tembayat in central Java.

Certain locations are considered to be cosmic centres that possess the same degree of spiritual power as can be encountered in Mecca. Hence ziarah in the Malay world can be a substitute for those Muslims who cannot afford the hajjīj to Mecca. An example of such a centre is Mount Ciremai in Kuningan. Indonesian Muslims believe that climbing up and down this mountain three times can be considered equal to performing the Meccan Pilgrimage. Also, there are certain sites (such as Kubur Panjang at Leran near Gresik) where pilgrims go in preparation for the hajjīj.

The timing for performing a ziarah is determined by a complex system of the coinciding of weekly cycles based on the Muslim and the Javanese calendars. The nights prior to Fridays, when the first day of the five-day Javanese week coincides with the Muslim week of seven days (Jumaat Klucen, Jumaat Paing, or Jumaat Legi), are believed to be times when the power of tombs is especially potent. On those nights, the main tombs are open, while during other days visitors can only derive blessing from the general atmosphere at mausolea. These specific times for ziarah are also considered the most beneficial in bringing requests for intercession to the saint. The students of a kâiti traditionally gather at the grave of their master once a week, preferably on Thursday night. For the more Islamic Javanese pilgrims, the Eve of the first of Syaw, the first month of the Javanese year, is the pre-eminent time to make a pilgrimage.

Customs practiced during ziarah also depend on the purely Islamic or purely Hindu-Javanese character of the tomb. In Imogiri (south of Yogyakarta), at the enormous mausoleum of the first Javanese Muslim kings of the Mataram empire, there are pilgrims who practice a wide range of purely Javanese practices, while others limit themselves to Islamic observances. The Javanese practices include ascetic feats and forms
of Javanese meditation (semedi and tapd) in order to obtain magical power with the help of the once-powerful king, and the bringing of offerings (sesgjen) in the form of a blessed ceremonial meal (slamatan). At the same time, the Muslim character of the kings might be honoured by reciting the Kur'an near their graves or by performing tahlilan, a type of dhikr (for ziarah to Javanese-Islamic sites, see Woodward, Islam in Java, ch. 5; J. Pemberton, On the subject of “Java,” Ithaca and London 1994, ch. 7). At the tombs of Muslim saints, it is mostly Islamic customs which prevail, such as reciting the Kur'an and performing dhikr or tahlilan. Once a year, a khaul is held to honour the day the saint passed away or was born. This celebration may take from one day to a week and is similar to the celebration of the mawlid [g.v.].

The purposes of these visits range from cleaning the graves (nyekar) of deceased relatives, which is done mostly in the week prior to the beginning of Ramadhan. The practice of such visits range from cleaning the graves and the recitation of religious texts for the benefit of the deceased to seeking blessings from the deceased ancestors. The term is often used in the sense of “holy place” in Central and West Africa.

The practice of ziarah has spread with the expansion of the Sufi orders, particularly the Kadiiriyya and the Tijjaniyya [g.v.]. Although historical evidence is meagre, it seems that tombs became the destination of pious visits in Air and in the area of Timbuktu [g.v., and see KUNTA] in the course of the 19th century. The habit of such visits also started at the tomb of 'Uthman b. Fudi [g.v.] in Sokoto shortly after his death in 1232/1817. Probably as early as the first half of the 19th century, annual festivals were celebrated by members of both the Kadiiriyya and the Tijjaniyya on the occasion of the mawlid [g.v.] of 'Abd al-Kadir al-Djilani (d. 561/1166) during the month of Rabii I or the hawl of Ahmad al-Tijjani (d. 1230/1815) during the month of Safar. There is also evidence that performing the ziarah to the Prophet's tomb at Medina was for the rule of most, if not all, Africans who undertook the hajj.

In the 20th century, the visitation to the tombs of saints has become a common practice for many ordinary Muslims in West and Central Africa. As an example, one might point to Senegal and its Holy Cities Touba and Tivaouane, which house the tombs of Ahmadu Bamba, founder of the Muridiyya [g.v.]. Sufi order and al-Hajdj Malik Sy, founder of the biggest branch of the Tijjaniyya in the country [see SENEGAL]. However, it seems that ziarah, in the sense of visiting the tomb of a holy man, is not as widespread a practice in sub-Saharan Africa as it is in the Maghrib or in Egypt, a fact strongly (and perhaps over-) emphasized by Trimmingham. There are few shrines to be found in the area, and even lower is the number of tombs surmounted by a kubba. Instead of visiting the dead, intercession is sought rather than the living.

In Senegal, ziarah (Wolof, ziara) refers to the visits to annual festivals held on the occasion of a saint's birthday, death or other significant event in his life. The locus of these visits is not necessarily the saint's tomb. Touba is the destination of the magal, a pilgrimage held in the month of Safar to commemorate the departure of Ahmadu Bamba to his exile in Gabon in 1895. This festival has not been without political significance in the past and has in recent years attracted more than one million people annually. Apart from the great magal, members of the Muridiyya order nowadays celebrate magal festivities for a growing number of more or less important religious leaders. Similarly, the leaders of the Tijjaniyya order mobilise their membership to attend regular meetings known as gamou, a term originally applied to the mawlid festivities held on the Prophet's birthday. The gamou during the month of Rabii I remains the most important event in the ziarah calendar of the Senegalise Tijjaniyya, but there are now similar festivals to commemorate Tijjani leaders throughout the year.

Owing to the lack of research, it is difficult to say anything definite on the practice of ziarah in other parts of West and Central Africa. We know of guidebooks for pilgrims and travel accounts written by Nigerian scholars on visiting the Prophet's tomb at

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**ZIYARA**

9. In Central and West Africa.

Ziara, originally a technical term for the visitation of tombs of saintly persons, has assumed a wider meaning in Central and West Africa. Whereas the term is often used in the sense of “holy place” in parts of Muslim Asia, in the African context ziarah denotes a pious visit to a shaykh living or dead, as well as the visit to the celebrations of a saint's life. However, there are only scanty references to ziarah in the literature.

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Medina or the tomb of Ahmad al-Tidjam at Fas. But apart from the case of 'Uthman b. Fudl, there is no evidence in the literature of festivals dedicated to the memory of Nigerian holy men, although we can assume that they exist, e.g. among the Kadiiriyya of Kano. The Hausa and speakers of other African languages use the Arabic word ziyara to refer to these pious visits. In the town of Nioro du Sahel (Mali), members of religious lineages organise annual events visited by followers from far away.

Apart from the pilgrimage performed to a saint's festival, the term ziyara refers also to formal visits in various social contexts. In a strict sense, ziyara is an occasion at which people pay their respects to a holy man. The motives for such pious visits might range from tabarruk, i.e. the wish to participate in the saint's blessing, to more concrete concerns, such as asking the saintly person for supplicatory prayers (da'a' [q.v.]) or for assistance in a specific worldly matter. Women and men may seek the shaikh's help to find a remnant of infertility or may just visit the shaikh on account of his healing power; peasants may ask the shaikh to drive away locusts or to pray for rain.

Another peculiarity of ziyara in West Africa is the practice of offering gifts to the shaikh. This custom has come to be so closely associated with pious visits that in some areas the term ziyara not only means "visits", but also the donations that a shaikh receives from his disciples in kind or in money. A religious leader might undertake a journey to "collect ziyara", particularly in cases where the followers are not able to make the trip to see their shaikh.

Ziyara can be described as the direct link between a living shaikh of a Sufi order and his followers. Members of the Tidjaniyya order affiliated with the Senegalese shaikh Ibrahîm Niassé (d. 1395/1975) perform the ziyara on the Prophet's birthday, when huge crowds gather for celebrations at Kaolack, the home town of Niassé, and in the city of Kano. In addition, Niassé used to call upon his followers to visit him at least once a year in order to submit a donation, receiving the master's baraka [q.v.] in return. For this purpose, a date is fixed annually after the harvest, the time when the disciples from rural areas are most likely to donate large amounts of money or contribute in kind. The following were told to ziyarîs is the key to the gates of right guidance and well-being. The same practice is continued by leaders of the Tidjaniyya affiliated to Niassé elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, who use the occasion to talk and preach to their followers. More recently, the disciples of Niassé in such countries as Senegal, Gambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon and Chad have introduced a festival on 15 Rajjab to commemorate Niassé's birthday.

Bibliography:

(R. Seeemann)

10. In the Horn of Africa.

As in the rest of the Islamic world, ziyârât are a common feature of Islam in the Horn of Africa. Primary and secondary materials detailing such pilgrimages are limited; enough information exists, however, for us to draw a rough outline of these popular practices. The objects of veneration fall into roughly two categories. First are the grave sites of lineage ancestors esteemed for their position as eponymous clan founders and of traditional saints believed instrumental in the introduction of Islam to the region. The second category comprises more recent holy men associated primarily with the introduction of Sûfî tânik [see 'tarîkh] in the late 19th century and venerated for their piety and direct connections with the divine. Whether seeking material assistance in this world or spiritual connection with the next, pilgrimages to the burial places of these blessed individuals play a central role in the lives of Muslims in the Horn and eastern Africa.

Among the most notable tombs belonging to the first category are those of Shaykhs Isaq and Daarood, the eponymous founders of the Somali Isaq and Daarood clan families, respectively. Believed to have been immigrants from southern Arabia, Somali tradition has provided both ancestors with Sârîfî credentials and sanctified their burial places as sites of annual pilgrimage. The ziyara to Shaykh Isaq's purported resting place, for instance, takes place soon after the grain harvest in the Isaq heartland of the north. Thousands of pilgrims, primarily from the Isaq clan as well as their client lineages, gather at the Shaykh's tomb in Mait on the northern Somali coast as well as at other shrines dedicated to him throughout the north. While taking the shape of a religious pilgrimage, as I.M. Lewis points out, the primary object of such celebrations is the reification of clan unity and social identity rather than supplication to the spirit.

The traditional burial places of holy men associated with the arrival of Islam in the Horn are also popular objects of pilgrimage. The most important sites include the tombs of Shaykh Mumin Abdullah in Bay and Shaykh Aw Barkadle near Hargeisa [q.v.], both located in Somalia, and the shrine of Shaykh Nur Husayn of Bale in Ethiopia. Venerated as the propagators of the true faith, they are also revered as patrons and protectors. The Somali clansmen in Bay visit Shaykh Mumin's tomb, largely in order to seek protection for their crops from predatory birds. Aw Barkadle, renowned for destroying the evil magician Buur Ba'ir, is viewed as a guarantor of fertility and guard against miscarriage. Shaykh Nur Husayn is venerated by the Oromo in Ethiopia as a general patron responsible for their overall well-being and serves as a central icon of their Muslim identity.

In addition to these sites of traditional figures, the tombs of more recent religious figures, especially those associated with the Sîfi movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, are also the objects of veneration. Tombs belonging to the primary initiators of the tânik constitute the main sites of visitation, although lesser figures of each order are also fre-
Visits to the tombs of these saints for their own special intentions, the majority of pilgrims come seeking enlightenment and a spiritual closeness to the saint that in turn will place them in greater proximity to God. As one learned pilgrim to the tomb of Shaykh Uways noted, “there exists no barrier between the 1 individual’s own mystical knowledge by obtaining izjizat from the caretakers of each tomb, frequently the descendants of the deceased saint, for the right to recite and transmit various prayers and formule believed to assist one on the path towards union with the divine.

The timing of pilgrimages as well as the ceremonies conducted at each varies from site to site. Ziyádirt to so-called “traditional” sites are frequently tied to important points in the local calendar. The pilgrimage to Shaykh Isaq’s tomb, for instance, occurs shortly after the annual grain harvest. In contrast, the annual visit to the tomb of Shaykh Mumin occurs in the spring, soon after the planting. In other cases, pilgrimages are tied to the lunar Islamic calendar. The ziyràra of Asw Barkhadle is held, for example, on the first Friday during the “dark period” of Qumadàd. Similarly, pilgrimages to the tombs of saints connected with the tâqû occur on the anniversary of each saint’s death as marked on the lunar calendar. However, pilgrims, especially members of the ‘ulamâ’, continue to visit these sites throughout the year seeking blessings and spiritual enlightenment. An interesting combination of these two patterns occurs with the ziyrâra of the tomb of Shaykh Nâr Hûsâyin of Bâle. The main feast day for the saint is set on the traditional date of his birth, which is fixed on a Tuesday at the beginning of August according to the traditional Oromo calendar. The month is known in Oromifan as jîn Shaykh Hûsâyin, or the Moon of Shaykh Hûsâyin. However, another feast day is held during the ‘1d al-arîf during the month of Dhu ‘l-Hejijja coinciding with the end of the hajj.

Likewise, ceremonies surrounding each pilgrimage vary widely. The centerpiece of most visits is the viewing of the tomb in order to make supplications for oneself or on behalf of others. This is generally accompanied by numerous animal sacrifices and the recitation of ka‘sidâns [g.v.] dedicated to the saint.

Visits to saints connected with the tâqû are largely limited to these activities, along with a heavy emphasis on sermons, religious lessons and frequent prayer. Visits to the tombs of “traditional” saints frequently include additional rituals required to complete the ceremony. At the ziyràra of Asw Barkhadle, for instance, a great deal of emphasis is placed on the veneration of various relics (including a gold embossed Kur‘ân and a bed post purported to belong to the saint). A formal procession to a nearby hilltop believed to be the site of the saint’s victory over the magician Bu‘r âr is the highlight of the pilgrimage, which is then completed with the performance of the ghurmà prayer.

The pilgrimage to Shaykh Nâr Hûsâyin’s tomb is even more tightly choreographed and includes numerous ceremonies that replicate elements of the pilgrimage to Mecca. Pilgrims enter the sanctuary via a gate called Bâbb al-Salâm, as do those who enter Mecca. They then proceed to kiss and touch a black stone known as the darâra bâshû that Nâr Hûsâyin is popularly believed to have brought from Mecca. Finally, pilgrims perform a ritual stoning of the devil in the nearby valley, Khâchamsar, in imitation of the same hajj ritual.

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ZIYARIDS, a petty dynasty of Dîlîf’/Daylamî stock which ruled in the provinces at the southeastern corner of the Caspian Sea, Tabaristan and Gurgân, from 319/931 to ca. 483/1090; their rise to power forms part of the general upsurge of the Daylamî peoples during the 4th/10th and early 5th/11th centuries [see DAYLAM]. In the earlier, more vital half of the dynasty’s existence, members of the family were at times able to pursue independent policies, but at others, they had to acknowledge the Sâmânîds [g.v.], and sometimes the Bûyîds [see BUWAYHIDS], as their suzerains; and after 400/1011-12 they became vassals of the Ghaznavids for some 25 years and then of the Sâlûqs. Unlike some others of the Daylamî princes of northern Persia who had inclinations towards Shi‘ism, the Ziyârîds were Sunni.

The founder of the line, Mardâwîdî b. Ziyâr, claimed descent from the royal house of Gîfân. He rose to power as a mercenary commander within the vacuum of authority in northwestern Persia after the decline of direct caliphal control there, and by 322/934, shortly before his assassination, was master of Dîjbâl and even of Ahwâz. For details of his career, see MARDAWÎD."
the support of the Sāmānids. After a struggle, Bīsūṭīn gained control of Tabaristan and Gurgān through an alliance with the Būyids, marrying a daughter of Ādud al-Dawla b. Rūkūn al-Dawla (q.v.). On Bīsūṭīn's death in 367/978, Kābūs managed, with Būyid help, to set aside Bīsūṭīn's minor son and succeeded in the Ziyārid capital Gurgān. But after 369/970 Kābūs's relations with his protectors soured. He was ejected by a Būyid army from his principality, which was then placed under direct Būyid rule for seventeen years, whilst Kābūs remained an exile in Sāmānīd Khurāsān. Only in 388/998 was he able to return, establishing good relations with the successor to the Sāmānids in Khurāsān, Māhmdūd of Ghazna, but ruling as an independent sovereign. For details, see Kābūs b. Wūshmāghīr.

Kābūs's tyranny led to his downfall and replacement by his son Mānūčīr in 402/1012, with his death in the following year. For the remaining eighty years or so of the Ziyārid dynasty's existence, the historical sources become much more sparse and then almost non-existent, and Ziyārid coins disappear after 383/990. Ziyārids for whom we have firm information are Kay Kāwūs b. Iskandar b. Kābūs, the famed author of the Kābūs-nāma, named after his grandfather, who died ca. 480/ca. 1087 [see KAY KĀWŪS], and his shadowy son Gīlān Shāh. The latter's end is wholly unknown, but he may have been overthrown by the Nižārī Ismāʿīlīs of the Elburz region, with a consequent end to the dynasty ca. 483/ca. 1090.

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ZMĀLA denotes in origin a tribe of western Algeria; secondly, a mode of semi-nomadic social organisation, illustrated notably by the celebrated community gathered round the amir 'Abd al-Kādir [see 'ABD AL-KĀDIR B. MUNĪṬ L-DĪN AL-HĀSHĪ] in the middle years of the 19th century; and thirdly, inspired by 'Abd al-Kādir's system and by others, under the Gallicised form Smala, an institutionalised strategic system adopted during the time of the French presence in Algeria.

1. The tribe of the Zmāla in history.

The Zmala inhabited the lower northern slopes of the Tessālā, as well as the plain of Mīṭa, traversed

**Genealogy of the Ziyārid dynasty**

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by the Wād Ghasul which separated their territory from that of the Dwāyɛr [Dawrur [p.e.]]. It was on this plain that Dwāyɛr and Zmala gathered together after the harvest season before migrating with their herds to the Tessala in March, then returning to the plain for the harvest. Their economy was of a semi-nomadic type. A tradition refers the origin of the Zmala back to the arrival of the army of the Sultan of Morocco, Mawlāy Isma‘īl, in 1118/1707, but al-Maṣḥaṭī (12th/18th century) reckoned that Zmala was in fact the name given to the Wānṣa, a segment of the Ulād ‘Abd Allāh, of the conquest of Banū ‘Amīr (Beni ‘Amer), an origin compatible with the subsequent absorption of various elements. After the capture of Oran [see WAHRĀN] in 1206/1792, Muhammad b. ‘Uthmān al-Kabīr rewarded the Zmala for their military assistance in the siege by distributing land to them and permitting their leading families to settle in the town.

In 1830, the Bey of Oran had four aghas. The Agha of the Zmala was obliged to levy taxes on the rāqa (= rāṣqa) tribes in the territory called Ya‘kūbīyya al-Shark, to the south-east of Mascara. In exchange for public order services, the Bey granted them the use of inalienable land (ard sāyga) which could be withdrawn from them in case of disloyalty to the government.

After the fall of Algiers, Dwāyɛr and Zmala, led by al-Maṣzārī, nephew of Mustafa b. Ismā‘īl, attempted reconciliation with the Sultan of Morocco. Another group, commanded by Muṣṭafā b. Ismā‘īl, remained loyal to the Bey of Oran. At this time, French troops took possession of the city in a surprise attack. The locality was to remain completely isolated until the conclusion of the Desmichels Treaty on 26 February 1834. During this period, intervention by the Moroccans in Tlemcen culminated in the pillage of the city.

Rallying for the most part to ‘Abd al-Kādir in 1833, the Zmala participated until 1835 in his makhzan. Twice in 1833 a French column raided the encampments of the Zmala at the foot of Djebel Tafraḥ in the mountains of the Tessala. The Zmala were obliged to promise to abandon ‘Abd al-Kādir, to settle on the plain of Messergin, supply hostages and pay taxes to the French.

After the signing of the Desmichels Treaty, discord erupted between the Beni ‘Amer and the Dwāyɛr. The Agha of the Zmala, and the Dwāyɛr and Zmala, were joined by some of the Zmala. After several battles, a segment of the latter took refuge near Mers el-Kebir. It was not until June 1251/1835 that a majority of the Dwāyɛr and of the Zmala submitted definitively to French authority, signing the so-called “Fig-tree” Convention on 16 June 1835. Dwāyɛr and Zmala recognised French sovereignty, accepted Muslim chieftains appointed by the Governor-General, paid an annual tribute and supplied armed contingents, guides and spies, in return for protection against attacks by neighbouring tribes, pay and provisions during campaigns, and the replacement of horses killed in action. The Zmala returned to Oran in July 1835 with some of the Dwāyɛr, some of the Gharbīa and a number of black Africans, leading to the creation by the French in 1845 of an enclave known as the “Black Village”.

At the time of the Mascara expedition (25 November-12 December 1251/1835) [see AL-MU‘ASKAR] the Algerian camp was weakened by the defection of Muhammad al-Maṣzārī, who joined the French forces at the head of a group of Dwāyɛr and of Zmala. He was named Agha of the Bey of Mostaganem and Agha of the plain of Oran.

In March 1837 a fixed camp was established at Messergin to protect the tents of the Dwāyɛr and of the Zmala. Furthermore, after the signing of the treaty of Tafna (30 May 1837), the French element remained a minority, while more than a third of the Dwāyɛr and three-quarters of the Zmala were still with ‘Abd al-Kādir. In 1837, pay was allocated to these irregulars, generally superior to that offered by ‘Abd al-Kādir, who sought to attract them to his side, along with the Kurghān [see KU-LOGH], offering them employment, cattle and land. Their role was generally limited to the functions of couriers, transport, surveillance and public order, escorting and relaying of posts. Thus they provided reconnaissance for the flanks and the vanguard of the two divisions sent 18 May 1841 from Mostaganem against Tā‘ḍemt. In September of the same year, their number rose to about a thousand.

The dispersion of the zmala of ‘Abd al-Kādir (see below, 2 (a)) took place on 16 May 1843, but the intensification of the anti-French struggle was marked in 1845 by the abandonment of Oran in one night by those of the Dwāyɛr and the Zmala who had remained loyal, camping in the shelter of the French artillery.

Subsequently, the Zmala saw their territories considerably reduced. Thus from 1846 onward, the lands of the Zmala were included in the zone destined for colonisation, to the north of the Oran–Mascara road. Marshal Bugeaud opposed their “constriction”, preferring to see them fragmented around Oran. The Zmala were then progressively resettled in inhospitable and mountainous zones, while their population grew from 5,250 to 6,230 between 1845 and 1866. In 1867, they were divided into two principal groups: one on the southern slopes of Djebel Murdjdjūn, of some 600 persons, the other on the border of the Sebkha.

Like the rest of the Algerian population, they were decimated by famines and epidemics. Their watercourses were diverted, which not only had the effect of ruining the Zmala but also permitted seizure of the salt-pan of Arzew, vital for the economy of Oran.


2. War Ministry Archives. H 225, G. Tatareau, Notice sur les tribus de la province d’Oran (with map), Oran 1833; H 236, Province d'Oran, tribus insurgées, restées fidèles, tribus soumises (1845); arrêté portant organisation de la cavalerie indigène auxiliaire soldée en Algérie, sous la dénomination de Makhzan, in Le Moniteur Algérien, no. 567, 30 December 1845, 1-2.


2. The mode of social organisation.

Popularised during the French invasion of Algeria under the term zmala, the term denotes that which a person or tribe carries when in motion, i.e. all one's goods, with nothing left behind (lā yuʿkhdhā min mālik gāyī), LA, s.s. azmala. The form given by Ibn Manẓūr, although it attests to an ancient use of the root in this sense, does not take into account a possible Berber origin. There is no reason not to envisage a hybrid. The extension of the term illustrates the fusion in operation between Berber and Arab tribes in the central Maghrib. Tribes of Arab origin moving through the Tell and the Sahara are sometimes called zmāliyya Arabs and there exists an adjective of relation, zmīlī, formed on this root (e.g. among the Dwayer).

A tribe, or a group of horsemen organised into a tribe, comes together and organises itself into a zmala at a time of movement in an unsafe region or in a period of conflict. They are associated with a hostel or staging post (kunāk, knāk) and placed under the authority of a holy person (murābēt = murābī) who lives in the encampment (gatna) and arbitrates cases in litigation. Responsible for the bivouac, especially from the point of view of security, he is exempt from tax. Zmala horsemen patrol the territory and participate in the maintenance of order. They accompany the annual round of tax collection. Strategic roads, in particular, were dotted with these zmala encampments. The horsemen were commanded by a kāned ez-zmālā endowed with a special bodyguard.

Such a type of "mobile capital" was necessary as a compromise method of gathering together the dispersed forces of Algeria to resist the French enemy. It also played a considerable role in the internal politics of the amīr 'Abd al-Kādir.

(a) The zmāla of 'Abd al-Kādir

The story of the amīr's resistance to the French is told in the article 'abd al-kādir b. muḥyī l-dīn, and only the aspects relating to his zmāla will be addressed in the present article.

From 1839 onwards, the amīr had instructed his kḥadājis and all the dignitaries of Mascara and of Tlemcen to leave the town and live in tents in the zmāla. Combatants originating from all the regions of the former Regency and influential persons from the whole of Orana, including Algerians, joined the zmāla on an individual basis, as did Tunisians and especially Moroccans. The amīr used his horses and his horses in the traditional harassment tactic of kan wa-farr (charge and retreat). As the French struggled to cope with an elusive enemy, warfare became total from 1841 onward.

Numerous descriptions make it possible to envisage the structure and organisation of the zmāla at the zenith of 'Abd al-Kādir's powers. His personal tent was at the centre of his own dawwār, backing on one side against that of Lālā Zohra, his mother (d. 1279/1861), one of the few women venerated for her piety (murābīta = murābīhā), and on the other that of his wife Khayra, his sister Kḥadīja and his children. Adjacent to that of the amīr was the tent of the guests. On account of its size, the zmāla was a mobile city, with composition varying according to the regions traversed. This assemblage of soldiers and artisans principally comprised trades associated with the profession of arms: armoumer (gāshkamáglī), maker of rifle butts (kondagāglī), cutler (bāltāgī), blacksmith (ḥaddālī), tailor (khayrāt, fārīz), saddler (sarrāglī, particularly important), harness-maker (brādtī), doctor and surgeon (ṭabīb, ḍarrāhī), veterinarian (ṭabīb al-tawʿī), barbers (ḥerīb) and cattle proprietors (ṣādīk, tākāḥāq). At the time of its dispersal on 16 May 1843, near the source of the Wād Tāqīn, the population of the zmāla was estimated at between 25,000 and 60,000 persons, comprising more than 350 douars defended by 5,000 combatants (including 500 regular infantrymen and 2,000 horsemen). The nucleus extended over more than two kilometres.

A smaller structure, called dzāyya (m. dāyya), was established in Morocco at the end of 1843 and served as a base for the amīr, despite attacks by Moroccan tribesmen and troops encouraged by France, especially after the Treaty of Tangier, completed by the Lālā Maghniya Convocation (10 September 1844 and 18 March 1845). The dzāyya succeeded in resisting attacks until its surrender on 23 December 1847.

There exists a place called Zmāla (formerly Saint-Paul farm) in Khargh, some 20 km to the south-east of Mascara, where 'Abd al-Kādir would often spend time. Similarly, in 1840-1 there was a zmāla near Tāqīlent, an encampment consisting only, in the absence of the amīr, of a few tents pitched among the thorn bushes, this being the permanent residence of his mother, his wife and his servants.

Biographies: 1. Arabic sources. Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Kādir, Tāfna (1837], Algiers 1924; art. SID! BU 'L-ABBAS; TANAS.


E. du Martray, En Algérie au temps d'Abd el-Kader, in carnets de la sabratche, xxix (1926), 390-428, 453-86.

3. In the military and administrative history of French Algeria.

The concept is inseparable from French colonial strategy in Algeria, and its use involved essentially smalas of spahis and smalas of notables. From the outset of the war of conquest in Algeria of 1830, France adopted a policy of using Muslim troops raised from the country, notably the spahis, which it had employed in India during the previous century [Ar. form ṣḥāṭiyā, in Fr. ēpey, in Eng. sepoy, see ŠAQT. 2 and 3]. In face of the failure of the formation of regular units of zouaves and spahis recruited from the Muslims, often arising out of the infantry and cavalry contingents of the Regency, in practice not very active, inclined to rebelliousness and desertion, and expensive, the French Army took into its service the tribes of the old mkḥāzān [q.v.] who lived in zmālas, encampments with their families and herds which they left behind when called to service (see above, 2). These gourms of irregular spahis (mkḥāzāny) were formed because of the insufficiency in numbers of the regular cavalry (chasseurs, hussars, chasseurs d’Afrique and regular spahis) and because of the unsuitability of this last group for reconnaissance and espionage missions and for rapid action amongst Muslim populations. This model was then applied to the regular spahis in 1834.

In the early stages of the French conquest, the function of the agha (who headed a zmāla) was maintained in order to retain the appearance of a Muslim administration over the subject people. The agha was specifically responsible for police functions and the collection of taxes for the occupying power, and had no role at all in the defence of the Muslim subjects. These Muslim officials were easily dismissed in case of "softness". Their jobs were progressively suppressed with the progress of colonisation, though some were kept in a purely honorific role. This was the case with the agha Si Hamza b. Abū Bakr (b. 1859), the religious head of the Ulād Sfdl Shaykh who at the beginning of the 20th century exercised his authority over thirteen tribes and had at his disposal a mkḥāzān and a smala; he was responsible for the docility of the Muslims of the district of Aţu, which made up, with Tiaret, the indigenous commune of Tiaret–Aţou formed in 1874, as well as for the payment of levies and taxes as representative of the captain, who was head of the Arab bureau. He received a substantial salary in addition to a share of the "Arab levy" deducted from that granted to the ca’ids under his orders.

Three periods can be distinguished: (1) creation of the institution for serving local needs; (2) its organisation at the level of the whole country; and (3) the failure and abandonment of the system. The installation of smalas arose in the first place as a result of local initiatives, notably by the Arab bureaux, services that were essentially charged with the transmission of orders to the Muslims and their implementation, a watch over markets and the compiling of reports of all kinds about the situation of the Muslim populations. (Decree of 1 February 1844, Le Moniteur Algérien, 593, of 10 February 1844, 1-2), and which participated in expeditions against these last. In this way was disguised an information service in the heart of the tribes in direct relation with the military command of subdivisions and divisions, thereby facilitating police and repressive duties, of which the spahis were to become the chief instrument. This took place parallel to the formation of three regiments of spahis in 1841 (one per province), into which were incorporated the effective manpower of the "gendarmes maures" when these last were dissolved.

Towards the end of 1844, a smala was created at 2.5 km/1.5 miles south of Oran, which was placed in the first place for the spahis of the Arab bureau (mkḥāzān), and situated close to the "penitentiary for the local population" of Lālla ‘Uda, for which it furnished Muslim prisoners. At the same time, a smala of spahis was formed a little to the west, on a site of 500 ha (1844). Finally, to strengthen the work of pacification of the Muslim population and to consolidate the north-south axis from Ténès to Oran, Lapasset created at the end of 1844 or beginning of 1845 a smala for the gourm of the mkḥāzān of Ténès, made up of 20 paid cavalrymen, whose chief was, however, killed in 1845. This smala was destroyed by the insurgents of Bū Ma’ūza in November 1845 at the time when old Ténès was attacked, and replaced in early 1846 by a centre called Smala on the plateau of the Ulād Henni, which dominates the town of Ténès.

The spahis were formed into three regiments (of Algiers, Oran and Constantine, respectively) on 21 July 1845. This led to the creation of fixed camps where the cavalrymen making up the smala could live with their families and herds in a dual traditional way of life and a military one. Each regiment had the same structure: a regimental depot with the general who headed a mkḥāzān and a smala, his functions being essentially charged with the transmission of new agricultural methods for the Muslim populations and increased the rentable value of their land, whose industrial and commercial outlets were all in the hands of Europeans. It was above all a means to facilitate the progress of colonisation by the Muslims themselves by means of these provisional establishments, thus veiling European colonisation. The defence of the frontiers, often connected with the problems of enigration by tribes driven away by misery and various effects of the state of war against the French presence (insularity, brigandage, etc.), also allowed a transfer of the cost of public security to the indigenous population. But the main and true aim was to recruit troops from the best Muslim cavalrymen and to tempt them with the best horses of the land, notably those of Orania, the most esteemed under the Regency, and the cheaper ones.

The use of spahis within a smala replaced the former functions of the mkḥāzān of the Regency, and was to attract the sons of leading "tents" and great families (ulād kāyymi bihti or būrī bihi), which military defeat would have left unemployed, and it was also
a means of utilising and remodelling the remnants of the Algerian aristocracy.

A check to this plan arose from the fact that the smalas of spahis were only recruited from the poorer rural population, who rarely had even a poor horse (kapdâr "nag"). These men had to be equipped from top to toe, but often sold their equipment after being recruited; they were nothing but a "motley band of the lowest classes, soldiers of fortune who were dying of hunger" (Lt.-Gen. Le Pays de Bourjolly), despised by the Muslim population but nevertheless useful because of their roles as scouts and spies (agrément) and little suitable for agriculture. The precariousness of occupation of the sites allotted to the smalas is seen in the frequent displacements which took them away from urban agglomerations in a southwards direction into the tribal heartlands. These latter tribes reacted strongly, seeing these Muslim colonists being an instrument of improvement for surrounding regions, nor did the smalas ever fulfil their agricultural role, since they only received the lands left over from colonisation and little suitable for agriculture. The precariousness of occupation of the sites allotted to the smalas is seen in the frequent displacements which took them away from urban agglomerations in a southwards direction into the tribal heartlands. These latter tribes reacted strongly, seeing these Muslim colonists as intruders on lands taken from them by force, who helped to levy taxes and impose intolerable financial demands and were the instruments of fierce repression in times of rebellion. Moreover, ruined by the occupiers, they cared little about increasing yields from ungrateful lands, often suffered misery and want and were thus forced into emigration. Hence far from being an instrument of improvement for surrounding populations, the smala was often a witness to, and at times an active agent of, the pauperisation or disappearance of those populations (a rallying-point for beggars succeeded the smala of Wâd Sî). The spahis were recruited from a population often little interested in the agricultural way of life, who preferred to retain their own family plots and who rarely occupied the lands entrusted to them. In these last cases, the spahi would leave the land to be cultivated by kheninsa (agricultural workers remunerated by receiving a fifth of the crop), who, having only an annual contract, were little interested in improving the traditional methods of cultivation.

In January 1871, mutinies by the smalas of Madjbar, Bû Hîr, al-Tarf, and above all, 'Ayn Gaţtar, linked with the rebellion of the Hnéâlja, when it was announced that they were to be sent to France after the defeat of 1870, provoked a fresh repression of the Muslim population. The flight of spahis of the smala of 'Ayn Gaţtar with their families and herds to Tunisia sounded the knell of French projects to develop docile troops on the model of the smalas. An opinion which became more and more widespread opposed this return of lands to Muslims and advocated their opening to colonisation in order to increase their rentability, which would also allow the full imposition of taxes from which the lands had hitherto been exempt. By 1914, despite their role as foci for recruitment, the sixteen smalas which the Second Empire had bequeathed to the Third Republic had all been suppressed, except for that of Sîdî Mjâhîd in the Tafna region, near the Moroccan frontier, to which should be added that of al-Utayya near Biskra, set up in 1875. This last was disbanded in 1899, and the former soon after 1930, signifying the final defeat, in face of a civilian colonisation now all-powerful, of an adaptation of Bugeaud's model of the soldier-worker, a Muslim soldier-colonist and worker in the service of France.


(H. BENCHEBRE, shortened by the Editors)

**ZONGULDAK**, a port on the Black Sea coast of Turkey (lat. 41° 26' N., long. 31° 47' E.), and the chef-lieu of an il or province of the same name.

The town only emerged in the second half of the 19th century when coal was found in the Zonguldak-Kozlu-Ereğli area, at a convenient distance from the Black Sea (see the art. s.v. in Turt Anıskopledisi, Türkiye vi-il, dünt, buyguns, yarrm, x, Istanbul 1982-4). When the Ottoman navy was about to change over to steamships, a local man named Uzun Mehmed reportedly presented Sultan Mahmûd II with the first sacks of coal. From 1848 (Erol Kahveci, The miners of Zonguldak, in idem et alii (eds.), Work and occupation in modern Turkey, London 1996, 173-200) the mining area was linked to a pious foundation, providing revenues for the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina (Ahmet Naim, Zonguldak kömür huzâsî, Istanbul 1934). However, between 1848 and 1865, the Ottoman authority officially in charge of the enterprise was the Khażîn-i Khâşâ, which transferred the actual running of the mines to English contractors. Until 1882, the sale of Ereğli-Zonguldak coal in the open market was not permitted. As a town, Zonguldak developed late; V. Guinet records that, while ca. 1890 coal mining was already rather important, the only "habitation passable du lieu" was the structure housing the offices of local government and the chef-lieu of an il or province of the same name.

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A high accident rate, low levels of production and the obligations of the Ottoman State to the Dette Ottomane after the 1875 state bankruptcy, from 1891 onwards obliged the government to resort to French investors and foreign skilled labour, and in 1896 a newly-formed company received a fifty-year concession for the exploitation of the mines and the construction of railways. Major shareholders were French,
including the Banque Ottomane, but there were also Ottoman investors. Increasing involvement by Ottoman subjects, including high-level officials, prompted the latter Hamidian government to attempt in vain to improve the mines. In the Ottoman parliament convened after the reinstatement of the constitution, there were protests against the high transportation fees charged by the company, which apparently aimed at the ruin of its Ottoman competitors (1909) (see D. Quataert, Social disintegration and popular resistance in the Ottoman empire, 1881-1908. Reactions to European economic penetration. New York 1983, 41-70). It was however only in 1937 that the government of the Republic bought back the mines, with a view toward securing a national energy supply in case of war, and in 1940 the entire mining area was nationalised.

Mine labourers. Throughout the 19th century, as in earlier periods, mining was not a full-time activity but was practiced by peasants recruited for labour in the mines on a part-time basis (Suraiya Faroqhi, Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia. Trade, crafts, and food production in an urban setting 1520-1650. Cambridge 1984, 176-7). A law of 1867 specified that all mineworkers, except for the engineers and foremen, had to be Ottoman subjects. This same law also introduced the obligation of villagers to work in the mines; this forced labour continued until 1921. Even today, miners are largely local men, and rotational labour by part-time peasants continues, especially among hewers. However, foreign labourers, including Montenegrins, Croatians and Hungarians, as well as other qualified workers and technicians, were also imported.

Considerable labour unrest first occurred in 1908, when wage demands, fear of mechanisation and a reaction against “outside” miners brought in from Sivas, triggered a wave of strikes; Ottoman local authorities tended to support the strikers against the foreign company. In 1940 obligatory service in the mines was reintroduced, and only abolished in 1948. From 1937 and into the 1940s, prison labour was employed on a considerable scale (Kahveci, The miners, 183-200). Private records and memoirs document the unsanitary conditions of life in the mines, and the high incidence of diseases such as tuberculosis, typhus and intestinal ailments. Only from the 1960s onwards did the mines become a focus of organised trade union activity, with a major strike in 1965. Large-scale demonstrations sparked by a long-term decline in real wages, occurred in the early 1990s as well (see on these topics, Muieccl Kiray, Ergli, afg ana^zilen once bir sabil kasabas, Ankara 1964; D.A. Roy, The Zonguldak strike. A case study of industrial conflict in a developing society, in MES, xii [1974], 147-85; Sina Çıldır, Zonguldak harüzündə içi harkətənleri tarhi, 1848-1940, Ankara 1977; T. Nichols and Erol Kahveci, The condition of mine labour in Turkey. Injuries to miners in Zonguldak, 1942-1990, in MES, xxxi [1995], 198-227; Quataert and Nadir Özbek, The Ergli-Zonguldak coal mines. A catalogue of archival documents, in The Turkish Studies Assoc. Bull., xxiii [1999], 55-67; Quataert, Zonguldak madeni işçilerinin hayatinin, 1870-1920 haydynaq, nüfusunda təhəllə, Toplum ve Bilim, lxiii [1999-2000], 80-90). After employing up to 10,000 people in 1914, and 50,000 at the peak of mining activity, the coal mines are today in crisis and scheduled for privatisation.

Fixed capital and output. Zonguldak until late into the republican period had few links to the Anatolian interior, and handled all its trade by sea. The port was constructed after 1896 by the French mining company, which handled the different mines to the port also were constructed, but by the beginning of the First World War, the tunnels necessary for connecting the more remote mines to the port had not as yet been dug. Coal production in the early 20th century reached 500,000 tons per year, the foreign company’s share amounting to over 75%. By the terms of their contracts, all mining entrepreneurs had to offer 60% of the coal extracted to the government at prices determined by the latter. Apart from the needs of the Navy, Izmir enterprises and households also came to depend on Zonguldak coal, and there were some exports to Greece and Rumelia. Yet until 1913 the foreign companies were very profitable, because coal seams had been poorly chosen, and management problems were rife. But impediments placed in the company’s way by a government hostile to foreign control of a crucial energy source equally limited profitability.

A study published in 1995 emphasised that low investment in the mines has remained typical of the republican period as well, resulting in the widespread use of out-of-date equipment. Much of the capital invested has been derived from international sources, down to 1965, particularly funds made available under Marshall Plan auspices, more recently from the World Bank. Today, Zonguldak coal has increasingly to compete in the Turkish market against the imported item.

Other industrial towns. It is one of the peculiarities of Zonguldak province that, contrary to the usual town from the central city, we find two major rival towns. Karabük is of even more recent origin than Zonguldak itself, having been founded in 1939. Partly for military reasons, the steelworks established in this locality, whose construction formed a major item in the Five-Year-Plan of 1932, were built at a considerable distance from the coast, with coal brought in from Zonguldak and raw iron from distant Divriği. The other important town in the province of Zonguldak is Eregli (Benekergi, Karadeniz Erglisi), which by contrast was a small but active port as early as the 10th/16th century (Faroqhi, op. cit., 110-13). Up to the 1950s, Eregli’s harbour was only suitable for small craft, and the transportation of Zonguldak coal to steamships constituted an important activity, but since 1960, Eregli has also become the site of a large steelworks, and a modern harbour has been built.

Bibliography. Given in the article.

ZSITVATOROK, the name of a peace-treaty signed by the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in 1606, and so-called ever since the negotiations leading to it started on boats at the confluence of the rivers Zıtva and Danube (the literal meaning of the word being “Zıtva mouth”).

The peace treaty put an end to the so-called “Long” or “Fifteen Years’ War”, which was begun in 1593 and renewed each year, bringing smaller or bigger successes to both sides without a final victory. The revolt led by István Bocskai against the Habsburgs helped the Ottomans to a certain extent to strengthen their sometimes rather weak positions.

First, Bocskai and the Habsburgs came to an agreement in Vienna on 9 February 1606. Three-party talks started on 29 October, when the Emperor Rudolph II was represented by Ernst Molart, the Sultan Ahmed I by Falaheddin of Buda, and Bocskai by Baron István Illésházy. The treaty, to be valid for 20 years, was signed on 11 November, amended in March 1608 at (Ersek-) Üjvár (Nové Žámky), and ratified by the sultan—after long consideration—on 11 October 1608.
the following: (a) it was forbidden to attack castles and take prisoners; (b) earlier captives were to be freed; (c) the Habsburg Emperor was to hand over 200,000 florins as a once-and-for-all payment; (d) castles taken in the county of Nógrád were not to be returned to the Ottomans, but Exztergом with its vicinity remained in their hands, while the future of Kanizsa and its surroundings was to be decided later; and (e) taxes were to be collected locally and handed over by village mayors.


ZU’ĂR (Ar., sing. za’ār), lit. “rowdy, ill-behaved lad”, a term used notably in the Egyptian and Syrian urban milieux during the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, and also with the sense of “gypsies”, but, rather, in an extra-urban milieu. At the present time, we have in Lebanon and Palestine za’ār (pl. za’ārūn) “vagabond, brigand”. Other forms that are found include za’ārūt and za’ār. The Arabic dictionaries place the term under the verb za’āra “to copulate, have sexual intercourse”. In fact, it should be connected instead with ẓā’ār (pl. ẓā’ārūt) “rascal, scoundrel”, itself connected with the verb ẓā’āra “to frighten, instil fear”, apparently a variant or by-form of ẓā’ār (pl. ẓā’ārūt) “dirty, debauched, rotten, evil, licentious”, verb ẓā’ara “to smoke a great deal like green or rotten wood which refuses to burn”, cf. ba’ya al-dī’āra “brothel”, dawra “to be immoral”.

The za’ārūt are often connected with the mystical turk (see E. Geoffroy, Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie sous les derniers Mamlouks et les premiers Ottomans, Damascus 1995, index s.v. za’ār; A. Raymond, Egyptiens et Français au Caire 1798-1901, Cairo 1998, 52-9).

Words for “rascals, scoundrels” are very numerous in both the spoken and written forms of Arabic, medi- aeval and modern: al-lāmmā “the plebs”; awlād al-nās “the scum of the people”; al-ayyārūn [see AYYAR] “brave, swaggering youths”; al-dī’ār “harlots” the term was first recorded in the Koran in the 6th century, later extended to refer to all sexual licentiousness; al-ṭārūfī “dirty, debauched, rotten, evil, licentious”, verb ẓā’āra “to smoke a great deal like green or rotten wood which refuses to burn”, cf. ba’ya al-dī’āra “brothel”, dawra “to be immoral”.

Islamic underworld. The Banū Sasan in Arabic society and literature, [q.v.], or prostitutes, often recognisable by their short hair, who pillage; al-rūdūf “the mob, thieves”; al-ṣalāl “those who are avid, covetous”; al-kharbasha “the plebs”; al-ṣuq “the plebs” (pl. al-suqāt “rascals”); al-ṣalā (literally “those led to pass in a row”); al-dū affad (pl. al-dū affadūn) “vagabond, brigand”. Other forms which might be called by more glorious descriptive collective terms, such as the Muslim youths of Tinnīs, ghabāb ṣawāfīn “brave youths”, who in the opening years of the Fatimid presence regularly preyed on the rich Christian merchants, al-uqāfīn “the poor” (pl. al-uqāfīn), emptying their warehouses and debauching their womenfolk and daughters (see Sawirus Ibn al-Mukafta, History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church, ed. and tr. A.S. Ayta et alii, ii/2, Cairo 1948, Ar. text 88, Eng. tr. 131-5). When they were not exterminated by the regular troops, these bands might be gradually institutionalised into urban militias, called abdāb [q.v.] or into confederations, bands of jutuwea [q.v.]. See Cl. Cahen, Mouvements populaires et autonomisme urbain dans l’Asie musulmane, in Arabica, v (1958), 225-30, vi (1959), 25-56, 223-65; Bianquis, op. cit., ii, 673-80; idem, Le chevalier de la steppe, l’homme de village, le cavalier de la citadelle: trois personnages de la transition en Syrie au XIXe siècle, in M.A. Bakhit and M.Y. Abbadi (eds.), Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid period, Amman 1992, i (Ar. section), 429-44, ii (foreign languages section), 91-104; A. Havemann, The Seljuq vizier and rels. in Syria. The struggle for urban self-representation, in TłM, xxii (1989), 25-3,32(3); J.M. Mouton, Damascus and its counterparts under the Saljuqids and the Mamluks, 469-549/1076-1154, Cairo 1995; M. Yared-Riachi, La politique extérieure de la prin-
al-ZUBARA, a location on the north-west coast of Katar [q.v.]. It was the main town on the peninsula until 1878, when it was largely destroyed. It now contains only the 1938 fort, but as a police station, and, 2 km further north, the ruins of a fortified settlement dating back to the 18th century. The surrounding land is flat, saline and barren.

In their late 17th-century migration from central Arabia, the ‘Utub [q.v.] clans may have settled briefly around al-Zubara before continuing towards present-day al-Kuwayt [q.v.] in the early 18th century. They included what became the early leading families in al-Kuwayt; the Āl Saḥāb, the Āl Džāzāmīn and the Āl Kvhāfīn. In 1766, the Āl Kvhāfīn left al-Kuwayt again for al-Zubara, shortly followed by the Āl Džādžīm. The town soon developed into a significant pearlring centre and trading port, particularly after the Irish [q.v.] fell to Persia in 1776. Countering a challenge to this new pre-eminence by the shaykh of Būgāhār, the newcomers captured Bahrayn [q.v.] (until then a Persian dependency) in 1783. Henceforth, the Āl Kvhāfīn settled on Bahrayn, while retaining control over al-Zubara (now increasingly eclipsed). Āl Kvhāfīn rule was challenged by Rhyma b. Džābir Āl Džādžīm until his death in 1826. Thereafter, the Āl Thānī family, based in the east of the peninsula, gradually increased its power, challenging the Āl Kvhāfīn’s hold over al-Zubara and north-western Katar. Al-Zubara at this time was described as a town of 400 houses.

The first treaty between the Āl Thānī and Great Britain in 1868 implied Britain’s right to intervene in disputes with the Āl Kvhāfīn. In 1873, the British Political Agent awarded the latter customary rights and access but not sovereignty over al-Zubara. In 1878, the Āl Thānī attacked and destroyed the town. Katar’s recognition in 1916 as a separate British protectorate failed to settle the matter. In 1937, Bahrayn protested against a survey of the area’s port potential; a section of the local Āl Na’īm tribe sided with their traditional overlords, the Āl Kvhāfīn, and were attacked and defeated by the Āl Thānī. The Āl Kvhāfīn imposed an embargo, which became one of the causes for the sharp decline of northern Katar, and indeed of the whole peninsula.

In 1944 the political agent negotiated an agreement granting Bahrayn customary and grazing rights, although tension persisted. Only in 1950 was the Bahrayn embargo lifted when the Āl Kvhāfīn’s right to visit was again confirmed. The following year, many of the Āl Na’īm who had left for Bahrayn returned. Yet in 1953 Bahrayn maps were published claiming sovereignty over al-Zubara, and the following year, the claim was officially revived. Shaykh ‘Alī Āl Thānī in response reoccupied the fort and in 1956 added further police. In 1957, the British political agent ruled that Bahrayn could no longer expect extraterritorial privileges in the area, thus finally establishing full effective Kātari (Āl Thānī) control.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the issue of al-Zubara was raised again by Bahrayn in the context of the other territorial disputes between the two states. When Katar unilaterally referred the Hawar islands dispute to the International Court of Justice in 1991, Bahrayn protested. Its 1992 offer to make a new joint submission which would include all outstanding issues—also implying al-Zubara—was refused by Katar.

Bibliography: Given in the article; also, information kindly supplied by F. Sanagustin.

(TH. BIANQUIS)
Zubayda is commemorated for her philanthropic works, in particular the water supplies of Mecca and the pilgrim road (cf. Ibn Dhubayr, Travels, ed. W. Wright, Leiden 1907, 208). In 193/808 she initiated an extensive system of waterworks centred around the 'Ayn Zubaydah on the plane of 'Arafah, including a subterranean aqueduct cut through the rocks at enormous costs (see MAKKA. 2). The sources report her personal engagement in the planning and her persistence against the objections of the engineers (Wustenfeld, Chroniken der Stadt Mecca, Leipzig 1858, i, 444-5; Ibn Khallikân, no. 20, tr. de Slane, i, 532). Zubayda died on 26 Dhumâdâr 210/10 July 831 in Baghhdât. The place of her tomb is a matter of dispute (Abbott, op. cit., 247-50).

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): Badâturi, Futâb, index; Ya'qûbf, Beirut 1379-1960, ii, 428, 433-34; Dînawârî, Cairo 1960, 396; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, al-`Ibl al-furîd, Cairo 1962, index; Kâlî, Anwâr, Cairo 1344/1926, 191; Marzuq-banî, Mawsûdah, Cairo 1965, 538, 567; Şâfîfî, Wfiti, xiv, 176-8, no. 242. (RENAÎTE JACOBI)

AL-ZUBAYDI, ABû BAKR MUHÂMâD B. AL-HASAN (Humaydî, 180) b. 'Abd Allah b. Madhhidj, a well-known Arabic philologist, fakîh and poet, whose great-great-great-grandfather Bishr al-Dakhîl (Ibn Hazm, 412) had come from Hims (Abbott, in Suppl.) and later lived in Baghdad. The place of his tomb is a matter of dispute. He died on 3 Safar 357/967 (see further, Humaydî, 47-90).

Al-Zubaydî then wrote three works, among which his biographies of grammarians and lexicographers from early times to his own days, in which he quotes his K. al-Isârâdî on p. 239:

(1) K. al-Isârâdî `alâ Sîbawayh fi K. al-`Abnîyâ wa l-ziyadâ `alâ ml madhdhab fi mubahadhdhab*, additions and corrections on the structure of nouns, etc. (ed. I. Guicci, Rome 1890, repr. Baghhdât ca. 1970; cf. Masqûrî, iv/1 (1395/1975), 251-3; new ed. by Hannâl Djafrîl Haddad, al-`Riyad 1407/1987; an excerpt is Müşjudt al-`abnîyâ fi Kitâb Sîbawayh, Tafṣîr Abû Bakr al-Zubaydî, Şâhî Muhammad Kâllaflî al-Dannâmî, Beirut 1996). Al-Zubaydî with the education of his son Hishâm, the great promoter of art and science. He entrusted al-Hâkîm II (350-66/961-76) who, when still a prince, was a scholar attracted the attention of the caliph al-Hâkîm (316/928 into a scholarly family. The place of his tomb is a matter of dispute. He died on 3 Safar 357/967 (see further, Humaydî, 47-90).

(2) Tabaqât al-naâbiyyîn wa l-lughayyîn, ed. M. Abu l-`Affâl Ibrîhîm, Cairo 1373/1954, 5, 1973, composed between the years 363/973-4 and 365/975-6. As he points out in the prefâce, the caliph put his personal material at his disposal, both orally and in writing (see R. Sellheim, in Orienti, viii [1955], 345-8). Al-Zubaydî's Tabaqât was used as a source by later biographers, and excerpts were made of one which has been printed (F. Krenkow, Rome 1919). To this period also belongs al-Zubaydî's work on "errors in language" (lahb [q.v.]; cf. AL-ANDALUS. X) made by common people (cf. G. Krokoft, in Bull. of the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghhdât, ii [1957], 3-16; Sezgin, Gâsî, vii, 254-5):


The third work published by al-Zubaydî at the instigation of the caliph was the highly-praised revised excerpt which he made from the first Arabic dictionary. Al-Zubaydî, too, is of the opinion that the work is only to be ascribed (mansûbî) in its entirety to al-Kâhil b. Ahmad [q.v.]. He must have finished it before the death of the caliph on 3 Safar 366/10 October 976, for at the end he wishes him a long life (see further, Humaydî, 47-90).

As he points out in the preface, the caliph put his personal material at his disposal, both orally and in writing (see R. Sellheim, in Orienti, viii [1955], 345-8). Al-Zubaydî's Tabaqât was used as a source by later biographers, and excerpts were made of one which has been printed (F. Krenkow, Rome 1919). To this period also belongs al-Zubaydî's work on "errors in language" (lahb [q.v.]; cf. AL-ANDALUS. X) made by common people (cf. G. Krokoft, in Bull. of the College of Arts and Sciences, Baghhdât, ii [1957], 3-16; Sezgin, Gâsî, vii, 254-5):


Al-Zubaydî rose to become `âbîh al-dawra [q.v.], but he probably succeeded in returning to his native town Seville in the function of kâhil only after the caliph's death and under the latter's successor, his own pupil Hishâm. He died there on 1 Dhumâdâr II/6 September 989. His son Abu l-Walîl Muhammad, also one of his many pupils, died soon after 440/1048 as kâdel in Almeria (Humaydî, 36).

(5) K. al-Wâdîf fi l`im al-arâbîyya, a highly-praised, clearly-arranged grammar, composed after the example of Sîbawayhî's Kâhil, but shorter than others (ed. A. Khalîf, in Sl. bxxvii [1961], 174; cf. S.A. Bonebakker, in Orienti, xii-xiv [1961], 174). The place of his tomb is a matter of dispute. He died on 3 Safar 357/967 (see further, Humaydî, 47-90).

Zubayda is commemorated for her philanthropic works, in particular the water supplies of Mecca and the pilgrim road (cf. Ibn Dhubayr, Travels, ed. W. Wright, Leiden 1907, 208). In 193/808 she initiated an extensive system of waterworks centred around the 'Ayn Zubaydah on the plane of 'Arafah, including a subterranean aqueduct cut through the rocks at enormous costs (see MAKKA. 2). The sources report her personal engagement in the planning and her persistence against the objections of the engineers (Wustenfeld, Chroniken der Stadt Mecca, Leipzig 1858, i, 444-5; Ibn Khallikân, no. 20, tr. de Slane, i, 532). Zubayda died on 26 Dhumâdâr 210/10 July 831 in Baghhdât. The place of her tomb is a matter of dispute (Abbott, op. cit., 247-50).


AL-ZUBAYR b. AL-ÅWĪM b. KHWĀYĪL, Abu ʿAbbās. Abu ʿAbbās ʿAlāʾ al-Kurāshī al-ʿĀḍāmī, one of the most eminent companions of Muḥammad, known by the surname Ḥusayrī (a Geʿez loanword) Rasūl Allāh ("the Disciple or Apostle of the Messenger of God"). He is one of the ten Companions to whom Paradise was promised by the Prophet (al-ṣāhirah al-muḥākāriḥa [q.v.] or al-muḥākāriḥa al-đjānna) and a member of the ʿālīrī [q.v.] appointed by the dying caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh to elect his successor. The name al-Zubayr is derived from al-zubair tayīr bi l-ḥajāra, cassetta with sons; Ibn Durayd, al-Dība<£, 47-8) or a strong man (L, s.v. z-b-r).


AL-ZUBAYR b. AL-ÅWĪM b. KHWĀYĪL, Abu ʿAbbās. Abu ʿAbbās ʿAlāʾ al-Kurāshī al-ʿĀḍāmī, one of the most eminent companions of Muḥammad, known by the surname Ḥusayrī (a Geʿez loanword) Rasūl Allāh ("the Disciple or Apostle of the Messenger of God"). He is one of the ten Companions to whom Paradise was promised by the Prophet (al-ṣāhirah al-muḥākāriḥa [q.v.] or al-muḥākāriḥa al-đjānna) and a member of the ʿālīrī [q.v.] appointed by the dying caliph ʿUmar b. ʿAbd Allāh to elect his successor. The name al-Zubayr is derived from al-zubair tayīr bi l-ḥajāra, cassetta with sons; Ibn Durayd, al-Dība<£, 47-8) or a strong man (L, s.v. z-b-r).


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With such a record, it is not surprising that al-Zubayr was described as “the bravest man of Kuraysh” (ṣaghibi raʾiyāt al-Quraish, al-Tabarî, ii, 105) or simply “the bravest man” (ṣaghibi al-nās, Aḥāfī, x, 125). But in a maqṣūra (disputation over claims to nobility), Ibn Ṭabība is said to have charged him with cowardice at the Battle of the Camel: he fled and did not attack, he fought but did not persevere (Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, ix, 327). In order to correct this impression, a pro-‘Alī tradition claims that “he fled as a repentant and not out of cowardice”.

A late report affirms that al-Zubayr served for a time as Muhammad’s secretary in the registration of the income from legal alms (amwāl al-sādākāt, al-Kalḵašandī, Sulh al-aḏğā, i, 91, citing al-Ḵuṣaynī, “Ṭuʿan al-maṣūḥī”).

Al-Zubayr, like many other eminent Companions who opposed ‘Ali b. Abī Ṭālib before, and particularly after his proclamation as caliph, was attacked in Shi‘i literature (E. Kohlberg, The attitude of the Imāmī Shi‘is to the Companions of the Prophet, see Biih., idem, Some Imāmī Shi‘i views on the Sahābah, in ʿIJā’īl, v [1984], 143-75). The eighth volume (in the lithographic edition) of al-Majlīsī’s Bihār al-amrār records many such attacks; these form the main subject-matter of the Shi‘i literature known as sabh al-saḥābah (cursing of the Companions). Al-Zubayr and the other leaders of the camp opposing ‘Ali in the Battle of the Camel (36/656) are designated in the Shi‘i tradition by the epithet al-nakḥūṭīn, i.e. rogues, rascals, “those who broke their compact”. Abī Mīkhāfīn reports that al-Zubayr was the first leader who killed Muslim captives in cold blood, kataḥālam sāḥr (Ibn Abī l-Ḥadīd, ix, 321).

Nevertheless Shi‘i’i attacks on al-Zubayr are moderate in comparison with those on Talḥa, ʿĀʾisha, Abī Bakr, ‘Umar and others, and favourable points are mentioned. Thus it is said that, in the events which led to the election of Abī Bakr as the first caliph, al-Zubayr supported ‘Ali, together with the Banū Ḥashim and the bulk of al-Anṣār. In addition, the descriptions of the Battle of the Camel assert that al-Zubayr, despite the provocations of his son ʿAbd Allāh, did not take part in the fighting after his meeting with ‘Ali. It seems that the real reason for al-Zubayr’s conduct in this battle derives from his disappointment in dropping behind Talḥa in claims for the caliphate when ‘Āʾisha inclined to appoint Talḥa and al-Zubayr estimated that he did not have any chance to be elected caliph, even if his side won. It was thus best to leave.

The Sunnī reaction in support of al-Zubayr and other saḥābah takes many forms. The most prevailing includes the enumeration of their virtues, manāshīk, and the harmonisation between Muhammad’s promise of Paradise to al-saḥāra al-mubashshara and the hadīth assuring Muslims who fought Muslims with Hell (Ibn ‘Asākir, xvii, 382-404; Ibn Ḥadīj al-Haytāmī, al-Sawāʾil al-mukhtāra, 151-74). Al-Zubayr and his partners are considered as maḏahībah (those who strove to interpret what God wanted and what was better for Islam and the Muslims). The leaders of both camps fought bona fide and not for worldly gain, therefore, God will reward them in Paradise according to the Prophet’s utterance “Whoever does ijtīhād but errs will be rewarded; whoever does ʿiḍjāhād and hits the mark, will be rewarded twice” (“Abū Naʿaym al-Īsfāḥānī, K. al-Imāma wa l-ʿaḍād ‘alā ʿl-ʿrāfīda, ed. Abī l-Fakhrī, Médina 1994, 362-81; Ibn Ḥadīj al-Haytāmī, Taḥfrī al-ḏiʾānīn, Cairo 1963, 6). In order to point out al-Zubayr’s abstemiousness and piety, it is reported that he led 1,000 slaves who had to pay to him a cer-
community in Medina, 'Urwa [q.v.], Hamza, and Mu'ab [q.v.]. Another descendant, al-Zubayr b. Bakkar (d. 256/870), dedicates the extant part of his Qumrat nasab to the Zubayrids. Another descendant, al-Zubayr b. Bakkar [q.v.]. Urwa [q.v.], c. 256/870, hopes that they would die in the service of Islam.


Unlike the more technically-oriented genealogical works (see, for instance, the K. Nasab Kuraysh of his uncle Mu'ab al-Zubayr [see mu'ab], al-Zubayr's Qumrah is rather a collection of akhbar structured in a genealogical order, and it thus develops the older narrative tradition of genealogical writing, as already reflected in the Qumrat al-nasab of Ibn al-Kalbi [ed. Mahmud Firdaws al-Azm, 3 vols. Damascus n.d. [ca. 1982-6]); and ed. Najib Hasan, 2 vols. Beirut 1986), into a model which may be regarded a predecessor of al-Baladurfi's Ansab al-akhbar. Al-Zubayr's Qumrah treats the Banu Asad b. Nuh, Al-‘Uzza b. Kuwayy and centres upon the Zubayrids. In contrast to this, al-Aghbar al-Muwaifikayyt, of which only a minor part is known, offers an unstructured collection including a wide range of materials current in his time. Most of the akhbar deal with caliphs, governors and celebrities, who are depicted in their person's behaviour. Poetry plays an important role in both works. These and other works (cf. Ibn Khayr al-Ishbrir, Farahat, 467, 499, 534), were transmitted by firmly established nusur, the most important among them being those of al-Harami b. Abi ‘l-Awwam (Ta’rikh Baghdad, iv, 390). Ahmad b. Sulaymân al-Tûsî (ibid., iv, 177) and Ahmad b. Sa‘îd al-Dimashki (ibid., iv, 171). According to the consecutively-transmitted complaints of his wife, al-Zubayr also possessed a library. Many of the titles of al-Zubayr’s works listed by Ibn al-Nadîm (123) dealt with the work and life of poets; none of them, however, has survived in independent transmission, although more than 600 quotations from al-Zubayr in Abu ‘l-Faradj’s Akhbar have preserved many of these materials. He is also an often-quoted authority in other works of adab and history, such as al-Zadjdjadi’s al-Anâlî or al-Baladurfi’s Ansâb, and is to be considered among the finest representatives of Classical Arabic akhbar literature.

... represents the only attempt to present a general study followed by the more focused Lamm 1935 and 1941) (Lamm 1929-30, 484-508). In literary accounts, glass vessels and objects, which were prized and collected throughout the centuries, and its technical accomplishment. Enamels, which are made of lead-rich glass pulverised and patterned in festooned motifs with a pointed tool. This type of glass is often described as “marvered” or, better, “with marveled trails”.

Cold-cut glass (glass that was abraded, incised, or cut away with hard-stone tools, rotating wheels, or drills in the lapidary technique after the vessel was shaped and left to harden and cool) was inspired by Roman and especially Sasanid models, reaching new heights in the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries.

The glass surface was often painted with a brush or a stylus and fired again to fix the pigments onto the surface. Early on, in the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries, stained glass (usually known as “lustre-painted”), probably of pre-Islamic Egyptian origin, became popular in both Egypt and Syria. A lustrous film stained the glass surface permanently in various tones of yellow, brown, orange and red (sometimes combined) through a chemical reaction during the second firing. Difficult skills were required to control the temperature in the kiln to achieve the desired results without spoiling the shape of the re-heated vessel, skills that were perfected in the period of manufacture of enameled and gilded glass in the same areas in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. Enamelled glass made under the Ayyubids and the Mamluks is the best known type of Islamic glass, thanks to its extraordinary polychrome appearance, the good condition of many objects, which were prized and collected through the centuries, and its technical accomplishment. Enamels, which are made of lead-rich glass pulverised and applied to the glass surface with a brush and an oily medium, and heavy gilding allowed the creation of painterly surfaces, including figural and vegetal motifs as well as calligraphic inscriptions. The texts, which often include the name of a sultan or an amir, are extremely useful to establish the chronology of this extraordinary type of Islamic glass.

A clear art-historical development of shapes and decoration of Islamic glass is far from being entirely understood, notwithstanding the large number of extant objects and fragments. Even when it is obviously accomplished and expensive—and therefore made for wealthy clients—does glass only in rare instances include useful inscriptions, either moulded, incised or painted, that reveal the name of a patron or an artist, let alone a date. Glass was a commercial and artistic commodity across the entire Eurasian continent, shipped via land along the Silk Route and via sea out spoiling the shape of the re-heated vessel, skills that were perfected in the period of manufacture of enameled and gilded glass in the same areas in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. Enamelled glass made

Glassmaking is often included in scientific works on mineralogy as a particular type of stone (see e.g. al-Biruni, K. al-Djamahir fi ma’rifat al-qawadir, Islamabad 1989, 191-3). In literary accounts, glass vessels and centres of glass production throughout the Islamic world are sometimes referred to, although they are invariably of generic nature. For example, Fuštāt, Şir, Antakya, al-Ḫobār, Ḥalab, Dimashq, Bagdad, Kaddişya, al-Bagāra, Isfahan, Şīraz and Istanbul are all mentioned as glassmaking centres at various times (a survey is in Lamm 1929-30, 484-508).

Glass had been manufactured in the areas conquered by the Muslim armies for centuries, especially in Egypt and along the eastern Mediterranean coast. The “invention” of glass blowing in the 1st century B.C. had transformed this medium from an expensive, time-consuming product into an affordable, multi-purpose one. The chemistry, technology, and manipulation of glass remained unchanged in the transitional period from late Antiquity to early Islam—glassmaking being a rather traditional craft that evolved with small but steady steps in the mediaeval period.

Glassmakers in the Islamic world continued to exploit artistically the wide range of available techniques of glass working, improving upon many, partially neglecting some, and reviving others. Most utilitarian objects were inflated on the blowpipe, shaped with different tools on the pontil (a solid iron rod attached to the base of the vessel after the blowpipe was cut off) and left undecorated. A large number of vessels were further manipulated with decorative effects in the so-called hot-worked technique. Designs were created applying glass trails, roundels, and splotches on the walls; patterns were impressed blow-
of Islamic glass thus far. The field has progressed slowly but steadily, and interest in Islamic glass has become particularly strong in the past twenty-five years. Earlier works that stimulated the recent interest in the field and are still looked upon as significant contributions—either as art-historical essays or archaeological reports—are Schmoranz 1898; Wiet 1912; Lamm 1928; Riis-Poulson 1957; and Smith 1957, in addition to several articles that appeared in the *Journal of Glass Studies* since its first issue in 1959 (for example, Oliver 1961; Pinder-Wilson-Scanlon 1973; Bass 1984; Whitehouse 1993) and those in the *Annales* of the congresses of the *Association Internationale pour l'Histoire du Verre* since 1958.

Although time is not yet mature for a manual of Islamic glass, its general development is clear within the context of Islamic art and of mediaeval glassmaking. During the first two centuries after the advent of Islam, shapes, colours and decoration changed little from the long-established traditions of blown and hot-worked glass in the former Roman-Byzantine provinces. Bottles and perfume containers with whimsical trailed and applied decoration—among them the so-called cage flasks in the shape of quadrupeds carrying a small bottle—and moulded ribbed bowls are the most representative objects from this period. In the formerly Sasanid area, the tradition of cold glass cut in cameo glass to create honeycomb patterns, probably continued during this early period, although the chronology is unclear because the majority of the extant objects show later, 3rd-4th/9th-10th-century, shapes. Relief-cut glass represents one of the best artistic achievements of the early Islamic period, the undisputed extant masterpiece being the so-called Corning Ewer in cameo glass (the decoration was achieved by partially cutting away the layer of green glass that covered the clear glass vessel; see Whitehouse 1993). Ultimately belonging to the Iranian tradition of glass cutting, this ewer is also symbolic of the transfer of techniques across the Islamic world, its shape being clearly related to Fatimid rock-crystal objects [see BILLAWR]. As a general statement, it can be said that a taste for colourful, textured and complex surfaces is predominant in the former Roman regions (stained- or lustre-painted glass provides a good example). Colourful millefiori ("thousand flowers") tiles and small vessels revived this Roman tradition in the heart of the 'Abbasid caliphate in the 3rd/9th century. "Scratched" or finely incised coloured objects with a wealth of geometric and vegetal motifs, probably created in the same 'Abbasid area, were so prized that they found their way to tombs in China (An 1991).

Clear, colourless glass presenting restrained, stylised motifs belongs instead to the eastern Islamic world, with the Mesopotamian area functioning as a sort of meeting point of the two traditions. This statement, with its many exceptions, holds true also throughout the history of mediaeval Islamic glass.

That tradition played an important part in Islamic glass production is confirmed by the continuous use of many techniques throughout the mediaeval period, although shapes and details in the decoration are helpful to better understand their chronology. Functional undecorated objects (among them inkwells, alembics and scientific tools), and vessels presenting applied trails, moulded patterns, impressed motifs, marvered threads and combinations thereof, ranging from the 3rd/9th up to the 7th/13th centuries, form the bulk of glass from the Islamic lands in museums and collections worldwide, although it is not possible to select outstanding examples in the brief space assigned to this entry. About sixty circular medallions with figural motifs and, sometimes, inscriptions originally set into windows of 6th/12th-century Ghirmaid and Ghirmaid palaces in Iran (Charleston 1974; Diba 1983; Charleston 1989). Glass manufactured in the Mamluk lands, in particular in Cairo and Damascus (see Henen 1974).

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307; Balami’s Persian version of Tabari, ed. M.T. Bahar, 132-33; Tha’alibi, Qunwar, ed. H. Zoschenberg, 17-35; and particularly Firdawsi, Shah-nama, ed. Khaleghi-Motlagh (Khalki Mutlak), ii, 55-86; Tranjhah, Kanz-nama, ed. D.J. Mattlin, Tehran 1998; E. Yarshater, in Camb. Hist. Ir., iii/1, 372. For the development of the legend, Avestan passages and further Middle Persian sources, see P.O. Skjaervo, in Ehr, iii, 191-9; for Dahak in Persian literature, in folklore and in Armenian, see D. Khaleghi-Motlagh, M. Omidsalar and J. Russell, in ibid., 199-203, 203-5, 205-6, respectively. (E. YARSHATER)

ZUHUL, the planet Saturn. The name Zuhal (diprote) is said to be connected with the Arabic root ژهر meaning “to withdraw or become distant”; according to various lexicons (e.g. LA, TA), the planet takes its name from the fact that it is “far removed, in the seventh heaven”. This etymology clearly postulates the knowledge among Arabic writers of Greek cosmology, for whom Saturn is the farthermost planet in the cosmos; it would have made little sense within the context of the limited astronomy of the pre-Islamic Arabs. According to the Muhib al-nahij, zuhal was used as a metaphor for exaltedness (علاء) as well as for being far removed; e.g., the poet al-Mutanabbi compared his patron Sayf al-Dawla’s exalted state with that of zuhal. Another name for Saturn found in texts from Spain and the Maghrib is al-Mukstil “the war-like”, just as we have there al-Kutib “the writer” alongside of the usual name ‘Utari [q.v.] for the planet Mercury [see AL-NUJUM and al-Battani, Opus astronomiacum, i, 291]. ژهر does not seem to have cognates referring to Saturn in other ancient languages. (In contrast, the Akkadian name for Saturn kajamanu (“the steady one”) evidently is the source for the Hebrew ky’yan (Amos v. 26) and Persian گفتن.)

According to ancient and mediavel astronomy, the planets (from Greek θεοφωνοι “wanderers”) are those celestial bodies that move with respect to the fixed stars as seen from the stationary Earth at the centre of the Universe. Thus in addition to our five planets observable with the naked eye (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn), the sun and moon were considered planets as well. In Arabic, the first five, which exhibit retrograde motion in the ecliptic, were called al-kawakib al-muthayyara (“the straying [or perplexed] stars”) to distinguish them from the planets as fixed stars while its parallel concave (inner) surface (قلم) was contiguous with the eighth orb of the system. One system of orbs at greater distances). Its distance from the Earth was generally given as approximately 20,000 earth radii (about 80,000,000 miles), which is of course considerably smaller than the current figure. Saturn’s boundary with Jupiter was about 14,200 earth radii from the Earth, so that the “thickness” (كشذن) of Saturn’s parecliptic (equivalent to the distance occupied by its system of orbs) was 5,800 earth radii. Saturn itself, based on rather dubious observational data, was taken to be about 77 times the volume of the Earth.

Zuhal in astrology [see MINTARAT AL-BURUDJ and NuJUM (أروى)].

According to a Sasanid astrological theory, adopted by several early Islamic astrologers, Saturn-Jupiter conjunctions indicated important religious and political

and 1,035 years for the synodic (“anomalistic”) period. Saturn’s tropical period, the longest of the planets, led a number of Islamic astronomers to call for a thirty-year observational programme (see MARSAD and A. Sayili, The observatory in Islam, Ankara 1960, 163-6, 204, 288-9).

Ptolemy’s exact values for motion in longitude and anomaly, given to six sexagesimal places, were slightly modified in various Islamic zikhs [q.v.]. More drastic changes may be found in the precessional rate, which was given a more correct value of 1°66 yrs. at the time of the caliph al-Ma’mun [q.v.] and an even more accurate rate of 1°70 yrs by the 4th/10th century. As with the other planets, Islamic astronomers proposed a number of modifications to Saturn’s system of orbs to correct several non-uniform motions introduced by Ptolemy; they were considered violations of the accepted physics of the time, which required uniform circular motions in the heavens [see ILM AL-HAY’A]. As for latitudinal motions, either above or below the ecliptic, these were brought about by inclinations of the deferent and complex motions of the epicycle (for which see Ragep, Nasir al-Din, i, 188-94).

Saturn’s parecliptic outer surface marked the boundary between the planets and the fixed stars, and as such delimited the minimum possible size for the universe (it being unknown whether the fixed stars were all on a single orb just beyond Saturn or on multiple orbs at greater distances). Its distance from the Earth was generally given as approximately 20,000 earth radii (about 80,000,000 miles), which is of course considerably smaller than the current figure. Saturn’s boundary with Jupiter was about 14,200 earth radii from the Earth, so that the “thickness” (كشذن) of Saturn’s parecliptic (equivalent to the distance occupied by its system of orbs) was 5,800 earth radii. Saturn itself, based on rather dubious observational data, was taken to be about 77 times the volume of the Earth.

Zuhal in astrology [see MINTARAT AL-BURUDJ and NuJUM (أروى)].
changes and thus provided the basis for an astrological world history [see kuran]. Saturn is the lord of Saturday. Its two domiciles (hast) are Capricorn (day-house) and Aquarius (night-house); it is also the day-ruler of the third triplicity (muthallatha), consisting of Gemini, Libra and Aquarius, the night-ruler of which is Mercury. It is also the companion (sharik) of the ruler of the first muthallatha (Aries, Leo and Sagittarius). Its exaltation (sharif) is in the 21st degree of Libra (20th, according to some Indian and Roman sources), and its fall (hubut) is in the 21st degree of Aries. Saturn's nature is cold, dry and male, and it is characterised as black, maflec and generally of bad omen. It is called "the greater star of misfortune" (al-na'ahs al-akhbar), Mars being the lesser. They are contrasted with the two planets of good fortune, namely Jupiter and Venus [see sa'd wa-na'ahs; al-sa'dan].

In alchemy, zuhal means lead.


ZUHARA, the planet Venus. The Arabic name is derived from the root ژ-هر meaning "to shine, be radiant", appropriate for the brightest planet whose magnitude can reach -4.4; perhaps in consequence of this, it was sometimes referred to as the white planet (Li). ژ-هر does not seem to have cognates referring to Venus in other ancient languages. Its Persian name is (mualhikhw.)

From Antiquity it was well known that the "morning" and "evening" stars were in fact the same planet, and that this planet, Venus, stayed fairly close (within 48°) to the sun. According to ancient and mediaeval astronomy, the planets are those celestial bodies that move with respect to the fixed stars as seen from the stationary Earth at the centre of the universe [see on these planetary conceptions, zuhal].

Following Ptolemaic cosmology, Islamic astronomers placed Venus in the third planetary system of orbs (al-fak, sing. falak [q.s.]) between those of Mercury and the sun. To bring about Venus's observed motions, three solid rotating orbs were postulated (see Fig. 1): (1) a par ecliptic (mumuttuthal) orb (centred on the Earth and in the plane of the ecliptic) whose convex (outer) surface (muthallatha) was contiguous with the concave surface of the sun's par ecliptic while its parallel con cave (inner) surface (mashadd) was contiguous with the convex surface of Mercury's par ecliptic (motion equal to precessionial rate of fixed stars, 1°/100 yrs.); (2) an eccentric deferent (harmila) for the epicycle nested within the par ecliptic (mean motion in longitude equal to the sun's mean motion of centre, i.e. approx. 0°59'/day; eccentricity = 1', parts based on the deferent radius being 60); and (3) an epicycle (taddit), embedded within the deferent, that contained the actual planet (mean motion in anomaly of approx. 1°37'/day; radius = 43°/6 parts). These mean motions lead to quite accurate values of one tropical year for the mean tropical perihelion and 384 days for the synodic ("anomalistic") period.

Ptolemy's exact values for motion in longitude and anomaly, given to six sexagesimal places, were slightly modified in various Islamic zidig [q.s.]. As with the other planets, Islamic astronomers proposed a number of modifications to Venus's system of orbs to correct several non-uniform motions introduced by Ptolemy; these were considered violations of the accepted physics of the time, which required uniform circular motions in the heavens [see 'ilm al-hay'a]. For precession and latitude, see zuhal.

According to Ptolemy, the nearest distance to Venus, which is the same as Mercury's farthest distance, was 166 earth radii (approx. 664,000 miles); this is the distance from the Earth to the concave surface of Venus's par ecliptic. Its farthest distance was 1160 earth radii (approx. 4,690,000 miles), which was the same as the Earth's nearest distance to the sun. Thus the "thickness" (thikhan) of Venus's par ecliptic (equivalent to the distance occupied by its system of orbs) was 994 earth radii. These numbers, of course, depend on being able to fit the two inner planets (Venus and Mercury) between the moon and sun; as such, there were attempts to observe Venus transiting the sun, where it would thereby appear as a spot. Such observations, which were reported by a number of astronomers, would help establish that Venus was below the sun, though not definitively since it might go around the sun in its epicycle. At least one astronomer, Mu'ayyad al-Din al-Urdh (d. 666/1266), entertained the notion that Venus might be above the sun (see B.R. Goldstein, Some medieval reports of Venus and Mercury transits, in Centaurus, xiv [1969], 49-58; idem and N.M. Swerdlow, Planetary distances and sizes in an anonymous Arabic treatise preserved in Bodleian Ms. Marsh 621, in Centaurus, xv [1970], 135-70; cf. Ragep, Nasir al-Din, 391, 517-24). The usual volume for Venus in Islamic astronomical texts was 1/50 of the Earth's volume (Ptolemy has 1/30; see Ragep, op. cit., 323).

Zuhara in astrology [see mintakat al-burudj; neyom (arsam al-)].

Venus is the lord of Friday. Its two domiciles (hast) are Libra (day-hour) and Taurus (night-hour). It is the day-ruler of the second triplicity (muthallatha), consisting of Taurus, Virgo and Capricorn, the night-ruler of which is the moon, as well as day-ruler of the fourth triplicity, consisting of Cancer, Scorpio and Pisces, whose night-ruler is Mars. Its exaltation (sharif) is in the 27th degree of Pisces and its fall (hubut) in the 27th degree of Virgo. Venus's nature is cold and moist (plegmatik) and female, and it is characterised as white, benefic and generally of good omen. It is called "the lesser star of good fortune" (al-sid al-safir), Jupiter being the greater, contrasted with the two planets of misfortune, namely Saturn and Mars [see sa'd wa-na'ahs; al-sa'dan].

In alchemy, zuhara means copper.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see the Bibli for zuhal. [W. HARTNER-F.J. RAGEP]

ZUHAYR b. Abi Sulma Rab'a b. Riyah al-Muzani, renowned poet of the pre-Islamic era, who, in the judgement of ancient critics, competed for first place with Imru' al-Kays and al-Nabigha al-Dhubyanfi [q.s.]. Ibn Sallam, Tabaqat jubtil al-dhwar, ed. Shakiir, 52, 64-5; Agg dei, ix, 146-7, 158; al-Husri, Zahr al-edd, ed. Mubarak, 1, 90.]
His father Rabi'ā belonged to the tribe of the Muzayna [q.v.], a minor tribe residing to the south of Medina as neighbours of the B. 'Abd Allah b. Ghatafan [q.v.] and of the B. Murra (an offshoot of the Ghatafan), his maternal uncles. Rabi'ā stayed for some time among the Banū Murra with his mother, but after a dispute over the distribution of booty following a raid, he returned with her to the Muzayna (Aghḏānī, ix, 148). However, he did not remain among them long, since in the course of a raid against the Dhubyān, the Muzayna left him behind. He returned to the Murra, settled among them and married the sister of the poet Baš̄āma b. al-Ghādir, who was thus the maternal uncle of Zuhayr (Aghḏānī, ix, 157). Zuhayr was born and grew up among the Ghatafan, and, according to Ibn Kutayba (al-Shīr wa 'l-shu'a'ān, ed. Šābkīr, 137), in none of his poems does he refer to his Muzayna ancestry.

Zuhayr is classed among the mu'ammarān, those having a remarkably long life, and a well-known verse of the Mau'alla (v. 47) refers to his already advanced years; in another poem, which incidentally al-Asmaʿī does not consider authentic (rhm, līyā, al-Shajāntārī, ed. Kabāwā no. 17, Thālab, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 283-92; cf. al-'Aynī, al-Makāsid al-nahhāyya fī ūjār ḫawāshīẖīḏ al-ajjhīya, Bīlākī 1299, i, 267-69) and which tells of ḏār and the decay of human things, Zuhayr mentions the fall conditions of al-Hīra [see Lāmmīd] which took place in 602. He would thus have been living at the beginning of the 7th century (R. Jacobi, Studia zur Poetik der altrabischen Qisāṣe, Wiesbaden 1971, 8) and, according to the Aghḏānī, ix, 148, at 100 years old he is said to have encountered the Prophet. The Mu'alla was composed to celebrate the end of the War of Dāhīs [q.v. in Suppl.] and Qubāra, between the 'Abs and Dhubyān. This war is said to have lasted 40 years and to have continued some years after the yaum of Shīb Ḏābala [q.v.], which apparently took place around the year 550 or, according to a more widespread tradition, in the year 570. Thus the poem celebrates the end of this long war and the two chiefants of the B. Murra who concluded the peace, Ḥarīm b. Sinīgh and al-Ḥārīt b. Awfī.

The Mu'alla of Zuhayr, unlike other mu'allākāt, is linked to a specific historical episode, which it evokes: the personal exploits of an individual of Murra, al-Ḥusayn b. Daḍam, who, having not accepted the peace accords between the two clans, killed a member of the 'Abs. The two chiefants of Murra took responsibility for payment of the blood-price, and peace was finally concluded (Aghḏānī, ix, 148-50). This justly famous poem opens with a long nāshī which colourfully describes the departure of the tribe of Umm Awfī; it then passes abruptly to a paean praising the generosity of the chiefants, which is interspersed with a description of the horrors of war and the men who wage it, identified directly, without the intermediary of any comparison, with animals that need to slake their thirst with water mixed with blood and to pasture on muddy ground. The poem ends with a section composed of verses having the form of a proverb, some of which have probably been added (see M.C. Bateson, Structural continuity in poetry, Paris-The Hague 1970, 50; G.J.H. van Gelder, Beyond the line, Leiden 1982, 59).

The diwān of Zuhayr has been conserved with two principal commentaries (besides the commentaries on the Mu'alla alone; cf. in this context M. Abo Šīfā, al-'Adār wa-masbād sharīẖīḏ al-ṣūra, Ta'rif al-adab, 1944 by the Dar al-Kutub al-Misriyya, and in 1982 by F. Kabāwā, Nāsir al-Dīn al-Asad, op. cit., 526-42, and Shawāki Da'īf, Ta'rīkh al-adab al-'arabī, al-šarīẖīḏ al-dhili, Cairo 1982, 305-6), of which one only: that of having worked very assiduously in the composition of the poems, something which could have required a great deal of time. Certain of the poems of Zuhayr are in fact called ḥawqāyāt, "poems which have been pondered over for a year" (Ibn Kutayba, Shīr, 78, 144). Furthermore, Zuhayr belonged to a line of poets who were in their turn transmitters (nāṣir) of a preceding poet (Ibn Raṣīq, i, 198, 201). Without going so far as to propose, as Tāḥā Ḥusayn and others after him have supposed, that "poetical schools" are involved here (M. Zwetle, The oral tradition of classical Arabic poetry, Columbus, Ohio 1978, 86-7; cf. also Da'īf, Ta'rīkh, 306-7), it may be asserted that the poetry of Zuhayr does appear to be the fruit of a meticulous apprenticeship. According to the ḥabar of a poetical tension or contest between Zuhayr and his son Ka'b, transmitted only by Thālab and Saḥīdīa (Divān, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 256-9; Aghḏānī, xv, 147-9), Zuhayr is said to have rebuked and even struck his son for composing poems before completing his education (cf. Blachère, HLA, 336 n. 1).

These affirmations, all of them pointing in the same direction, are reflected in the judgements of ancient critics and in their manner of citing the poetry of Zuhayr. Al-Asmaʿī, like his master Abū 'Amr b. al-'Āli, did not have a high opinion of the "slaves of poetry" (ʿabād al-šīr), those poets whose verses are polished and refined precisely because they have been
composed without recourse to natural talent (Ibn Kutayba, Shīr, 144, al-Dāhījī, al-Baydāwī wa l-tabyyin, i, 206, ii, 13, in reference to al-Ḥujayrā’s, rūt and discipline of Zuhayr), and for this reason he did not consider Zuhayr as a fahī, preferring to him al-Nabigha al-Dhibyānī (Fukūlat al-ghurarī, ed. Torrey, in DMG, lvi [1911], 492; Ağhani, iii, 25).

On the other hand, critics of the classical epoch not only judged that this toiling over verse was a positive aspect of this poetry, but they were also often aware that this concern with form went beyond the mark of the verse taken in isolation. The expression lā yuṭallu fi ḫayn al-kullām / bayn al-kawṣāt/ al-kullāmātayn, whereby ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb defined the poetry of Zuhayr (Ibn Kutayba, Shīr, 157-8; Ağhani, i, 148; Ibn Sallām, Tabākāt, 63), is thus explained in the Risāla al-Muḍbaḥa of al-Ḥātimī (d. 388/998), ed. Nadjm, 91, as avoiding pairing words that are not of the same genus. Al-ʿAskārī (K. al-Sināʿatayn, 169) in the chapter dealing with ʿaṣr al-naṣr, gives a similar explanation, and adds that this defect, from which the greatest of the ancient poets were not exempt, is not to be found in the poetry of Zuhayr. At 107-8, this same critic cites an example of madāḥ, drawn from the Muʿallakah, in which the theme is developed over several verses, according to logical transitions which al-ʿAskārī does not fail to point out. It often happens that images or a waṣf are deployed over several verses which, while retaining their formal autonomy, are dependent one upon the other; Zuhayr is above all that images or a waṣf thatubāt al-waṣf).

Among poetic genres, madāḥ is the most frequently represented (11 poems out of the 20 most positively authentic), honouring in particular the chieftains of Ghatafan, and this corresponds to the expressions used by tradition in defining Zuhayr as amuḥāl al-kawm (Ibn Kutayba, Shīr, 144) or indeed in saying that Zuhayr was ʿaṣhr al-nāʾs . . . idhā raḥiba (judgment attributed to the grammarian Yūnus b. Ḥabīb, d. 182/798, in Ağhani, viii, 77; al-ʿAskārī, Sināʿatayn, 29; Ibn Raḍīḥ, al-Umda, i, 95), while recognising that he was not in thrall to the lure of gain (ibid., i, 81). Numerous traditions refer to the praises addressed by Zuhayr to Harīm b. Sinān as a monument aṣe perennia, while the gifts that Zuhayr received from him had been eroded by time ( Ağhani, ix, 146; Kudama b.  Đo fa, Ṣad al-ṣīr, ed. Bonebakker, 33-4, cites long passages from the madāḥāt of Zuhayr, to serve as an “example”.

Less numerous are the ḥiżā poems. Ibn Raḍīḥ, al-Umda, ii, 66, 171, considered that in this poetical genre Zuhayr had proved himself a stylist both caustic and pure; cf. van Gelder, The bad and the ugly, Leiden 1988, 16. Other poems relate to personal affairs, such as his repudiation of his first wife, Umm Awdāʾ (Dhiya, al-Shantamarī, no. 16; Thāʾlab, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 342; according to al-Yazīḍī, Amālī, 133, Muhammad b. Ḥabīb considered these verses apocryphal, who was jealous of his second wife, the mother of Zuhayr’s sons Kaʿb, Buǧayr and Sālim. The last-named died young, and Zuhayr composed a riḥāʾ for him (not transmitted by al-Shantamarī; Ağhani, ii, 157; Diwān, Thāʾlab, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 340-1). Four poems deal with the theft of camels belonging to Zuhayr, and the abduction of their herdsmen by a member of the Banū ʿAṣad who, as a result of some menacing verses on the part of the poet, decided to send the slave back to him (Dīwān, Thāʾlab, ed. Dār al-Kutub, 164-83, 300-12; al-Shantamarī, nos. 5-8; cf. al-Baghdādidī, Ḳibżāna, v, 453-58; according to al-ʿAṣmāʾī, the first of these poems was the finest kāfīya in the Arabic language).


ZUHAYR b. DJANĀB, a semi-legendary tribal leader and poet, and the eponym of a tribal group belonging to the Kalb b. Wābah [q.v.] who flourished in the 6th century A.D. According to some, he was in command of the whole of the Kuṭṭāʾa [q.v.]. Around the middle of the 6th century, Abrahā [q.v.] put Zuhayr in charge of the two brother tribes, Tabākāt b. Wā’il and Bakr b. Wā’il [q.v.]. Zuhayr raided them after they had rebelled against him, taking captives Kullayb b. Raḥf [q.v.] and his brother Muḥāhil. At a later stage, Zuhayr and his tribe made up for their alliance with Mecca’s enemy, Abrahā, by joining the Hums [q.v.]. Moreover, Zuhayr subdued an attempt by the Ghatafān [q.v.; see also Mūrra, at Vol. VII, 629a] to establish a rival sanctuary northeast of Mecca. His action is said to have been praised by the Prophet Muḥammad.

Zuhayr is supposed to have committed suicide, when he was disobeyed, by drinking unmixed wine. Among his offspring we find Maysun [q.v.] who bore for Muʿawiyah I his son Yazīd [q.v.]. The prominence of Ibn al-Kalbī in the reports about Zuhayr demonstrates the latter’s importance in the tribal tradition of the Kalb, and that of the Kuṭṭāʾa as a whole, for at least two centuries into the Islamic era.


ZUHAYR b. DJANAB — ZUHD

43-52; M. Lecker, The Banu Sulaym, Jerusalem 1989, 37-41. (M. LECKER)

ZUHAYR b. HARB, ABU KHAYTHAMA al-Shaybâni, a traditionalist of the early 'Abbâsid period. He was born at Nasâ in Khurâsân in 160/776-7 but lived mostly in Baghdad, dying there in Sha'bân 234/March 849. He was amongst the seven scholars forwarded by Ishaq b. Ibrâhim to the caliph al-Ma'mûn for questioning over the createdness or otherwise of the Kur'an (al-Tabarî, iii, 1116; see also MUNA). Regarded as a trustworthy, dîka, narrator of traditions, he was the author of a Kitâb al-'Ilm (publ. Damascus 1966).

Bibliography: al-Khaṭṭâb al-Baghdâdi, vii, 482-4 no. 4597; Ibn Abî Hatim, al-Dârâ wa 'l-tâdîl, Haydardâd 1952-3, i/2, 591; Ibn al-'Imâd, Shudhârâ, ii, 80; Szczeg, GâS, i, 1077. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ZUHAYR b. KAYS al-BALAWI (b. ?, d. 76/695), Arab commander, stemming from Bali, one of the Kudâba ['q.D. tribes, of reputed Yemeni descent. Ibn Hâdîr, Sûbâ i, 555-6, includes him among the Prophet's Companions and mentions his role in the conquest of Egypt, whilst al-Suyûtî, Husn al-muhâdâna, i, 200, lists him as a Sâkâbî but in i, 295 as a Tâbî or Successor, showing that he belonged to the two groups.

He took part in the campaigns against the Maghrib in the time of 'Ukba b. Nassî ['q.D.], one of them against Surt/Syrte where, after his anti-Umayyad past in the middle 419-late 429/1028-1038, originally a client of al-Mansûr Muhammad b. Abâ 'Ukba, he was named, routed the Sakaliba. “In the space of a single hour, it [Zuhayr's army] was routed with the loss of all its eumuchs (kâflân). Zuhayr, however, completely vanished away and was never found either living or dead” (Tîyun, 70, tr. 58). Having decided to open hostilities, Bâdis laid ambushes in ravines on Zuhayr's route and pulled down a bridge which the Sakaliba had to cross. On approaching the bridge, Zuhayr was set upon by Bâdis's men. At the very outset, Zuhayr's Negro detachment, some 500 strong, defected. Zuhayr himself, however, stood fast and ordered his fellow Sâkâbîla to engage the Granadans who, though outnumbered, routed the Sâkâbîla. “In the space of a single hour, it [Zuhayr's army] was routed with the loss of all its eumuchs (kâflân). Zuhayr, however, completely vanished away and was never found either living or dead” (Tîyun, 70, tr. 58).

Almeria was annexed, a month later, by 'Abd al-'Azîz b. Abî 'Amir of Valencia, who acquired a huge fortune from the possessions left by his grandfather's maunds (Dâkhârâ, i/2, 730).


ZUHAYR, 'AMîD AL-DANWA al-Sâkâbî, ruler of Almeria middle 419-late 429/ middle 1028-late 1038, originally a client (maund) of al-Mansûr Muhammad b. Abâ 'Amir, the famous kâflân of al-Andalus at the end of the late 4th/10th century.

During the period of turmoil which followed the fall of the 'Amirids in 399/1009, a number of Sâkâbî leaders left Cordova and managed to set up independent states on the eastern seaboard of Spain. Prominent among them was Khayrán, who ruled Almeria (405-19/1014-28) and appointed his brother/companion (jâhîd) Zuhayr as his lieutenant in Murcia. Nominated by Khayrán as his successor in Almeria, Zuhayr ruled an independent territory extending from Almeria to Játiva, Baenza and the approaches of Toledo. He even controlled Cordova itself for some fifteen months (425/1034).

Zuhayr is credited with building and later extending the great mosque of Almeria and with improving the city's water supplies and fortifications. He is said to have sought, and complied with, the advice of the fakihâ. The description of Zuhayr in the author of the Tîyun as a stupid ignoramus does not accredit with the accounts of Andalusian chroniclers, who speak highly of Zuhayr's piety, courage, astuteness and prudence.

Shortly after the accession of the Zirid amir of Granada Bâdis b. Habûs (Ramadân 429/June 1038), the alliance which had existed between Zuhayr and Habûs came to an end as a result of Zuhayr's alliance with Muhammad b. 'Abd Allâh al-Bîrûzâli, lord of Carmona and leader of the Zanâta ['q.D.]. Berbers, traditional foes of the Sanâhîdja ['q.D.] to which the Zirids belonged. Zuhayr's alliance with the lord of Carmona was probably motivated by the expansionist policy of the kâflân Muhammad b. 'Abbâd, ruler of Seville, who in 426/1035 had installed the pseudo-Umayyad Hîjâmî in Seville as caliph of al-Andalus. This Zuhayr and al-Bîrûzâli adamantly refused to accept. According to the last Zirid amir of Granada, Zuhayr “on hearing of the death of Habûs cast covetous eyes on Granada. He therefore marched on the city and duly encamped at a place known as Alpuente (al-Flûnt)” (Tîyun, 70, tr. 58). Having decided to open hostilities, Bâdis laid ambushes in ravines on Zuhayr's route and pulled down a bridge which the Sakaliba had to cross. On approaching the bridge, Zuhayr was set upon by Bâdis's men. At the very outset, Zuhayr's Negro detachment, some 500 strong, defected. Zuhayr himself, however, stood fast and ordered his fellow Sakaliba to engage the Granadans who, though outnumbered, routed the Sakaliba. “In the space of a single hour, it [Zuhayr's army] was routed with the loss of all its eumuchs (kâflân). Zuhayr, however, completely vanished away and was never found either living or dead” (Tîyun, 70, tr. 58).

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ZUHAYR, AL-BAHÀ [see BAHÀ AL-DIN ZUHAYR].

ZUHD (Ar.), the material and spiritual asceticism facilitating closer association with the divine. Zuhd constitutes one of the “spiritual virtues” considered not only by the mystics, but also by a large
number of believers, as essential to religious life in Islam. As such, it occupies a dominant place in the biographies of saints of the first centuries of the Hijra. The term embraces numerous nuances, divided between two principal meanings: on the one hand, "renunciation" in the sense of detachment, of indifference to things of this inferior world; on the other, "asceticism" in the sense of privation, mortification, tests imposed on the carnal soul (nafs). The two terms of Kurânic origin, ibtidâ and nakhir, have often been employed as equivalents of zahid, although the former (in the plural 'abhidâ) serves to denote the devoted ones of God, and the latter, more specifically, the one who performs sacrifices and performs rites. Zâhidân (Kurîn, XII, 20), the sole occurrence of the root, describes the merchants who sold Joseph after finding him in the pit in which his brothers had thrown him, "attaching no value to him" and therefore not considering him worth keeping. Their detachment here takes on a profound sense. To denote a certain form of spiritual renunciation, the Kurîn uses paraphrases, as in the verse (LVII, 23): "Do not despair in that which escapes you and do not exult in that which has been given to you." Reference could also be made to III, 14; XV, 8; XVI, 96; XVIII, 7; XX, 131; XXIII, 55, 56; XXVIII, 60, 83; XXXI, 33; XLIII, 32-3.

Literature specifically devoted to renunciation comprises, out of 63 titles listed for the period between the 2nd/8th and the 10th/16th centuries (27 of which have survived to this day), 37 works dating from the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries. Their titles include, in addition to the word zahid, which appears 45 times, one instance of tasawwuf (taken as a synonym of zahid); two of bukâ (weeping) and tawakkul al-duny (contempt for this inferior world); four of wārat (abstinence through religious scruple); and, finally, eight occurrences of râkât (actions that elevate man), which would thus seem to be the closest equivalent, and the singular of which (râkîna) can, as Roger Deladrière has pointed out, denote the precariousness of the life of ascetics.

On the other hand, the anthology of al-Bayhâkî (d. 458/1065 [q.v.]) throws light on the various nuances attributed to zahid in the 4th-5th/9th-10th centuries: contentment with little (kand'a); isolation (zâqî); the effacement of self (khawâî); opposition to the lower soul and to passion (mukhdâfat al-nafs wa 'l-kand'a); the limitation of hopes (bâr al-amal); the pressure to finish works before the end of life (al-muhâdâna li 'l-kand'a); zeal in obedience (al-usûtâd fî 'l-tâ'd); safeguarding the status of a servant (mâlûzâmat al-hâdâmat); scrupulous piety (sârî); and vigilant piety (sâhî). Some added poverty (fâd), which denotes external deprivation as much as the absence of desire for riches; the latter includes, in a spiritual sense, the absence of desire for the blessings of the other world. On the other hand, Sahl al-Tustârî (d. 283/896 [q.v.]) draws a clear distinction, on the basis of a prophetic tradition, between zahid and tabâshînî (mortification of the flesh).

Expressing an opinion on the subject of renunciation has never been the exclusive preserve of the Şûfîs. Declaring that in the Kitâb al-zahid al-kabir of al-Bayhâkî, it is a traditionalist, Abû 'Abd Allâh al-Hâfîz (d. 412/1021), and not a Şûfî who supplies most information concerning the renunciation of ascetics, mystics and gnostics, Deladrière has thrown light upon the essential role of the bûsûtî in the elaboration of this literature. This affinity is confirmed by the fact that, in Twelver Shi'î circles, zahid was reckoned among the qualities required for the transmitter (nâwî) of Imamî traditions.

The earliest works, such as those of Ibn al-Mubârak (d. 181/797 [q.v.]), are primarily concerned with the actions and gestures of the Prophet Muhammad—who appears to an increasing extent, in the course of the development of mystical literature, to be the most consummate model of the "renouncer"—and of his Companions, as well as certain epigoni, the one most often cited being al-Hasan al-Baṣîr (d. 110/728 [q.v.]). The work of Ibn Hanbal (d. 241/855 [q.v.]) adds to this the renunciation practised by eleven sanctified individuals, from Adam to Jesus, and by the Umâyyah caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azîz. It is principally from the 4th/10th century onward that the leading protagonists of this literature become the mystics of the two preceding centuries: Dhu 'l-Nun al-Misrî, Ibn Adham, Fudayl b. 'Iyâd, Bishr al-Hâfî, Sâfî al-Sâkârî, Yahyâ b. Mu'âdî, Sahl al-Tustârî, al-Djumaydî and al-Shîbîî.

Goldziher advanced the hypothesis according to which the earliest prophetic traditions, those possessing the strongest guarantee of authenticity, tended towards a rejection of zahid, whereas only late forgeries endorsed or extolled it. It is in any event certain that a large number of hadîth, corroborated by Kurîn, XXV, 67, stressed the necessity of limiting the practice of asceticism and of observing a high degree of moderation.

In regard to the next four centuries of the Hijra, it is difficult to establish a decisive distinction between the corpus of work emanating from the Hanbalîs or other traditionists and that of the mystics proper. The distinction was accentuated during the Mamlûk period, at which time the Şûfî or the wârat only received the epithet of zahid when he had distinguished himself through extreme corporeal asceticism. E. Geoffroy has declared that at the end of this period, Hanbalî authors, making abundant use of the terms zahid and 'abdîd, effected a very fine demarcation between adherence to Hanbalism and attribution of the term Şûfî, especially in Syria, while in the Ottoman period there was a general rapprochement between Hanbalism and Şûfism. In practice, being an ascetic has never implied adherence to Şûfism, although the consensus among mystics has always stressed the importance of this quality.

For the Persian Djânî (d. 890/1492 [q.v.]), who clearly differentiates zahid from true Şûfîm, "ascetics consider the beauty of the other life in the light of faith and of certitude and do not despise this inferior world, but they are still veiled by the pleasure that is afforded them by the contemplation of Paradise; on the other hand, the true Şûfî is separated as by a veil from these two worlds, by the vision of primordial Beauty and of eternal love." [Naqdiân al-uns, ed. Tawhîdpûr, Tehran 1957, i. 10.]

It is especially in the determination of the sphere of application of zahid that the greatest differences arise. In the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries, two interpretations of the term were established: for some, it meant above all renunciation, not only of agreeable clothes, accommodation and foodstuffs, but also of comfort, sleep and all human relationships, sometimes including marriage; for others, it was a more internal and subjective asceticism, the renunciation of intentions and desires, which led to the concept of tausukhâl [q.v.]. However, for many mystics, the two aspects were seen as going hand-in-hand.

Ibrâhîm b. Adham (d. 165/782 [q.v.]) is generally credited with a sub-division of zahid into three stages, which is also found in the works of al-Sarrâj and could emanate from a later source: (1) renunciation of the world; (2) renunciation of the joy of having
devoted oneself to renunciation; and (3) the stage at which the world becomes so insignificant in the eyes of the ascetic that he is no longer interested in it. His disciple, Shāykh al-Balkhī, reckoned to be the first to the Madhāmatiya mystical system, maintains that zuhd constitutes the most elementary stage of those who practise sincerity (āhī al-żādī). It is followed by the stages of fear, of desire for Paradise, and of love of God. The beginning of zuhd consists in the training of the body to experience the hunger which will give release from the other preoccupations of this inferior world.

The Madhāmatiya mystical system, just like the Khurāsānī spiritual leader al-Tirmidhī (d. 318/930) proposed a conception of zuhd which was to serve as a model for numerous mystical systems from the 3rd/9th century onward: genuine zuhd, that of the Prophet and of his Companions, is presented as a particular type of renunciation, which does not imply in any way a visible and material practice of asceticism, but a profound detachment, an attitude of the heart; ascetic practices may be admitted, if considered necessary, as a preparatory stage, as is affirmed, in a different context, by al-Qushayrī. Such a form of renunciation presents an aspect that is entirely spontaneous, linked to a divine grace.

Abū Sa‘īd al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899 [q.v.]) adopted the same classification as did al-Balkhī: renunciation is followed by fear, and it consists in “the progressive detachment of the heart from every desire concerning this inferior world”. The “renouncers” are subdivided according to three categories: “Some act thus in order to liberate their heart from all preoccupation other than obedience to God, the mention of His name and His service; others desire, through this influence, to become light and to pass quickly over the bridge which traverses Hell, knowing that those who are weighed down will be delayed and subjected to interrogation. Finally, others act thus through the desire for Paradise. They deprive themselves of the life of this inferior world and dedicate themselves to awaiting the reward of God. But the most elevated degree of renunciation consists in consenting totally to the love of God and accepting without reserve the state of servitude by the understanding of His will” (K. al-żuhd, ed. ‘Abd al-Halim Mahmūd, Cairo, 43).

For Ibn ‘Atā‘ Allah al-Islāndārī (d. 709/1309 [q.v.]), renunciation consists in liberating the heart from the love of this inferior world and from the jealousy it may feel in regard to other people and the benefits they enjoy: “Ignorant one, cease to envy the creatures of this inferior world for what they have received. Your heart is preoccupied with what they possess and you become even more ignorant than they. In fact, they are preoccupied with what they have received and you, you are preoccupied with what you have not received” (Tadh al-arā‘, tāla hāmiḥ al-Tanwīr, 11).

Zuhd has gradually acquired a place in the succession of mystical stations, but differences exist between one thinker and another, although all consider it as associated with the beginning of the way.

In Twelve Shi‘ī traditions, it appears to be the least of the virtues of the believer, its highest level corresponding to the lowest level of “contentment with little” (kanā‘a), while Dhu ‘l-Nūn al-Şīrī (d. 245/859 [q.v.]) states that the “ladder of word” gives access to zuhd”. For al-Dārānī (d. 205/820), spiritual heir of al-Ḥasan al-Šīrī, the pinnacle of zuhd is abandonment to trust in God (ta‘allūk); it would be the same for al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), giving it precedence over fakhr. Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī considers zuhd as the outcome of repentance (tawbā) and the stage preceding combat against the carnal soul (nąfṣu l-ṭālwi). We have here a stage of the heart. "The world appears worthless in the eyes of the ascetic that he is no longer interested in it, since an insensible part has been revealed to them. They therefore do not concern themselves in the least with the subsistence that could fall to their lot, and on this matter they trust in their Lord with an utterly tranquil heart. He who does not direct his regard towards the other life and magnifies in his own eyes the life of this world, even if he is completely withdrawn from the life of here below, wears nothing but rags and eats only grass, is not a true renouncer but only a man who compels himself to renounce" (Naṣīr al-‘ulā, asl 106, fi ḥaḍrat al-żuhd, Beirut, 144).

Ibn al-‘Arābī (d. 638/1240 [q.v.]) likewise envisages zuhd as one of the first stages of the way. It is situated in the wake of isolation (tuzla), of retreat (ghudra) and the practice of scruple (warna‘). According to him, it also precedes tawwākūl.

Thus for Muslim as well as for Christian spiritual seekers (desert anchorites and mystics), interior renunciation is held to be much more important than spectacular practices of asceticism. The latter have, however, persisted into the present day in response to precise functions, for the ascetic himself as for his entourage.

Examples of extreme mortification are not lacking among the accounts of the lives of the early Sūfis; it used to be said, for example, that Shāh al-Kirmānī (d. between 270/883 and 300/912) spent forty years without sleeping; Rūzbihān Balkī (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]), told the story of a saint who had fasted totally for seventy days; Abū Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘l-Khayr al-Din (d. 318/930) proposed a preparatory stage, as is affirmed, in a different context, by al-Djunayd. Such a form of renunciation presents an aspect that is entirely spontaneous, linked to a divine grace.

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Numerous Egyptians mysteries, among others, are renowned for their impressive feats of asceticism. Shāykh Murādī declared to al-Shāṛānī that he had not eaten more than one raisin per day over a period of forty years, to the point where the skin of his stomach adhered to that of his back. Al-Sayyīd al-Badāwī (d. 675/1276), the famous saint of Ṭāntā who had adopted voluntary celibacy, possessed nothing of his own and burned out his eyes by staring at the sun from his terrace, spent forty days without drinking, eating or sleeping. He never took off his clothes or his turban, waiting for them to fall to pieces by themselves. His disciples, including Abū Ṭaṭār, were renowned for their asceticism. In this context, some mystics took it as a point of honour to surpass Jesus, regarded by the majority of Sūfis as a model of poverty, of mortification and of detachment from the concerns of this world. These manifestations of the Badawiyya, as those of numerous other mystical orders, have been subjected at all times to the censure of the ‘umāma; their efforts have been pursued, to little effect, into the present day.

The dominant thematic strain of the zuhdiyya is rooted in pre-Islamic poetry, particularly the elegiac tendency of much of the early corpus: the evocations of Man's mortality in a finite existence and of the depleting effect of Time/Fate (al-zaman/al-dahr). In Đahi`lì poetry, where such contemplation crystallises in aphorism, it is generally labeled hikma (lit. "wisdom") in later anthologies and manuals of poetry. Hikma penetrates and overlaps with the thematic and homiletic register of the zuhdiyya, which is a wisdom literature of sorts, drawing also on the nāḍī`ī of earlier poetry (cf. Muhammad `Awis, al-Hikma fi `tālī`r al-zuhd, which simultaneously contains a section on the zuhdiyya).

However, pre-Islamic poetry's elegiac strain is distinct from the pessimism of zuhd or in two fundamental respects. For it either suffuses elegies (marāthī), whose mood is pessimistic but whose function is nevertheless distinct from zuhd, or, in the poetry of ḥadr, pessimism is transcended by the poet's enunciation of his own worth within the ethical and moral panoply of the Quran. (Ironically, he is also described as the father of the khāmīṣyya [q.v.] or wine poem in the genealogical histories of Arabic genres.) It is in this poet that we find the earliest significant treatment of the uti sunt topoi, which may have been inherited from the music of earlier Christians of the region, but which was later Islamised in the zuhdīyya as a standard rhetorical feature, often stressed by passages of anaphora (the construction "where is . . .?" beginning a whole series of lines). In early Islamic times, zuhd is understood to have been influenced largely by the ascetic teachings of al-Hasan of Basra, for whom the Prophet Muhammad was a paragon of ascetic virtue (Hannori, 267). As an Islamic genre, the texture of the zuhdīyya is one rich in Qur'anic allusion and quotation (kitāb); it also contains many elements of hadīth. But does Scripture support its ascetic tenor? To some extent this is certainly the case, and much can be made of verses in the Kur'ān which rail against human material greed (cf. e.g. XX, 131). This must be balanced, however, by an understanding of the Kur'ān's concomitant view of the fruits and blessing of the Earth (cf. e.g. XXXVI, 110-24, Fr. Tr. Le soufisme en Egypte et en Syrie, Damascus 1995, 287-91; Annemarie Schimmel, Mystical dimensions of Islam, Chapel Hill 1975, 110-24, Fr. Tr. Le soufisme ou les dimensions mystiques de l'Islam, Paris 1996, 150-62.

(Geneviève Gobilot)

ZUHDĪYYA (pl. zuhdīyyāt), a pious, homiletic or ascetic poem, of the kind that flowered as a genre of Arabic poetry in the 8th-9th centuries. The noun zuhd [q.v.] denotes principally "asceticism," "renunciation (of the material world)", but the themes of the zuhdīyya are broader than this allows one to understand; collectively, the zuhdīyya articulate a general, God-fearing Islamic piety, exhorting mankind to be mindful of mortality and to a comportment of utter sobriety.

Though the zuhdīyya emerged as a distinct genre in the early Abbaṣīd period with the poetry of Abu l-ʿAtāīya (d. 211/826 [q.v.]), it had its roots in an important register of pre-Islamic verse, and thus, more particularly, in the pious/didactic poetry of two relatively minor Islamic poets, Sābīk al-Barbarī (d. 110/ 728) and Saḥīḥ b. ʿAbd al-Kūddas (d. 167/783-4 [q.v.]).

That the zuhdīyya was recognised in the mediaeval period as a genre in its own right can be gleaned from the divisions of poetry in dīwāns of individual poets (cf. Schoeler, Einteilung, 34 ff.). The first dīwān to be arranged according to theme/genre is al-Sūlī's (d. 335/946) recension of the dīwān of Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 198/813) which lists zuhd as the tenth (and final) category of poems. Hamza al-Ishāḥānī (d. after 350/961), for the same poet, places the zuhdīyya as the sixth of eleven categories. Subsequent dīwāns containing ascetic poetry are: `Alī b. Hamza al-Ishāḥānī's dīwān of Abū Tamīmān (d. ca. 232/845), where zuhd is one of eight themes; Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908), whose dīwān, also arranged by al-Sūlī, contains a short, 10th, section on zuhd withdāḥ wa-nawawīd wa-tul-nūmān, and Saḥī al-Dīn al-Hillī (d. 750/1354) containing a final, 12th, section labelled f ḍ-ṭ-dāḥ wa-l-zuhdīyya wa-nawawīd muḥkāṭatā (a collection which contains few truly ascetic fragments.)
in his work, and some of his poetry needs to be carefully examined in the light of a variety of retrospectively allusive to it in the ahdān of Abu l-'Atā'īyya. There is no evidence in thidāna of any serious indication to this world is chided, remembrance of God is urged. A counseling temperament lends weight to such material, particularly in a poem addressed to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz.

Whilst striking parallels between Sābik and 'Adī b. Zayd exist, Sābik himself foreshadows traits of Abu l-'Atā'īyya in being inventive with old motifs and transforming the semantics of the traditional lexicon of poetry. For example, dār, lit. “abode” (in ancient poetry, typically, the “abode of the beloved”), is made to refer to “this mortal world”, and ārak “insomnia”, is caused not by the pains of love but by existential angst.

Abu l-'Atā'īyya’s zuhdiyya rhyming in lām and beginning li-man talâd6 sus'ālūhu (cf. Sperl’s analysis, Manner- zeit, 82-96) bears comparison with Sābik’s identically rhymed ta's-sababān hammām kāhir kāhitī būkilībul (Kannūn, 20-2). Even more yielding is a comparison of Abu l-'Atā'īyya’s là ya-manu 'l-dāha ilā 'l-khajīn 'l-bairī (Dhūsan, 153-4) with Sābik’s bi-ānā 'llādūn uzzālāt min 'indīhi 'l-rusūru (Kannūn, 6-9). The metre of the two poems is identical and they clearly display an affinity with each other that is more than simply due to generic features. The first and last lines of Abu l-'Atā'īyya’s poem are virtual citations from Sābik’s, and seem to highlight the literary evocation of the earlier piece. Abu l-'Atā'īyya’s poem is shorter; it is also stylistically tighter, more economically structured, and more thematically homogeneous. The full literary implications of such observations require further study. The very least we can say with confidence is that Sābik’s poetry was in circulation during Abu l-'Atā'īyya’s day.

Sābik b. 'Abd al-Kudīd is a preacher in Baṣra who edified the crowd with gnomic verse, sermons and hadāqāt. His poetry of sententiae, proverbs and nasībat (advice) enjoyed some success, judging from the diffuse spread of his poetry in the various sources—al-Buḥtarf quotes 75 verses from 35 poems (i.e. in fragmentary form in his Hamāsī). Three of his poems in particular were celebrated, his ṣa'īfa, his kāfīfyya, and also a zimmāhāyya, which has also been attributed to 'Ali. He counsels sobriety, self-control, and ascetic virtue as a guarantee for peace of mind in this world and salvation in the next. Among the qualities he extols are: faithfulness to friends, holding one’s tongue, reflection before speech, avoidance of unnecessary mirth, and awareness of the fact that, even when alone, one is observed by God. One’s conduct should be an exteriorisation of inner virtue. Wealth is denounced; were it to be distributed according to intelligence, most people would be beggars. One should trust unconditionally in God (cf. Chokr, 222-4).

There is little theology in these, or in any, zuhdīyyat. However, there are some attitudes that are redolent of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, e.g. that of fatalistic resignation to the will of God, whilst espousing Kadārī views in assigning responsibility for sin (cf. Wagner, 123).

The close thematic and functional links between the zuhdīyya and sermon material (wā'ez/maṣā'īṣ) emerge from a kisāa 'Abd al-Kudīsī maʿla rāḥīb al-Sin attributed to him (Khāṭīf, 93-104); it treats of the futility of existence and chides the abnā` al-dāna`ya for trusting too much in their lot; there are elements here of ghamm al-zihr or complaints about the corruption of the age. And finally, we find a call to repent (taubah). Though accused of zundāqa, and eventually executed on this charge in the reign of al-Mahdī, there is no indication that this would ever be the case.

(c) Abu l-'Atā'īyya. The audience of this poet, once he came to write zuhdīyyat to the exclusion of other poetry in the reign of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd, was probably in part similar to that of Sābik. His own views are recorded in the Ahkāmat. “[Zuhd] does not appeal to kings, nor to transmitters of poetry, nor to students of lexical rarities; the people who really delight in it are ascetics, students of kudīd, scholars of religious law, people who make a show of piety, and the common people, who most admire what they can understand” (Scoeller, 'Abhāsād belles-lettres, 287-8). But if this reduces the status of his poetry on a purely linguistic level, we should be reminded of the complex literary relationships of his verse. He was a professional poet who gave himself exclusively to the zuhdīyya only after a conversion; in his early career he had composed in the other major genres, and he was certainly aware of the evolution of the poetic canon among his contemporaries. And it is said that he came to guard his genre jealously, warning fellow-poets from trespassing on his literary terrain (Abū Nuwās composed relatively few zuhdīyyat: only 24 in the recension of al-Ṣīlī). Awareness of others—as a literary/poetic posture—is detectable in the details of his verse and in the way he constructed some of his more felicitous poems.

(d) Structure. Sperl has shown convincingly how individual zuhdīyyat can be made up of carefully arranged and contrastive semantic, morphological and syntactical patterns. The apparent cohesion of themes in the zuhdīyya is achieved by more than the simple use of anaphora (and other types of repetition, themselves redolent of sermon material). The most visible technique is the occasional adaptation (or evocation) of the kasida model.

In general, we should stress the following relatively enhanced qualities of his verse: the sometimes sustained semantic and metaphorical transformation of traditional imagery within single compositions; the tension that is sometimes felt between a purely ascetic tendency and the reliance on dalliance (in its poetic manifestations)—this is more to do with (lapses of) temperament than structure; and the zuhdīyya’s existence virtually contiguous with the more secular, and even reprobate, genres of the Baghdādī circle of poets in the early ‘Abbāsīd period. S.M. Stern expressed a facet of this cogently: “The worldly and other-worldly sentiments were not felt as being mutually exclusive, but as two aspects of the same conception of the world, opposing, yet at the same time counterbalancing and complementing each other. The same poet could at the same time contemplate and express both facets of his experience with equanimity. His primary and most frequently expressed attitude will be that of the enjoyment of the world; to this subject he will devote the overwhelming majority of his poetical productions. The contrary tendency will be satisfied with an occasional zuhdīyya, which will ultimately be inserted in his disān among other verses” (Hispano-Arabic stochastic poetry, 81). This astute psychological evaluation further asserts the relatively subordinate status of the homiletic genre.

(e) Later developments. After Abu l-'Atā'īyya, the zuhdīyya was never again so closely associated with an individual author (though mention must be made of Maḥmūd al-Warrāq, d. ca. 230/845). Yet ascetic poetry remained popular and found its way into many
subsequent anthologies; fragments of ascetic poetry are quoted in Ibn Kutayba (d. 329/940) and al-Baghdadi (d. ca. 850/1446), to name but a few authors. In these collections, it is the affinity of this poetry with sermon material that emerges most noticeably; the literary quality of poems as a whole is almost totally ignored, and any sense of structural artifice is destroyed by their fragmentary arrangement (cf. esp. al-Bujjuti, who breaks poems down into mu'allaq, e.g. fi-ma kila fi taqaddul al-ma'asat wa-l-hijr min al-fayha wa-l-tadh di bi-l-ma'alaq, and fi-ma kila fi l-tadh di wa-l-hijr).

The survival—and certain developments—of the genre in later times are conveniently attested by Ibn San'a al-Mulk (d. 608/1211): “The muwashshah treats that subject under the various kinds of şahr. i.e. love, praise, mourning (marhá), invective (hujd) frivolity (muğfifin), and asceticism (zuhd)” (Stern, 42). None of these ascetic muwashshah appears to survive—another marker of their minor status. However, there is some interesting evidence of the relationship between this ascetic mode and the dominant secular strain: “The special feature in these lost ‘ascetic’ muwashshahs is that according to Ibn San'a al-Mulk they used to correspond to a given secular muwashshah, i.e. that mu'adda used to be a rule in them, applied to a special purpose; the ‘ascetic’ muwashshah was considered as expressing, as it were, the sin committed by the poem which served as model” (ibid., 82). This is reminiscent of the relationship one has detected between Abu l-'Aṭdiyá and the poetry of his libertine contemporaries (though it is not quite the same as the scorn which could be directed against the zahidiyya in the form of literary lampoon: Salm al-Kháisr (d. 186/802) mocked Abu l-'Aṭdiyá for hypocrisy: mà akhaba l-tadhdi min wāzda/nazarahdi min nuzàd mahzu u-tnhu, ram. (P.F. Kennedy)

Some remarks should address the survival of zahidiyya once it was eclipsed by Şafi poetry from the 6th/12th century onwards (a subject on which there appears to be no sustained study). The final chapter of Ibn Hazm's (d. 456/1065) Ta'wak al-hamamá contains two long poems on “the virtues of continence” (fadd al-tadll). The second poem is a virtual manifesto of the zahidiyya in the period of its decline, apostrophising the soul to live in kunni and taqaddul, themes which by this time are associated more with the mystical register. In a central passage, some of the principal images of Sūrat al-tnakw and other stanzas are woven into the text in a sustained and particularly felicitous way. We are reminded that, after Abu l-'Aṭdiyá, mastery of the register did not die, though no-one was ever again as prodigious, fluent and varied as he.

Finally, a fascinating permutation of the zahidiyya in Arabic literary history is its role in the tale of the City of Brass in the Arabian Nights. This tale illustrates the survival intact of the poetry of zahd right up to the pre-modern period, and evinces how Kur'anic themes common to the classic zahidiyya could be woven meaningfully into a narrative, delivering a richly textured message against the spiritual void of material wealth: la-tanwadda fa'ima khayr 1-zahdi l-takw (II, 197). In this story, ascetic poetry dovetails strikingly with a mystical undercurrent of the kind that had essentially disappeared all together by the 8th/14th century onwards (a subject on which there appears to be no sustained study). The final chapter of Ibn Hazm’s (d. 456/1065) Ta'wak al-hamamá contains two long poems on “the virtues of continence” (fadd al-tadll). The second poem is a virtual manifesto of the zahidiyya in the period of its decline, apostrophising the soul to live in kunni and taqaddul, themes which by this time are associated more with the mystical register. In a central passage, some of the principal images of Sūrat al-tnakw and other stanzas are woven into the text in a sustained and particularly felicitous way. We are reminded that, after Abu l-'Aṭdiyá, mastery of the register did not die, though no-one was ever again as prodigious, fluent and varied as he.

In pre-Islamic Mecca, the clan seems to have been prosperous, and members of it had trading connections with 'Abd al-Shams. In the factional disputes within Mecca, Zuhra were in the group led by 'Abd Manaf, the Mutayyabun or ‘Perfumed Ones’ [see LA'AKAT AL-DAM] and then in the Hijj al-Fad'il [qv.] along with Hākim and al-Mutapal. The clan acquired Islamic kudos from the fact that the Prophet’s mother 'Aminah b. Walb [qv.] was from Zuhra. Early converts from the clan included 'Abd al-Rahmán b. 'Awf and Sa'd b. Abu Wakkás [qv.], but there were also opponents of Muhammad within Zuhra (including the grandfather of the famous traditionist of Umayyad times, Ibn Shihab al-Zuhri [qv.], who fought on the side of Kuraysh against the Muslims at Badr and Uhud), and in 8/630, after the battle of Hunayn, Muhammad judged it politic to conciliate three of the leaders.
of Zuhra with presents of captured camels [see AL-
MU'AALLA KULUBUHUM].
Bibliography. cAbd ... a scribe
of Hisham [q.v] who was in charge of the caliph's
nafdkat [cf. DIWAN, at Vol. II, 323b-324a]; no wonder
since al-Mu
fukahd
, tasim is said to have sent him a
judicial system, on his arrival in Egypt he took per-
of Zuhra with presents of captured camels [see AL-
October 832 (al-Kindl) or a few days later (Ibn
would allow no-one to sit next to him, but left a
income from them, and paid close attention to other
things, such as the financial situation and care of
orphans, etc.
Al-Zuhri, with his strong personality, seems to have enjoyed the favour and confidence of the caliph; he
would allow no-one to sit next to him, but left a place there for the caliph only. His relations with al-
Ma'mun are documented concerning the episode of the mihna [q.e], in 218/833, the instructions regarding
which were brought by Abi Ishâk b. Hârûn to the governor of Egypt at the time, Kaydûr Nâsir b. 'Abd
Allâh. The latter summoned al-Zuhri, who bowed to the caliph's orders, apparently without hesitation, fol-
lowed by the majority of the fukahât. From that time onwards, al-Zuhri would accept attestations by wit-
nesses only if they recognised the createdness of the Kurâ', and this remained the practice in Egypt until al-
Ma'mun's accession in 222/837. He does not seem to have been ferocious against non-compliant
fukahât, since al-Mu'tasîm is said to have sent him a letter demanding that he act more rigorously, and
when he refused to act thus, the Chief Judge Ahmad
had the caliph remove him from office in 226/840.
Al-Zuhri left behind in Egypt an impression of hon-
estry, acquiring only a house for himself which he sold at the end of his period of office. Al-Marzûbân attributes
some poetry to him.
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tienne, Wiesbaden 1986. (R.G. Khoury)
alu-Zuhri, Ibn Sînâh, i.e. Abî Bakr Muhammad
b. Muslim b. Ubâyd Allâh b. 'Abd Allâh b. Sîhâb,
d. 121/742, one of the founders of Islamic tradition in the widest sense of the word. The source
material about him includes both biographical data and instructive anecdotes; the latter reflect both admi-
ration for his achievements and criticism of his links with the Umayyads and of some laxity on his part regarding the transmission of hadîth.
Al-Zuhri's first tutor (ma'âdîhî) was probably the muawî [q.e.] Sâlih b. Kaysân al-Mâdani. From 'Abd
Allâh b. Thâ'laba b. Sû'ayr al-Uqîrî [see 'urjâk] (d. 87/2160 or 89/708) al-Zuhri learned the geneal-
ogy of his own clan, the Banû Zuhra. But when al-
Zuhri wanted to study fiqh [q.e.], 'Abd Allâh had to
refer him to Saûtî b. al-Mu'ayyad. Later, al-Zuhri
was a student of 'Urwa b. al-Zubair and many others. A contemporary of his remarked that the ascendent young al-Zuhri did not outstrip his peers in knowl-
edge; but at an assembly he would step forward from among them and present his questions, while they
were held back by their youth.
Al-Zuhri boasted of his excellent memory, but he doubtless kept records of the hadîths transmitted
to him. His colleague, Abu l-Zinâd, a muawî of the Umayyads and their official, reported that al-Zuhri
used to carry with him writing tablets and written pieces of skins (al-âlânî wa l-tu'fiyâh). "We used to
mock him," Abu l-Zinâd added, as if regretting the fact that he himself had not followed the same prac-
tice. This colleague was believed to have said: "We
used to write down only legal matters (al-katîl wa l-
harâm), while Ibn Shâbî wrote down everything he
heard." Al-Zuhri is supposed to have widened the concept of sunna common to his time. One colleague
of his reported that, in their quest for sunan, both he and al-Zuhri recorded everything traced back to the
Prophet. But al-Zuhri went on to write down hadîth transmitted on the authority of the Prophet's Companions, while his colleague argued that such hadîth
did not form suna. "He succeeded," the colleague concluded, "and I failed." According to al-Zuhri, the
caliph 'Umar II ordered him, among others, to collect the sunan, which were later written down in book-
lets [see DAFTAR] sent each to another province.
For several decades, from the days of 'Abd al-Malîk
b. Marwân [q.e.], to those of 'Abî Hâgâm, al-Zuhri main-
tained a close relationship with the ruling house. He
officiated at different periods as kâdi, tax collector and shura [q.e.] chief. Al-Dhahabî [q.e.] reported that al-
Zuhri had the rank of amîr; elsewhere al-Dhahabî said that "he had many dependants and servants, was a man of eminence, was dressed in the outfit of the
aîmdân and enjoyed high rank in the state of the Banû
Umâyâm." Encouraged by the ruling family, al-Zuhri started "hadîth dictation sessions" attended by state officials. According to his own apologetic statement, he gave
in to pressure from the rulers and immediately decided to hold similar sessions for scholars not affiliated with the state apparatus. One of the stimuli for the recording
of hadîth is supposed to have been anti-Umayyad propaganda. Al-Zuhri reportedly complained about
'Irâkî tampering with his hadîth: "We issue the hadîth
[short as] a span and it returns (i.e. from 'Irâk [long
as] a cubit)." Al-Zuhri is also believed to have said,
"Had it not been for hadîth which we do not know
pouring upon us from the East (al-magribî), I would
not have written down, nor allowed the writing of,
one single hadîth."
The dictation sessions were attended, among others, by Shu'ayr b. Dinâr or b. 'Abî Hâmza al-Hîmsi (d.
167/782-9), a muawî of the Umayyads and a scribe of 'Abî Hâgâm [q.e.] who was in charge of the caliph's
nafikâr [cf. DIWAN, at Vol. II, 323b-324a]; no wonder
that Shu'ayb's "books" were said to resemble the records of the state register (tushbihu ... kitdbhd-yi cdpl-yi fdrsi, i, cols. 1554, 1571, and ii, col. 1900.


AL-ZUHRÏ, MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD BAKR (thus according to Husayn Mu'nis, according to the author of al-Hulal al-mawshiyya, Abû'âbî Dâmil Muhammar b. Yâhâ), the author of a geographical work, the K. al-Dughrîyâ. This work has in the past been used by scholars who, knowing nothing about the author, have called him the "Anonymous of Almeria". Al-Zuhri appears in no biographical work, but the few personal details that have been gleaned from his book show him to have been an Andalusian of the 6th/12th century, a contemporary of al-Idrîsî, alive in 545/1150-1 and very well versed in other fields of knowledge. An admirer of K. al-Djughrâjiya was al-Idrîsî, who dedicated his book to the poet Wahshî [q.v.]. Zuhuri himself in a Deccani vernacular; Dibdca-ialkhrâ, o Anonimo de Almeria, Centenario della nascita di 'Abd Allah Muhammad b. Abu Bakr, Barcinomensia, xi, Barcelona 1991; H. Mu'nis, Fihrist-i kitdbhd-yi yikhrî, and iv, 977-88. The most important of these sources are collected and quoted at length in M. LECKER

Al-Zuhri, Kushner b. 'Abd Allah Muhammad, Persian poet, d. 1025/1616. He was born ca. 944/1537 and raised in Khorasan; although most sources identify his birthplace as a village in the district of Turshiz [q.v.], the poet himself states that he was born in Kâfûn. He began his career in Yazd at the court of Ghiyâth al-Dîn Mîrî Mirân, where he was acquainted with the poet Wahshî [q.v.]. After spending several years in Shîrz, he migrated to India in 988/1580. Setting in the Deccan, he entered the service of the Nizâm Shâhîs [q.v.] in A'hmadnagar. After a brief period in the retinue of Mirzâ 'Abd al-Rahîm Khân-i Khânân [q.v.], Zuhri moved to Bijapur ca. 1004/1696. He lived in this city until his death, working under the patronage of the 'Âdil Shâh [q.v.] Ibrahim in the sâdki-nâmâ [q.v.], his minister Shâh Nawâz Khân. Zuhri was in contact with many of the major poets of the period, including Na'îrî and Faydî. He was especially close to Malikî Kummî [q.v.], marrying his daughter and co-writing several works with him.

During his lifetime, Zuhri was perhaps best known for his panegyric kâdâs, which are likely the work of Iradat Khan Wadih, who died in 1128/1716 (see Ahmad, 337-52).

Bibliography: For brief biographies and a list of ta'dkikâ sources, see Storey, iii, 280-1, and D. Šafa, Târîkh-i adabiyyât dar Iran, Tehran 1366 âh./1985, v/2, 977-88. The most important of these sources are collected and quoted at length in A. Gulînî-Ma'sî, Kürânî-hî Hindî, Madîgh 1369 âh./1990, ii, 823-38. See also Fakhr al-Zamanî Kavzãnî, Târkikîn-i mâyikhân, ed. Gulînî-Ma'sî, Tehran 1340 âh./1961, 363-412. Among the secondary sources are M. 'Abdu'l Ghani, A history of Persian language and literature at the Mughal court, Allahabad 1929-30, iii, 181-219; and Nazir Ahmad, Zuhri. Life and works, Allahabad 1953, by far the most detailed and scholarly study of the poet currently available. Nazir Ahmad has also edited Ibrâhîm 'Adîl Shâh's Kâdâ-i Nâsirî, Lucknow 1955. For a listing of the manuscripts of Zuhri's poetic works, see A. Munzawî, Fîhrîs-i mukhahâ-yi khâffi-yi farsî, ii, 1880 (kâtibiyâ, 2419-21 (diisân); and iv, 2875-77 (sâkî-nâmâ). His diisân and sâkî-nâmâ have been lithographed in India; see Fîhrîs-i kâdâhâ-yi cîpî-yi farsî, i, cols. 1554, 1571, and ii, col. 1900. For a listing of the many manuscripts and litho-
graphs of Zuhur's authentic and putative prose works, see Storey-de Blois, iii, 281-5. In addition to the text translated in this source, a full Persian translation and English translation of Zuhur's Se'ed dar can also be found in 'Abdul Ghani, History, iii, 305-467. (P.E. Losensky)

ZULALI-vi KH'-ANSAARI, Persian poet from the reign of Shâh 'Abbâs I [q.v.]. Reports on his date of death range from 1016/1607 to 1037/1628, but the most probable seems to be 1024-5/1615-16. Little is known about his life. He was born in Kh'ansar to the northwest of Isfahan and divided his life between these two towns. Although reputedly quiet and retiring by nature, Zulali had close contacts with the Safavid court, particularly with Mir Bâkîr al-Dâmâd Astarâbâddi [q.v.], his principal patron.

Although Zulali composed ghazals and kasidas, his enduring claim to fame is the collection of seven mathnawis, entitled Salâvîyî sayyâra ("The seven planets"). Ham-i gulmâr, written in the metre of Nizâmî's [q.v.] Mahkâm al-asrâr, consists of short anecdotes in a Sûfi-didactic framework. Of a similar structure is Shârâ'î vî dîdâr, in the metre of Rûmî's Mathnawî-yi ma'nâve. The remaining five poems present continuous narratives. Ma'âshâna tells the story of the legendary king Djamshid and the discovery of wine. Zulali's Dharma va Kharbâji is the tale of a dust mute's love for a girl and another allegory of mystical love appears in Adhar wa Samandar, written in the metre associated with the Laylâ va Majnûn romance. The Sulaymân-nâmâ narrates Solomon's love for Biljân in the heroic mutakibîr metre. These six mathnawis are all relatively short, containing 500-1,000 verses. Composed over the course of twenty years, Mahmûd va Ayâz concerns the legendary love of Sultan Mahmud Ghaznavi for his slave boy. It is by far Zulali's longest work and his most sustained effort to emulate Nizâmî's Khusrav wa Shîrin.

Zulali's style is highly complex and innovative in its use of neologic compounds and unprecedented similes and metaphors. In the opinion of most critics, his work is very uneven, with impenetrably opaque verses side-by-side with conceits of startling originality and beauty. This was apparently the result of the poet's intuitive, almost haphazard method of composition; according to Awpâdif Bâyânî, he worked on all seven of his mathnawis simultaneously. His works were left in a state of disarray on his death, and Mahmûd va Ayâz was redacted in its final form in India. He had a great influence on the later romance tradition throughout the Persian-speaking world. Tughrâ-yi Ma'dhâhid, a poet at the court of Shâh Djamshid, composed a set of prose introductions to Zulali's works entitled Akhâb-nâmâ to accompany the short introductions written by the poet himself.

Bibliography: For a list of taghâna sources, see Dh. Sâfî, Târîkh-i adabâyî dar Iran, Tehran 1364 [1985], v/2, 965-6. The most important of these are A'mîn b. Ahmad Râzî, Huft i'lam, ed. D. Dâflî, Tehran n.d. [1950s], ii, 484-5, and Muhammad Tâhir Nakhbâddi, Tadkhilya-i Nakhbâddi, ed. W. Dastgîrî, Tehran 1352 [1973]. Zulali receives only passing treatment in most literary histories; see Browne, LHP, iv, 252, and Rypka, Hist. of Iranian literature, 301. Manuscripts of Zulali's mathnawis are abundant, both individually and collectively; for full listings, see A. Munzawî, Fikrist-i nuskâhâ-yi khattî-yi farîr, under title of each work. Lithograph editions include: Mahmûd va Ayâz, Tehran 1302/1885 and 1321/1903, and Mathnawî-yi Zulali, Lucknow 1290/1874. A recent edition of Zulali's six shorter mathnawis, prepared as a doctoral dissertation at the University of Isfahan 1374 [1995] by A'mân Allah 'Ali Askari, provides the first critical edition of the poet's works. (P.E. Losensky)

ZULM (a., verbal noun of form I, basically meaning, according to the authoritative lexicologists, "putting a thing in a place not its own" [Lane, LA, TA], i.e. displacement. In the moral sphere, it denotes acting in such a way as to transgress the proper limit and encroach upon the right of some other person. In common usage, zulm has come to signify wrong-doing, evil, injustice, oppression and tyranny, particularly by persons who have power and authority. Frequently it is therefore used as the antonym to 'adl [q.v.], insâf [q.v.] and kist and (sometimes by expressing a slightly different shade of meaning) as a synonym to baghâ (encroachment, abuse), qaww (oppression), fisk (moral deficiency [see FASIK], unhrâf (deviation), maslî (inclination) and tughrân (tyranny). Because of its general and comprehensive meaning the root z-lm is current in the vocabulary of religion, theology, philosophy, ethics, law and political theory.

1. In religion and ethics during the pre-modern period.

The word zulm and its derivatives are found in more than 280 places in the Qur'an; it can be seen as one of the most representative concepts in the sacred book. The warnings against oppression, the admonitions against injustice and the frequent emphasis on the principles of uprightness, equity and temperance in the Qur'an and the prophetic dicta must be seen mainly as a reaction against the pre-Islamic tribal society which paid little or no attention to justice. That zulm is used as a generic term becomes obvious by the semantic equivalence or close relationship between zulm and terms such as kisf (e.g. II, 254; IV, 168-9) [see KÂR], shafr [q.v.] (e.g. II, 163; XXXI, 13), fisk (e.g. VII, 162) or râdâ' (transgression; e.g. V, 107); in addition, zulm is used in the sense of dhanb (offence; cf. LXV, 1; II, 55), naks (detrimet; cf. XVIII, 33; XIX, 60) or dartar (harm; cf. II, 57). Zulm can be done to God (by man's transgressing the limits imposed by God; e.g. II, 229), to others (by going beyond the bounds of proper conduct in social life; by hurting someone seriously without any conceivable reason; e.g. XII, 75; XXI, 58-9), or even to oneself, each one of the preceding being in fact wrongdoing to oneself (zulm al-nâfshi): "Whoever does an injustice has wronged himself" (e.g. II, 231; III, 117; IX, 70; X, 44). The particular parameters decreed by God remain an insoluble mystery to men; sometimes, however, they are understandable in terms of the social good, e.g. when God designates usury as zulm (II, 279), or the devouring of entrusted orphan's property (IV, 2, 10), or the violation of rules concerning inheritance (IV, 11-14) and divorce (LXV, 1) prescribed by God.

The Traditions take up the warnings against the punishment of zulm in the Hereafter. Not only is the zulm himself damned but also the one who does not support the ma'dâl [q.v.] or curb the zulm. Prayers against an unjust ruler will be granted in the other world; the triumph over the zulm is certain. Beside this predominant idea of compensation for zulm (an evident reflection of the historical circumstances), concrete examples of social injustice are mentioned, such as the usurpation of landed property; the delay in repayment of debts by someone who is rich enough to repay them (mâl al-ghâmâ); the unjustifiable maltreatment of slaves or subjects; and the kâdis unjust sentence. Only one kind of zulm is unpardonable,
ZULM

Although the Kur’an affirms repeatedly that God does not do wrong (e.g. IV, 40; XVI, 33; XXIX, 40), and that He disapproves of injustice (e.g. III, 57, 140; XLII, 40), theological ethics could not be entirely divorced from the problem of theology or the conception of God’s role in the world, and in particular, His relation to man. Therefore, two of the central theological and ethical questions were, can God do an injustice, and is there an individual responsibility for unjust acts? The Mu’tazila [q.v.] agreed on the premise, that all God’s acts, good or evil, are just acts, for everything done by God, including punishment for wrongdoing, is for the welfare of mankind and not for His own advantage. Following their insistence on divine justice and reason, they held that God by nature can do no injustice. Nor is it conceivable that He will ever do an injustice, because to will evil is evil. God can neither will the evil done by others nor initiate it. Whether God could be described as capable (kādir) of doing wrong and refraining from right, was, on the other hand, a highly debatable question in theological circles, including the Mu’tazila. Furthermore, divine justice meant according to the Mu’tazila that God was in some way obligated to provide “the optimum” (al-‘aṣl) for His creatures. The extreme emphasis on divine ‘aṣl and free will provoked a sharp reaction. The Ash’ariyya [q.v.] embraced the earlier tendency of Islam that declared God, in His unlimited omnipotence, the author of good as well as evil. All things, from human acts to natural events in the world, are the direct result of divine decree. God alone creates acts; man, however, “acquires” [see KĀSR] these acts and so can be deemed legally responsible for his deeds. What God does or decrees is by definition just; what He refrains from doing is unjust. Accordingly, injustice denotes actions improperly done, or done in violation of God’s command.

Philosophical ethical treatises like those of Miskawayh or Naṣr al-Dīn al-Tūsī [q.v.] are based essentially on Greek theory, and on Plato and Aristotle in particular. As Aristotle said, justice is not a part of virtue but all virtue in its entirety; injustice as its opposite is not a portion of vice but the whole of vice. Sins of justice is essentially a notion of equivalence, whoever is in favour of disproportion and unequivalence is an unjust person. Injustice is the product of harm done by one man to another, either with or without intention, or it might be the result of imbalance and excess by irrational acts. Following Plato, four cardinal virtues and eight generic vices constituting either an excess or a defect in relation to the original virtues, are distinguished. Whereas justice is the most perfect virtue and the true mid-point (centre), injustice (oppression) and servility (suffering of wrong) are the extremes (peripheries). The mean is defined but not the peripheries. Analogous to the three criteria to determine justice and to ensure its application (divine law, just ruler and money), injustice is also of three types: violation of the Shari‘a, repudiating the ruler’s authority and violating the norms of equitable transactions involving money. Thus the literature scarcely deals with the conceptual aspect of justice and injustice; it essentially consists of quotations from the Kur’an and Ḥadīth, of guidelines, general rules, anecdotes, aphorisms and poems.

Since the first fitna, several opposition groups [Kharidjites and [Proto-] Shi‘a [q.v.]] insisted on the duty to rise against illegitimate rulers representing qaww and zulm, or held that if believers found themselves in the dār al-zulm, i.e. a region where a true imāmate did not prevail, it was incumbent upon them to emigrate. (For zulm and its derivatives zulm and maqālim as technical terms of Shi‘a, especially Twelver, Islam, see MAZLUM.) Later jurists, defining justice as protection of the Shari‘a, first limited the duty of resistance to unjust rulers by possibility. Sunnī jurists since al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [q.v.]) and Imāmī jurists, for rather different reasons and even before this, refused to permit rebellion against unjust government (in the case of the Imāmīyya, so long as the Imām was absent).

In political theory and in the Mirrors for Princes particularly, great emphasis is laid on justice: as a standard, though moral, quality demanded of the ruler and his officials, and as a guarantee for prosperity and social harmony. Nevertheless, the fear of civil war (fitna) and disturbance (jadd) leading to disorder and the need for stability finally resulted in the acknowledgement of existing power, whatever it might be. This was partly a reaction to the repeated politico-religious unrest and disorders; partly it was the result of the disagreement over who was the most excellent Imām or Sulṭān and of the absence of legal means and fixed procedures by which a tyrant could be made responsible and be deposed. (For the different functions of the maqālim, see art. s.v.) Various traditions enshrining the duty of obedience to a ruler, even if unjust, and extolling the security provided by the exercise of coercive power, even if by an illegitimate ruler, as against the weakness of a just ruler which leads to anarchy, were put into circulation: “The tyranny of a sultan for forty years is preferable to the flock being left without a master for a single hour,” and the like. The doctrine was evolved that, whether the ruler was good or bad, obedience to him was incumbent upon the Muslim because it was God’s will that he held office. In practice, this attitude resulted in prevailing tyranny, the spread of political quietism and of the tendency to regard all authority as evil. Ibn Ḥaladūn (d. 808/1406 [q.v.]) or his follower Ibn al-Azraq (d. 896/1491) then contended that man is by nature oppressive and unjust.

In jurisprudence, there are two aspects of injustice, the substantive or internal aspect of law, and the procedural or external aspect. Whereas the first is measured by the adherence to the sacred law, the second or formal aspect of injustice is manifested in such corrupt practices as bribery, irregularity, irregularity and partiality in the application of the law, commonly named fisīk.

That justice brings about prosperity, and tyranny the ruin of the country, respectively, is acknowledged by several authors. Ibn Ḥaladūn dedicates a whole chapter in his Mukaddema to this aphorism. Attacks on property, he says, means a general destruction of the incentive to do business. Consequently, everything decays. Generally, social injustice is identified with taking property by force or unfair means, with the unjustified imposition of illegal taxes or tasks and with the use of subjects for forced labour.

Bibliography: No comprehensive and critical study or bibliography seems to have been yet undertaken. In addition to the sources already quoted above, see for the Kur’an, Concordances of Muhammad Fu’ad ‘Abd al-Bākī (in Arabic) and H.E. Kassis (in English); al-Rāghib al-İsfahānī, al-Mufradat fi gharb al-Kurat, ed. Muhammad Sayyid Kaylānī, [Cairo] 1961, 315-16; T. Izutsu, The structure of the ethical terms in the Koran, Tokyo 1959, 152 ff.
ZULM — ZUMURRUD


First, reports from Western lands, then the massive Western presence in the Islamic world changed the traditional perceptions of good and therefore also of bad government. The ideas and methods of the French Revolution, the German ideal of the Rechtsstaat, the example of English parliamentary government all had their impact. They were followed by such European ideas as nationalism, socialism, and the combination of the two in national socialism, each with its own definition of the functions and duties of the state, and of the circumstances when resistance to it is justified or even required.

The first external influences came from Western Europe, and the new idea of government that they brought was that of constitutional, representative government, through elected assemblies. As good government was defined, bad government was defined as a departure from it. The old Islamic notions of mudârâ, sha'bî and shâhu (q.v.) were reinterpreted to provide a traditional Islamic justification for parliamentary democracy; the term istihlād was revived to denote autocratic personal government. As used in classical texts, it had a connotation of arbitrary and capricious rather than of illegitimate or tyrannical.


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The rise of neo-Islamic movements brought a revival of the term zülm, and with it zulmî and maqâlim, to describe misgovernment, its practitioners and its victims. It was used in particular of rule by imperialists (understood to mean non-Muslims ruling over Muslims) and of apostates (used to condemn nominally Muslim rulers who adopt non-Muslim patterns of government and law). These terms figure prominently in the political statements of the Ayâtullah Khamâynî and more generally of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as well as of parallel movements in other Muslim countries. In the traditional Islamic world view, the converse of zülm is justice; in the democratic view, it is freedom. Modern Muslim thought and discourse reflect the meeting, and sometimes the contradictions, of the two.

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In the modern period, new experiences, perceptions and ideas, both at home and abroad, reshaped the theory and practice of politics in the Islamic lands. First, reports from Western lands, then the massive Western presence in the Islamic world changed the traditional perceptions of good and therefore also of bad government. The ideas and methods of the French Revolution, the German ideal of the Rechtsstaat, the example of English parliamentary government all had their impact. They were followed by such European ideas as nationalism, socialism, and the combination of the two in national socialism, each with its own definition of the functions and duties of the state, and of the circumstances when resistance to it is justified or even required.

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so far as to say that in ancient times the name “emerald” was applied loosely to green gemstones in general, such as tourmaline, jasper, malachite, and others (Bauer, Precious stones, ii, 317).

**Etymology**

The Li dån al-’Arab lists zumurrud as a synonym under zabarajd (with the variant zabarajd), and this is easily recognisable as a loan from Greek smaragdos, “emerald”, probably via Aramaic (Syriac (e)smaragda (e)smaragdos). In the West, the Greek word smaragdos was received into Latin as smaragdus, which apparently developed into a Vulgar Latin form (smarald from which the Romance and, ultimately, the English forms derived.

**Definition**

Emerald (Be₂, Al₂Cr₂O₅) is the green variety and most valuable gem of the beryl family; it owes its verdant green colour to a trace of the chromium ion (Cr₃O₅) in its crystal structure (Webster, Gems, 84).

The emerald green colour ranges from dark to light. The most valuable variety is of a saturated or very deep green (maḥba’ al-khḍar), without any other shade of colour, with good transparency (dāyūd al-ma’īya). The next in value is known as rayhānī, i.e. of basil leaf colour followed by the sīkha, of chard green colour. The least valuable is of light green colour (anḵaṣ khḍar), dull or opaque (ṣāţr ma’īya) and with less brilliancy (ṣāta ṣa’da).

**Physical properties**

The only colour of emerald (zumurrud) is green. It is characterised by softness (rayhānī) and brittleness (ṣāţr ṣa’da), extreme smoothness (mālās), lustre (ṣāţa) and softness (mā’tama) (al-Tīfashī, Azhār, 85).

The various defects that decrease the value of the stone are: freckles (namād), inclusions (or patches) looking like African rye (barmatāyī) and white veins (waš) (al-Bīrunī, K. al-Qamāṭir, 161). An exclusive characteristic of the dūbābī variety of emerald is its influence on the snake’s eyes, which was tested by al-Tīfashī and found to be true (Azhār, 84). When an emerald of this kind is drawn near the snake’s eyes, they bulge out of their sockets and burst. Other Arab gemologists made the same experiment with the rayhānī and sīkhī varieties, but the snake’s eyes did not change.

**Provenance**

The earliest known mines of emeralds lie by the Red Sea in Egypt (Webster, Gems, 84). Emeralds have been found with Egyptian mummies. The appliances and tools used in the working of emerald mining have been found in the shafts of ancient mines dating back to the time of Sesostris (ca. 1650 B.C.). The ancient mines, known as those of Cleopatra, were rediscovered in 1818 by Caiilaud, a member of the expedition organised by Muḥammad ‘Ali Pasha [g.v.] (Webster, Gems, 84; Bauer, Precious stones, 110, 311).

Arab gemologists agree on the location of emerald mines as being in upper Egypt. Al-Kalkashandi [g.v.] mentions that emeralds were still extracted from the mines near Kūš [g.v.] in Upper Egypt until the time of al-Naṣir Muḥammad b. Kālalāw [g.v.], but the mines were then neglected until the 9th/15th century because of high extraction costs (Subh, iii, 455). Emeralds are found, according to al-Tīfashī, embedded in a soft red earth inside the friable talc schist. They never occur in gern-gravel like rubies and diamonds, and their occurrence in Egypt is the same as that in the Ural mountains (Bauer, Precious stones, 310, 315).

The best emeralds, which take the usual hexagonal elongated form of crystal, are extracted from the vein as one piece and called ḥaṣaba (“cane, filet, reed”), whilst the small ones extracted from the earth by sieving are called ḥaṣ (“cabochon”) (al-Tīfashī, Azhār, 81-2). The beads cut from the small pieces are called “lentil-like” (talassāyāt) (Gawaṭīr, 163).

**Medical and magical (talismanic) uses**

While al-Bīrunī is silent as regards the practical benefits of the emerald, al-Tīfashī (Azhār, 85-6), Ibn al-Ακfād b. ‘Abd al-Salam (Nūkhāb, 52), Ibn al-Wardī (Kharūṭ, 168) and al-Bayḥākī (Mudīn al-‘uṣūl, 81-2) enumerate a number of what were in their time common beliefs about them, applicable to the best quality of emeralds. They say that the emerald strengthens the eyesight if one gazes at it for a long time; it guards against epilepsy if worn in a necklace or ring before the disease occurs; it saves from death if dissolved in water and drunk before the poison’s effect starts; if drunk or hung externally over the liver and stomach, it stops acute dysentery, bleeding and leprosy; it repels venomous animals from the wearer; and it strengthens the teeth and the stomach if held in the mouth. Although al-Tīfashī affirms that these benefits are exclusive to the best variety of emerald (al-dūbābī), all varieties can be hung on the upper arm and neck for talismanic purposes, and on the thigh of a woman in labour for speeding up child delivery (Azhār, 86, cr. Abūl Huda, 195).

**Value and prices**

Al-Bīrunī discusses the prices of emeralds, relating the value in dirhams to carat weight, starting with 2,000 dirhams for 4 carats and ending with 32,000 dirhams for 21 carats (Qamāṭir, 164). The caliph al-Maṣūr bought the emerald ring known as al-Bahr (“the Sea”), which weighed three mīthkāls, for 30,000 dinārs (al-Dājīb, al-Tabassur bi ‘l-tīfār, 20), and al-Ma’mūn bought a piece of a dūbābī zumurrud that weighed two mīthkāls for 30,000 dinārs (al-Bayḥākī, Mudīn, 81).

**Historical records**

The first emeralds and other precious stones to enter the Muslim treasuries or private possessions were obtained from booty during the battles with the Sāsānids such as al-Kādīsyya and Djalāli (15/16-635-7) and subsequent conquests.

Such emeralds were in the form of unset stones, encrustations on objects such as figurines, tables and other utensils, or carved in the shape of a spoon, a handle of a knife, a long rod, or set in jewellery as rings and strings. Encrusted and studded with emeralds and other precious stones were artifacts such as a gold figurine representing a horse, a ewer, a gold and silver table and a gold palm-tree (Kādī Ibn al-Zubayr, Haddāy, §§ 180, 189, 196, 201, 209, 215).

Caskets containing large amounts of emerald stones were to be found in the treasuries of the ‘Abbāsids and in those of the Fāṭimids (Haddāy, §§ 150, 346, 357, 377, 412). Al-Raṣḥīd had an emerald rod more than one cubit long (Qamāṭir, 165; Haddāy, § 28), and a similar rod was held by the Fāṭimid caliph al-Zāhir when he rode in processions (Qamāṭir, 165-6; Haddāy, § 28). Al-Raḍī had, like al-Raṣḥīd, a passion for precious beautiful items made of, or studded with, precious stones, and possessed [knife] handles, one of which was of emerald (Haddāy, § 244). High-ranking courtiers and officials possessed valuable emerald items also, and a concubine of Yahyā b. Kāhīl al-Barmakī is said to have given her personal physician an emerald spoon as a gift (Qamāṭir, 165).

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Ghada al-Hijawi al-Qaddumi,

ZUMURRUD KHATUN, a Turkish slave, mother of the ‘Abbâsids caliph al-Nâṣir li-Din Allâh [q.v.] (575-622/1180-1225). She was politically active 
and continued the religious policy of her husband al-
Mustadâl [q.v.] (566-75/1170-80) by favouring Han-
bâlis, e.g. Ibn al-Djawzî [q.v.], and interfering with 
them for her son. The sources praise her piety and 
generosity. She endowed madrasas, nibâts and mosques, and had a torba erected at the grave of the mystic 
Ma’rûf al-Karhî [q.v.], together with a madrasa. On 
the occasion of her pilgrimage she allegedly spent 
300,000 dinars for alms and on repairs of Meccan 
cisterns and water-supplies. In the year 580/1184-5 
she accompanied al-Nâṣir on a politically important 
journey to Sâmarra.

When she died in Djamâdi I 599/Jan.-Feb. 1203, 
she was buried in a torba built for her in her lifetime. Mourning contin-
ued for a year. Numerous elegies were composed, 
and her possessions, including jewels and clothes, were dis-
tributed on the caliph’s order.

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Ar-Nâṣir li-Din Allâh, Berlin 1975, 180 and passim. 
(Renâte Jacob)

ZUN, Zûn, the name of a deity of the dis-
trict of Zamîndâwar [q.v.] in eastern Afghanistân, 
whose shrine there figures in historical accounts of the 
Arabs’ and Saffâris’ penetration of the region.

In 33/654-5 ‘Abd al-Rahman b. Samuel, gover-
nor of Sištân for ‘Abd Allâh b. ‘Amir [q.v.], raided 
into Zamîndâwar and attacked the “hill of Zûn” (djabal 
al-zûn), entered the shrine and partially despoiled the 
idle there, telling the local marzbân that his sole object 
was to demonstrate the idol’s impotence (al-Balâdhiyir, 
Fârîd, 394). Over two centuries later, in the accounts 
of the Saffârî Yâ’kub b. al-Layth’s campaigns in east-
er Afghanistân, the shrine of Zûn is described as 
being set on a sacred mountain; the ruler there, the 
Zunbîl, was divine and was carried on a golden throne 
by twelve men (Ibn al-Athîr, ed. Beirut, vii, 326). Marquart located this to the northwest of the Helmand 
river near Biţhlang. See on these events, Bosworth, 
Sištân under the Arabs, from the Islamic conquest to the rise 
of the Saffâris (30-250/651-684), Rome 1968, 19, 34-6; 
idsen, The history of the Saffâris of Sištân and the Maliks 
of Nu’mân (247/861 to 449/1542-3); Costa Mesa and 

The origins and affiliations of this cult are unclear; it 
was clearly not Zoroastrian or Buddhist. Marquart 
surmised that it might have been connected with the 
celebrated shrine of the Sun God Âdîya at Multân. 
Bussagli has suggested the possibility of influences 
from the pre-Buddhist divine monarchy of Tibet. 
The title of the local ruler, Zunbîl, earlier forms perhaps 
*Zûn-drâbar or *Zûn-dadû [see ZAMîNDâWAR], may appear 
in Chinese sources as Shan-ta, and Christian ecclesi-
astical historians mention Zungôppo and Zândabur. 
See J. Marquart and J.J.M. de Groot, Das Reich Zûbl 
Festschrift Eduard Sachau, Berlin 1915, 248-92, and 
the works of M. Bussagli and G. Scarlotta discussed in 
the two books of Bosworth mentioned above. An origin 
in the religions of ancient Mesopotamia seems unlikely, 
paced T. Fahd, Le panthémie de l’Arabe centrale, Paris 1965, 
199-201, nor an etymology from Greek, pace Wahib 
Aalallah, Sur un vers de Gérô. Etymologie de zûn et de 
hîrbîd, in Arabicca, xvii (1971), 49-54.

The end of the Zunbîls and the cult of Zûn was 
brought about by Ya’kûb b. al-Layth’s operations in 
the region from 253/867 onwards, with his killing of 
the Zunbîl in 237/871. Thereafter, all mention of 
Zûn and its devotees disappear, and we must assume that 
Zamîndâwar became gradually Islamised by the 
early 4th/10th century.

Bibliography: Given in the article. 

(C.E. Bosworth)

ZUNBÎL, the putative title borne by a line of rulers in eastern Afghanistân in pre- 
and early Islamic times, who opposed the extension of Muslim arms into their region for some two centuries. 

In the Arabic historical texts, there is uncertainty about the vocalisation of the name, with forms like 
*Râbîl and *Rabîl, etc. given. The origins of the title 
is quite obscure. Marquart was probably correct in 
seeing in it a theophoric name which included the element Zûn [q.v.] or Zîn, the name of the god 
mentioned in the Arabic sources as worshipped in the 
region of Zamîndâwar [q.v.]; but other, less plausible 
yetymologies have been suggested such as *zanda-pil 
“furious elephant” as an epithet (Persian!) given to 
the ruler by the Arabs when they encountered the 
Zunbîl in war. The most thorough recent discussions 
are by M. Bussagli and G. Scarlotta, especially the 
other’s Antonsa al-“ZUNBLA,” in AJONU, N.S. xvi (1966), 
201-5, and Zunbl or Zunbîl?, in Yûdînme-yen Jan Rypka, 
Prague 1967, 41-3.

The line of Zunbîls probably arose from the time 
when the Southern Hephthalites [see HAYATILA] domi-
nated Afghanistân south of the Hindu Kush and 
the northwestern India (5th and 6th centuries). They 
were implacable foes of the Muslims from the time 
of the first Arab raids through Sištân and Bust [q.v.]; 
in the later 7th century till the 3rd/9th century, when 
the campaigns of the Saffârî Yâ’kub b. al-Layth [q.v.] 
to Kâbul and beyond seem to have brought the line 
of Zunbîls to an end, then permitting the Islamisation of 
eastern Afghanistân.

Bibliography: See also the references given in 
zûn, and especially the discussion of the title in 
Bosworth, The history of the Saffâris of Sištân, 83-5, 
91-5. The course of the relations between the 
Zunbîls and the Muslims can be traced in the 
works of Marquart and de Groot and of Bosworth 
given in the Bibl. to zûn. 

(C.E. Bosworth)

ZUNNÂR (A.), the girdle worn by the “Protected Peoples”, alh al-shimma (in effect, by Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians), usually linked with the shîdâr or ghîydr [q.v.], patches of varying colour.
worn on the dhimmis' clothing to distinguish them from the Muslims. The Zunnar was usually wider than the murda, the general word for "girdle". The requirement of its usage is traditionally regarded in the sources as being part of the so-called "Covenant of 'Umar [I]", now considered to have been a body of practices which grew up piecemeal and which did not reach full legal embodiment till the 3rd/9th century. See further DHIMMA and QURAY.

The term itself obviously stems from zimmia, diminutive of Grk. zimia, probably via Aramaic zimmia; in Syriac, it denotes the girdle worn by monks. In Persian Sufi poetry, it is often used for the locks of the beloved.

Bibliography: See the arts. mentioned in the text, and the references given in the EI. art. s.v.

ZURAY'IDS, a South Arabian dynasty of Fatimid allegiance (473-569/1080-1173), of Yam [q.v.], centred on the southern port of Yemen [see AL-YAMAN], Aden [see 'ADAN].

When the Ma'nis (Banu Ma'in), the then rulers of Aden, suspended their tribute to their masters, the Sulayhidis [q.v.] in 473/1080, al-Mukarram Ahmad marched on Aden for the Sulayhid, drove out the Ma'nis and installed as joint rulers al-'Abbás and al-Mas'ud, sons of one of al-Mukarram b. al-Dhim, in return for their previous services to the Sulayhidid Fatimid cause. Al-'Abbás died in 477/1084 and his son, Zuray', who gave his name to the dynasty (Banu Zuray'), took over as joint ruler with his uncle, al-Mas'ud. The situation remained thus until 504/1110. Seeing that the Sulayhidis were preoccupied elsewhere, the Zuray'ids repudiated their arrangement with them, and declared themselves independent rulers of Aden.

Our sources fail us badly, for there is little information on the independent dynasty. Its early history was one of struggles between the two branches of the family and all the problems of joint rule came to the surface (see Smith, Ayyubids, ii, 63, for the complete family tree). In 533/1138 Abi b. Abi Hakam al-Taman al-Maymun, the ruling minister Yasir b. Bilal was put in Cairo. Muhammad was able to bring much stability to his own indications in the preface and at the end of the work, between 1109 and 1112. He was guided by Ibn Hadjar al-Asqalani's [q.v.] commentary on the Sahih of al-Bukhārī. A source-analytical study of Al-Zurkānī's Musawwita' commentary has not yet been written. One may, however, consider as certain that he had direct access to the pertinent commentaries on Malik's work, i.e. al-Tamhidi li-ma'na fi 'l-Musawwita' min al-Malik, as 'l-asadūd and al-Istidhdar al-dj.dmi wa 'l-dalā'il of Abu Bakr al-Mā'tir (d. 679/1280), Al-Zurkānī would have used the manuscripts of these works that are extant in the al-Azhar library. In addition to the canonical hadith collections and musannaf works, he quotes, whether directly or not, the K. al-Malik, fā' shar, Musawwita' Malik of Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148 [q.v.]), and the already classical biographical work on the Malikīs by al-Kaftī 'Iyād b. Mūsī [q.v.].

The structure and the style of the work permit us to infer that we are dealing here with a handbook for teaching purposes treating the basic tenets of Malikī law as laid out in Malik's Musawwita' in the niceties of Yahyā b. Yahyā al-Laythī [q.v.]; as such it was helden to the tradition of legal and traditionist scholarship as handed down in the madhdhab. Independent or groundbreaking comments on the legal material presented by Malik are not to be expected in al-Zurkānī's work.

Bibliography: See in addition to references given in the article: Zirīkī, Aḵām, vi, 184.

ZÜRNÄR — ZÜRKHĀNA

The traditional zurkhāna consists of a building whose architectural recall a public bath (hammān [q.v.]). Its main room is often sunken slightly below street level to provide for constant temperatures and prevent...
draughts that might harm the perspiring athletes, and access to it is possible only through a low door, forcing everyone to bow in respect while entering. Traditionally, admission to the zurkhana was forbidden to women, non-Muslims, and prepubescent boys. At the centre of the room lies the gawd, a usually octagonal pit about a metre deep in which the exercises take place. The gawd is surrounded by spectators, behind which the walls are adorned with pictures of athletes and saints. Of particular importance is an elevated and decorated seat, the sanam, which is reserved for the murshid "guide" or "director". The murshid's function is to accompany the exercises with rhythmic drumming and the chanting of verse from classical Persian poetry such as (but not limited to) Firdawsti's Shāh-nāma [q.v.] as well as poetry specific to the house of strength, most notably Mir Nadjāt Islāhān's Gul-i kushti ("The Flower of Wrestling").

The standard attire for athletes is the lung, a cloth wrapped around the loins and passed between the legs; when wrestling, however, leather breeches (turbān) are worn. The exercises take place in a standard order. After some warming up calisthenics, in the course of which one of the athletes may lift heavy wooden boards (songi) as he lies on his back outside the gawd, athletes do push-ups (ghinā) and then swing Indian clubs (mil), both exercises being accompanied by the murshid's drumming and chanting. Individuals will then take turns to whirl at speed about the gawd (zārkh), and step forth to swing above their heads a heavy iron bow (kabbdā), on the cord of which are strong heavy rings. Until the 1940s the crowning event of a zurkhana session was wrestling (kushti). With the introduction of international freestyle and graeco-roman wrestling, however, wrestling disappeared from the gawd. Traditional wrestling, which resembles the freestyle variety except that athletes are permitted to grab each other's breeches at the belt and at the reinforced hems, survived in a modernised form under the name of kushti-yi pahlawdnī ("pahlawdnī wrestling"), but lost its organic link with the zurkhana. The loss of the institution's agonistic component lessened its attraction to young men, thus contributing to the decline of its popularity.

Traditionally, athletes were divided into a number of grades. These were, in ascending of seniority: nausū, nausūkhātu "novice", nausūkhātu "beginner", pahlawdnī "athlete", and, finally, each establishment's most accomplished member, the mīrānān, who conducts the proceedings. Beginning in the 1940s, however, these grades gradually fell into disuse and were replaced by the standard international categories "cadet", "junior", and "senior", and, for pahlawdnī wrestling, weight classes. The vocabulary, rituals, ethos and grades of the zurkhana recall those of lutis [q.v.] and Sūfism [see TAWWUF], but a direct filiation cannot be established. Popular religion, especially veneration of the first Shi'i Imām, 'Ali b. Abī Tālib, plays a major role in the institution, and proceedings are frequently interrupted by salvos of benediction (salawat). However, in the mid-20th century there were also a few Jewish and Zoroastrian zurkhānas in Tehran, Yazd and Shīrāz; their rituals were adapted accordingly.

The origins of the zurkhāna are shrouded in mystery. Wrestling has an old tradition in Iran, as evinced by many episodes recounted in the Shāh-nāma, most famously Rustam's bout with his son Suhrāb. According to Muslim traditions, the prophets Adam, Jacob and Muhammed, as well as 'Ali b. Abī Tālib and his two sons al-Hāsan and al-Ma'mūn excelled at it. The patron saint of zurkhāna athletes (as well as Turkish wrestlers) is the 8th/14th-century Šūf Pahlavān Maḥmūd of Kīhārzm, better known as Pūr-yā-yi Wāli. Wrestling was patronised by the Saldjūqs, Il-Khānids, Timūrīds and Safawīs, and under the latter, wrestlers were organised in a guild headed by a pahlavān-bābdhī. But the earliest known mention of zurkhana exercises occurs in a fragment dating from the Safawī era, Tūmār-i Pūr-yā-yi Wāli. The first Western traveller to describe a zurkhana was Reinhold Niebuhr, to whom we also owe the first graphic representation of one. Beginning in the early 19th century, the Kājār rulers of Iran became enthusiastic patrons of wrestling, and consequently, zurkhānas thrived. They were embedded in a town quarter's social structure and constituted an important part of community life. Some were frequented by craftsmen and tradesmen associated with the bazaar (sūk [q.v.]), some had a Sūfī membership, and still others were used by men of questionably mores on the fringes of legality, the fašā (fašā-yi gawd). Later in the century, royal patronage led men of higher birth to participate in the exercises, a development that reached its peak under Nāṣır al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1848-96 [q.v.]). With the advent of the Constitutional Revolution in 1905-6, royal patronage ceased, dealing a severe blow to the houses of strength, which became once again a feature of urban lower-middle-class culture. In subsequent years, the introduction of modern Western sports and physical education diminished their appeal among athletically-inclined men, while cinemas drew spectators away. Zurkhānas might have disappeared altogether, had it not been for the official millennium celebration of the poet Firdawsti's birth in 1934, on which occasion exhibitions of zurkhana exercises were held in public. They soon came to be termed warsīz-yi khasīn "ancient sports", which implied that their origin lay in pre-Islamic times. This rendered it compatible with the official ideology of the two Pahlawi shāhs, which emphasised Iran's ancient Persian heritage at the expense of Islam. It became conventional wisdom that the zurkhānas originated in the underground resistance activities of Iranian patriots against the Arab and, later, Mongol invaders, although there is no historical evidence for this. From 1953 to 1978 zurkhāna sports were mostly under the control of Sha'bān Dja'fārī, who benefited from royal patronage, having been one of the ring-leaders of the August 1953 riots that accompanied the military coup d'état that ousted the Prime Minister Muhammad Muṣāddīk [q.v.]. The Šāh rewarded Dja'fārī with a modern clubhouse whose zurkhana was lavish by the humble standards of traditional houses of strength. The carefully choreographed exercises performed by the members of this club became an exotic tourist attraction for visiting foreign dignitaries and celebrities, including women. Led by Dja'fārī, zurkhāna athletes performed by the hundreds in Tehran's main stadium on such occasions as the Šāh's birthday.

After the Islamic Revolution, the authorities of the Islamic Republic emphasised the Islamic character of the institution and tried to popularise it again. To attract young people, boys were permitted into the gawd, and a plethora of competitions are held with the aim of turning the exercises into modern sport replete with point systems, records and champions. Whether these innovations can assure the survival in the long run of the zurkhana remains to be seen. Zurkhānas can be found in most Iranian cities. Outside Iran, they were introduced to Irāq in the 1830s, where they existed until the 1960s. There are also
ZURKHANA — AL-ZUTT

zurkhanas in Adharbaydjan and Afghanistan, although their rituals differ somewhat from those found in Iran.


(H. E. CHEHABI)

ZURNA, a woodwind musical instrument, the shawm, with a powerful sound, played in the open. Zur (zurna) is the later Ottoman and modern Turkish spelling of the Persian and early Ottoman term surmā (surnā), zurnā or zurna (zurnā). The name spread throughout the countries of the former Ottoman empire, where it is still used in many places. In Egypt the instrument has a penetrating sound which the player cannot modify. It became the characteristic woodwind instrument of the Islamic world, played at ceremonial, military and festive occasions. In Ottoman times it served two different purposes. First, it was the prominent melody instrument of the ensemble. Second, it was, and still is, the melody instrument retained its traditional Arabic name mizmar (q.v.); in Libya and Morocco it is called ghayta (q.v.).

The zurna is played with a double reed. Since the reed vibrates freely in the mouth cavity of the player, the instrument has a penetrating sound which the player cannot modify. It became the characteristic woodwind instrument of the Islamic world, played at ceremonial, military and festive occasions. In Ottoman times it served two different purposes. First, it was the prominent melody instrument of the ensemble. Second, it was, and still is, the melody instrument of the popular pair of shawm and drum (davul-zurna), played mainly to accompany folk dances at festive occasions in the countryside. The folk zurna is characterised by a fork-shaped “spool” (nəzdık) in the head. It was recently shown that this “ingenious invention” allows the instrument maker to fit the body of the zurna, in the region of the seven fingerholes and the thumbhole, with an easily made cylindrical bore instead of the traditional conical bore. It can be assumed that the fork was invented in the creative atmosphere of the Ottoman capital, from where it spread through the empire. A vivid impression of the guild of zurna makers and players, and of the varieties of the instrument known in 17th-century Istanbul is given by Ewliya Čelebi.


(E. NEUBAUER)

Al-ZUṬT, the form in early Arabic usage for the name of a northwestern Indian people, the Ḥabāš (see gāfīr), members of whom were brought into the Persian Gulf region in the first Islamic centuries and possibly earlier.

According to al-Baladhuri, the S̲ās̲ānid emperor Bahram V Gūr (r. 420-38) transported Zuṭ from India to Khūzistān and the Persian Gulf shores; these subsequently became Muslim and were settled by Abū Mūṣā al-ʿAšʿārī (q.v.) at Baṣra, being attached to the tribe of Ḥaẓala of Tāmīz. At least some of them were caught up in the rebellion of Ibn al-ʿAšʿārī (q.v.), and after its suppression, the governor of the East al-Ḥadjudji demolished their houses, deprived them of their stipends and deported a certain number. Already in Muʿawiyah’s reign, the caliph had moved some of the Zuṭ of Baṣra and some of the Sayyābīs (q.v.), of Malaysian origin, from Lower Irāk to the Ṭam, near Antiocchio and the Cilician plain around al-ʿMasjida in 689 or 670 (al-Baladhuri, Futūḥ, 162, 373-4, 376-7). At the time of the Arab conquest of Sind (93/711), some of the Zuṭ of the Indus valley (probably including indigenous Sindīs as well as Ḥabāš) were transplanted by al-Ḥadjudji to the similar riverine environment of Lower Irāk, the Baṭā[ā] or marshlands (see al-Ḥabāṭa). Both al-Walīd I and Yazīd I further moved groups of Zuṭ to northwestern Syria, together with water buffaloes for the hot coastal plains there (ibid., 168, 376), but many Zuṭ clearly remained in Irāk. Whether the grandfather of the Imām Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767) named as Zuṭī in al-Khāṭib, Taʾrīkh Baghdād, xiii, 324-5, came from one of the Zuṭ groups of Lower Irāk (Zuṭ is said to have come “from the people of Kābul” and to have been a mawla of Tayy Allāh b. Thalaba of the Bakr b. Wālī) is uncertain.

There may have been further migrations of Zuṭ from India to the southern provinces of Persia and to Lower Irāk during early ʿAbbāsīd times (al-Masʿūdī, Tanbih, 355, tr. 455). They seem to have become a turbulent element of the population in the latter region, and al-Ḥadjudji names the Zuṭ al-ʿAṯīm “Zuṭ of the thickets [of the lower Irāk marshlands]” as amongst the outlaws and predatory groups with whom his beggar chief Khālid b. Yazīd had kept company (K. al-Zuṭ, ed. Ḥādji, Cairo 1958, 49, tr. Pellat, 70). In 205/820 the caliph al-Maʿmūn had to appoint commanders for the war against the Zuṭ of Lower Irāk. But the troubles continued, and his successor al-Muʿtaṣim had to send the veteran commander ʿUdāy b. Anbasa against them in 219/834; this required a campaign involving amphibious operations, and after the Zuṭ were subdued, 27,000 of them, including 12,000 fighting men, were reportedly in 220/835 deported to Baghdād and thence to Khānīkīn (q.v.) on the road to Djbāl and to ʿAyn Zarba (q.v.) on the Byzantine frontier in Cilicia. Zuṭ unrest does not seem to have had the same social aspect as the rebellion of the Zangī (q.v.) half a century later, but may have expressed general discontent with the centralising policies of the Baghdad government; however, its exact causes and motivations are unclear (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1044-5, 1069, 1166-70; al-Masʿūdī, Tanbih, 355-6, tr. 455-6; Ibn al-ʿArīf, ed. Beirut, vi, 362, 379, 389, 434-3, 446, vii, 80). The Zuṭ are mentioned in the late 4th/10th century, when a Būyid prince, Abū Naṣr Shāh-Frūz, in 390/1000 disputed control of Fārs with Bahāʾī-dāwla, and gathered into his forces local groups there of Daylamīs, Zuṭ and Turks (Ḥilāl al-Ṣābī, in Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid caliphate, iii, 349; Ibn al-ʿArīf, ix, 160), but thereafter, mention of the Zuṭ
as a special group seems to fade from historical record.

De Goeje in his monograph (see Bibl.) endeavoured to show that those Zutt who originally settled at Basra, but then scattered, including by a Byzantine deportation of them from 'Ayn Zarba when this last was attacked by the Greeks, were the ancestors of a part at least of the Gypsies [for whom see CINGANE; LOLI; NORS]. The modern Gypsy language, of obviously northwestern Indian origin, in fact contains few words of Arabic provenance, and de Goeje's thesis remains unproven.

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